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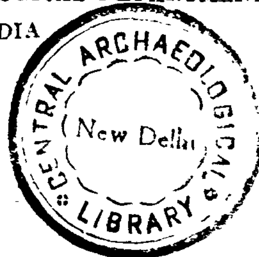
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Folio 45a

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Folio 45b

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Folio 46a

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THE APABHRAMŚA STABAKAS OF RĀMA-ŚARMAN (TARKAVĀGĪŚA).

By SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E.

(*Continued from Vol. LI, p.* 28.)

Fol. 44b.

thakaṣṭāapitiṣṭhatēḥ païsavaḥ syātprēṇasārddhaṁviśērddhārū(6)ṇḍaḥpunavāśiṣēvihadṛśē:-dvaudēkakhaprapsāvapi |

nityasyaivavadantidākakhadavasau stipmastimēḥ syāccavairvvaccaḥ sthā(7)payatēḥ punarnigaditaścāvōthavañcavrajē || 29 ||

Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, – – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –, – – ⏑ – – ⏑ –

thakkaṣ ṭhā api 'tiṣṭhatēḥ', *paisavaḥ* syāt 'prēṇa' sârdhaṁ 'viśēr'
dhāruṇḍaḥ punar 'āśiṣēr', iha 'dṛśēr' dvau *dekkha-pummāv* api, |
ṇicy asyaiva vadanti *dākkha-darasau, timmas* 'timēḥ' syāc ca vai,
vaccaḥ 'sthāpayatēḥ' punar nigaditaś *cāvō*, 'tha *vañca* 'vrajē' || 29 ||

Mk. 67, thakka– = sthā–; 71, pasava– = praviś–; 73, āruṇṇa– = āśliṣ–; 64, pumma– and dekkha– = dṛś–; 65, dākkha– = darśaya–; 75, tia– = stim–, tim–; 76, ṭhava– and thakkava– = sthāpaya–; 70, vañca– = vraj–. These are the readings of the printed Edition. The MSS. differ.

The following are *dhātv-ādēśas.*—

Sanskrit.	Apabhraṁśa.
sthā- of *tiṣṭhati*	*thakka-* or [?] *ṭhā-*.
praviś-	*païsava-*
āśiṣ-(? *āśliṣ-*)	*dhāruṇḍa-* (? *āruṇṇa-*)
dṛś-	*dekkha-* or *pumma-*
darśaya-	*dākkha-* or *darasa-*
tim-	*timma-*
sthāpaya- of *sthāpayati*	*vacca-* or *cāva-* (? *ṭhāva-*)
vraj-	*vañca-*

Of the above, *vacca-* is also doubtful. Usually *vaccaï* = *kāṅkṣati* or *vrajati*. With *vañca-*, cf. Sindhī *vañaṇu*, Lahndā *vañjuṇ*, to go.

Fol. 44b.

gṛhṇōgrahēviha mucāmu amukkamēllabollavadēvatha kṛñaḥkavaśadi(*Fol.* 45*a*.)śanti |
āṇāvamaṇiyutaniyōṇicicātra akakhamācakṣatēḥ śatṛmatastu śastikālē || 30 ||

Metre, Vasantatilakā, – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –

guṇhō 'grahēr', iha 'mucō' *mua mukka mella,*
bollō 'vadēr', atha 'kṛñaḥ' *kara* ādiśanti |
āṇāvam 'āṅ-yuta-niyō' ṇici, câtra *akkham*
'ācakṣatēḥ', śatṛ matas tu ⏑ śas trikālē || 30 ||

Mk. 68, guṇha– = grah–; 74, mukka–, mua–, mulla– = muc–; 63, bolla– = vad–; 69, kara– = kṛ–; 77, ānāva– = ānī–; 66, cakkha– = ācakṣ–; 62, sarvadā śatṛ.

There is a short syllable missing in the fourth line. *matō bahuśas* would fill the lacuna, but is a violent emendation.

Dhātv-ādēśas—continued.

grah-	*guṇha-*
muc-	***mua-***, ***mukka-*** or ***mella-***
vad-	*bolla-*
kṛ-	*kara-*
ānāyaya-	*āṇāva-*
ācakṣ-	*akkha-*

The present participle is used [as a finite verb] in all three times,—**present**, **past**, **and** future.

With *akkha-* compare Sindhī, Panjābī, and old Hindī *ākh-*, tell.

Fol. 45a.

tōmatōnna[24](?)su[25]ēhiēhica padānyāhu(2)ryathāsaṁkhyatastvātēṣāmadhunāamībhivitiyēśab dāstadarthōnvitāḥ |

dvitryādyē duitiṇṇicāvinamayāvā(?)hu[26]nyatītyōditaṁ tatrō(3)dāhavaṇaṁ puvātanakavēḥ kāvyēṣuvōdhyaṁ vudhaiḥ || 31 ||

|| ityapabhraṁśastavakaḥ ||*||

[24] *The three initial akṣaras may also be read* tēmōtā *or* tēmētō *or* tōmātā.

[25] *The doubtful akṣara* su *may also be read* mu *or* sva *or* mva.

[26] *The doubtful akṣara* hu *may also be read* du.

Metre, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –, – – ⏑ – – ⏑ –

tō, *mo*, *tāṇṇa* [? *teṇṇi*], (?) *suēhi* [? *aēhi*], *ēhiṁ* ca padāny āhur yathā saṁkhyatas Mk. 78.
'tvāṁ', 'tēṣāṁ', 'adhunā', 'amībhir' iti yē śabdās tadarthânvitāḥ |
'dvi-try-ādyē' *dui*, *tiṇṇi*, *cāri*, na mayā (?)vāhunyatîtyôditaṁ
tatrôdāharaṇaṁ purātana-kavēḥ kāvyēṣu bōdhyaṁ budhaiḥ || 31 ||

|| ity apabhraṁśa-stabakaḥ || * ||

There is something wrong in the first two lines of this verse. In the second line no Sanskrit equivalent is given for the Prākrit *mō*. The corresponding passage in Mk. 78 has "tvāṁ *tō*, māṁ *mō*, tēṣāṁ *teṇṇi*". I am unable to suggest certain emendations for *suēhi* and *vāhuny*. The latter looks like some form of *bāhulya*.

The following Apabhraṁśa words occur in the meanings respectively set opposite them :—

Prakrit.	Sanskrit.
tō	*tvām.*
mō	[*mām*].
(?) *teṇṇi*	*tēṣām.*
(?) *aēhi*	*adhunā.*
ēhiṁ	*amībhiḥ* (? *ēbhiḥ*).
dui	*dvi–.*
tiṇṇi	*tri–.*
cāri	[*catur–*].

The intelligent can find examples of these in the poems of the old poet.

[Who the 'old poet' is does not appear. He is probably Piṅgala.]

So ends the Chapter on [Nāgara] Apabhraṁśa.

Fol. 45a.

athavrāvaṇākhyāmapabhraṁśabhraṣāṁvadāmaḥ praṣi(4)ddhātu sāsindhudēśē |
smṛtānāgavādēva siddhāstadīyā viśēṣānnayatrōcyatē lakṣma tasyēnti || 1 ||

The ēnti *at the end is superfluous.*

Metre, Bhujaṅgaprayāta, – – – ⏑ – –, ⏑ – – – ⏑ – –

atha **Vrācaḍākhyām** Apabhraṁśabhāṣāṁ Mk. xviii, 1.
vadāmaḥ, prasiddhā tu sā Sindhudēśē |
smṛtā Nāgarād ēva siddhis tadīyā
viśēṣān na yatrôcyatē lakṣma tasyāḥ ‖ 1 ‖

We now proceed to describe the Apabhraṁśa Bhāṣā called 'Vrācaḍa', which is current in the Sindhu country. Its basis is recorded as being nothing but Nāgara, especially when no definite rule is laid down for it.

This indicates that any changes recorded in this section are not changes from Sanskrit, but are changes from Nāgara Apabhraṁśa.

Fol. 45a.

tānacyatra vaṣaṣayōvihasaśaḥ[27](5)prayōjyō bhṛtyēpavanaṛtāvihatuprakṛtyā |
antyasthayādhavagatautucajauvidhēyau dvitvē yathāgiviśatiychanadvī avay(6)jjē ‖ 2 ‖

[27] *In* ihasaśaḥ *the akṣara* sa *is superfluous.*

Metre, Vasantatilakā, – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –

tālavya ēva sa-ṣayōr iha *śaḥ* prayōjyō ; Mk. 3.
bhṛtyâparēṣu ra-ṛtāv iha tu prakṛtyā | Mk. 4.
antaḥstha-yâdhara-gatau tu ca-jau vidhēyau Mk. 2.
dvitvē, yathā (?)*païśadi ycchalahīa rayjjē* ‖ 2 ‖

Only the palatal *ś* may be used, in place of *s* and *ṣ*. In this dialect an original *r* or *ṛ* is preserved, except in the words *bhṛtya-* and others. When the letters c [including *ch*] and *j* [? including *jh*] are doubled, the semi-vowel *y* is prefixed, as in (?) *païśadi yccha-lahīa rayjjē* [=Nāgara *païsadi cchalahīa rajjē=praviśati cchala-bhītō rājyē*].

It is unnecessary to mention the letter *ṣ* in the first line, as it does not occur in Nāgara.

As examples of the gaṇa *bhṛtyâdi*, Mk. gives *ṇiccaṁ* [*nṛtyam*], *kiccaṁ* [*kṛtyam*], and *kiccā* [*kṛtyā*]. The emendation of *giviśati* to *pāïśadi* (cf. the next verse) is conjectural. Although not so written, the scribe certainly meant the *ch* on *ycchala°* to be doubled. He always represents this doubled *cch* by *ch*, even in Sanskrit passages. Mk. makes the prefixing of *y* to *c* and *j* universal, and not only when these letters are doubled.

Fol. 45a.

dadhayōḥ svavaśēṣatadanasyāt ubhayōḥkiñcaṭādaumataupadādau |
daśanādiṣuḍōthasōji (?) sva[28]saivētyabhidhāne(7)khanuṇḍu māhakhaḍgē ‖ 3 ‖

[28] *The doubtful akṣara* sva *is superfluous in the metre and is difficult to read.*

Metre, Aupacchandasika, ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – –
⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – –

da-dhayōḥ svara-śēṣatā ca na syāt Not in Mk.
ubhayōḥ kiṁca *ṭa-dau* (?-*ṭhau*) matau padâdau | Cf. Mk. 5.
'daśanâdiṣu' *ḍō*, 'tha *sōji* 'saivety' Mk. 5, 6.
abhidhānē khalu [*kha*]*ṇḍuṁ* āha 'khaḍgē' ‖ 3 ‖ Mk. 7.

There can be no elision of [medial] *d* or [substitution of *h*] for [medial] *dh*. But, when initial, they become *ṭ* and *d* [? *ṭh*], respectively. In the words *daśana-* etc. [the initial *d* becomes] *ḍ*. In this dialect, the word *sōji* is used as the equivalent of the Sanskrit *saiva*, and, as regards *khaḍgaḥ*, it becomes *khaṇḍuṁ*.

In dealing with *d* and *dh*, we must remember that our basis is Nāgara. In that dialect, an original *d* and *dh* follow the usual Prakrit rules, and, when medial, they are elided and changed to *h* respectively. In Vrācaḍa, this does not occur, an original medial *d* and *dh* remaining unchanged. But, in Nāgara (see verse 2 of the preceding chapter), a medial *d* or *dh* represents an original *t* or *th*, respectively;

These also remain unchanged. Thus, in Vrācaḍa, a medial *d* may represent an original *d* or an original *t*, and a medial *dh* may represent an original *dh* or an original *th*.

But, when initial, the case is different. An initial *d* represents only an original *d*, and an original *dh* represents only an original *dh*, just as in Nāgara. Our author here states that an initial *d* becomes *ṭ* and an initial *dh* becomes *d* (? *ṭh*). The words *daśana-* etc. form an exception, as in them the initial *d* becomes *ḍ*. It is to be regretted that our author gives no examples of his rules, for they differ widely from those of Mk.

The corresponding sūtra of Mk. (xviii, 5) states that initial *t* and *d* optionally become *ṭ* and *ḍ* respectively. He gives as examples *ṭāviyjjai* or *tāviyjjai* [*tāpyatē*] and *ḍamaṇō* or *damaṇō* [*damanaḥ*].

If, in our present verse, we were to read *ta-thayōḥ*, instead of *da-dhayōḥ*, we should be told that initial *t* and *th* became *ṭ* and *d* (? *ṭh*), respectively, and that in certain words initial *d* became *ḍ*. This would to a certain extent agree with Mk. but would be entirely unauthorized by the MS., in which the *dadhayōḥ* is exceptionally clear.

In the last line of the verse, the metre shows that the syllable *kha* has been omitted.

Fol. 45a.

tuvōbhrōpunabhūrmataḥ ktēvru vō vrōnatōprātītaḥ syurvaṣērvarhamāhuḥ |
yadanyattutatasaṁskṛtaṁsau (*Fol.* 45*b*) vasēnīmahāvāṣtra bhāṣaca saṁsādhayanti || 4 ||

Metre, Bhujaṅgaprayāta, ⏑ – – ⏑ – –, ⏑ – – ⏑ – –

'bhuvō' *bhō*, punar *bhūr* mataḥ ktē, 'bruvō' *brō*, Mk. 8, 10.
na *bhō* prâditaḥ syur, 'vṛṣēr' *varham* āhuḥ | Mk. 8, 9.
yad anyat tu tat Saṁskṛtaṁ Śaurasēnī- Mk. 11.
Mahārāṣṭra-bhāṣē ca saṁsādhayanti || 4 ||

Dhātv-ādēśas:—

The root *bhū-* becomes *bhō-*, but in the past participle it is *bhū-*. nor does it become *bhō-* when preceded by the prepositions *pra* etc.

The root *brū-* becomes *brō-*.

The root *vṛṣ-* becomes *varha-*.

Any other [roots] are provided for by Sanskrit and by the Śaurasēnī and Mahārāṣṭrī Bhāṣās.

For *prabhavati*, Mk. gives *pahavaï* as the corresponding form. For *varha-*, Mk. has *vaha-*.

Fol. 45b.

upanāgavamatrasaṁskṛtāta ubhayōvāhuvanantavōktayōḥ |

This verse is not numbered in the MS., and possibly the second half is missing. The word saṁskṛtāta *is an evident copyist's slip for* saṁkarāt.

Metre, Viyōginī, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –
⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –

Upanāgaram atra saṁkarād Mk. 12.
ubhayōr āhur anantarôktayōḥ || 5 ||

We are told that Upanāgara is derived from a mixture of these two dialects, as just described, one after the other.

ṭakkībhra[29]vānigaditātha(2)nuyāvibhāṣā sānāgavādibhivapitṛibhivanvitācēt |
tāmēvaṭakkaviṣayē nigadantiṭakkāpabhraṁśamaētadvadāhavaṇaṁgavē(3)syaṁ || 6 ||

[29] *The akṣara* bhra *is not clear, and may be intended for* pra(pu).

Metre, Vasantatilakā, – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –

Ṭākkī purā nigaditā khalu yā vibhāṣā Comm. to Mk. 12.
sā Nāgarâdibhir api tribhir anvitā cēt |
tām ēva Ṭakka-viṣayē nigadanti Ṭākkā-
pabhraṁśam atra tad-udāharaṇaṁ gavēṣyam | 6 |

In the preceding portion of the work the author has described the Ṭākkī Vibhāṣā. He now explains that the Ṭākka Apabhraṁśa is merely this when mixed up with the three kinds of Apabhraṁśa (Nāgara, Vrācaḍa, and Upanāgara) just described.

If the Ṭākkī Vibhāṣā formerly described [III, xii, 27 ff.] is mixed with the three kinds of Apabhraṁśa,—Nāgara and so on,—, it is called Ṭākka Apabhraṁśa, and is spoken in the Ṭakka country, where examples of it are to be sought for.

Mk. reproduces verses 6-13, dealing with the minor forms of Apabhraṁśa, in prose in the comm. to xviii, 12. According to him (see preface to his grammar and xvi, 2), the difference between a Vibhāṣā and Apabhraṁśa is that the former is used only in dramas, while the latter is not used in dramas. In his preface, he gives the following list of Apabhraṁśa dialects. He quotes it from an unnamed author, possibly Rāma-śarman; for the first page of the MS. of the Prākṛta-kalpataru, which is quite fragmentary, appears to contain stray portions of a similar list. Mk's list is as follows: —

Vrācaḍō Lāṭa-Vaidarbhāv Upanāgara-Nāgarau |
Barbar'-Âvantya-Pāñcāla-Ṭākka-Mālava-Kaikayāḥ
Gauḍ'-Âuḍhra (*sic*)-(?)Vaiva-Pāścātya-Pāṇḍya-Kauntala-Saiṁhalāḥ |
Kāliṅgya-Prācya-Kārṇāṭa-Kāñcya-Drāviḍa-Gaurjarāḥ ||
Ābhīrō Madhyadēśīyaḥ sūkṣma-bhēda-vyavasthitāḥ |
saptaviṁśaty-apabhraṁśā Vaitālâdi-prabhēdataḥ ||

In the above, the word 'Vaiva' should perhaps be 'Haiva'. In verse 29 of the Preface to the *Ṣaḍ-bhāṣā-candrikā*, Lakṣmīdhara mentions a 'Haiva' form of Paiśācī.

Referring to the above list, Mk. goes on to say :—

Nāgarō Vrācaḍaś c'-Ôpanāgaraś cêti tē trayaḥ |
Apabhraṁśāḥ parē sūkṣma-bhēdatvān na pṛthaṅ matāḥ ||

(with the comm.) ēṣu triṣv anyēṣām antarbhāvaṁ tatraiva vakṣyāmaḥ ||

Fol. 45b.

yēnāgavavrācaḍakādayōtrāpabhraṁśabhēdāḥkathitāpuvastāta |
tadvadviśēṣāśrayaṇēna pāñcālikādayōviśati(4)ataēva || 7 ||

Metre, Upajāti, ⏓ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –

yē Nāgara-Vrācaḍakâdayō 'trâ-
pabhraṁśa-bhēdāḥ kathitāḥ purastāt |
tad-vad viśēṣâśrayaṇēna Pāñcā-
likâdayō viṁśatir anya ēva || 7 ||

Just as writers have in the first place told of the various kinds of Apabhraṁśa —Nāgara, Vrācaḍa, and so on,—, as described herein; so, if we class them according to special characteristics, there are twenty others,—viz. *Pāñcālikā* and so on.

We shall see, from verse 13, that there is another principle of classification of Apabhraṁśa which may also be employed. It is a classification, not according to special characteristics, but according to the local dialect of the dēśya words borrowed by it.

Fol. 45b.

avādiiḍīdhahunātrapāñcānta bhūmnāthanumāgadhīsyāt |
vaidavirbhakāannaghanāṁ vadanti nāṭitusa(5)mbōdhanaśabdabhṛmnā || 8 ||

Metre, Upajāti, as before.

avādi *ī-ḍī*-bahulâtra **Pāñcā-**
[likā], *tu*-bhūmnī[30] khalu **Māgadhī** syāt, |
Vaidarbhikām *alla*-ghanāṁ vadanti,
Lāṭī tu saṁbōdhana-śabda-bhūmnī || 8 ||

[30] I follow Lassen in correcting *bhūmnā* throughout to *bhūmnī*.

For Pāñcālikā, Mk. gives only *ḍī*. He omits *ī*. I have emended the *pāñcānta* of the MS. to *pāñcālikā tu* with the aid of Mk. For *māgadhī*, Mk. has *mālavī*, which is probably the right reading also here. For Vaidarbhikā, Mk. has *ulla* instead of *alla*.

It has been said, in this regard, that Pāñcālikā is distinguished by the frequency with which it uses the terminations *ī* and *ḍī*.

[At the present day, the pleonastic terminations *ḍā* and *ḍī* are very commonly used in North Rājputānā.]

In Māgadhī, the word *tu* is frequently used.

[It is a curious fact that, at the present day, the Magahī dialect of Bihārī is noted for the frequent use of another word, *rē*, —a fact which is sufficiently important to be enshrined in local proverbs. Elsewhere, *rē* is a contemptuous interjection. In Magahī, it can be used quite politely, and its polite use by a speaker of Magahī is said often to result in violent quarrels with people who do not speak the dialect.]

Vaidarbhī is full of the pleonastic termination *alla*– [? *ulla*–]. Lāṭī is remarkable for the number of interjections of address.

Fol. 45b.

auḍrītuīōvahunāniddhiṣṭyākaikēyikāvīpsitaśabdabhṛmnāṁ |
samāsabhūyiṣṭhapadātugauḍīḍakā(6)vabhṛṅgākilakōntanīsyāt || 9 ||

Metre, Upajāti, as before.

Auḍrī tu *ī-ō*-bahulā nidiṣṭā,
Kaikēyikā vīpsita-śabda-bhūmnī
samāsa-bhūyiṣṭha-padā tu **Gauḍī**,
ḍa-kāra-bhūmnī kila **Kauntalī** syāt || 9 ||

For Auḍrī, Mk. has Audhrī, and says it is *īkārōkārabahulā*, i.e. full of *ī* and *ū*, not of *ī* and *ō*.

Auḍrī is described as noteworthy for the predominance of *ī* and *ō* [? *ū*]. [There is nothing like this in modern Oriyā.]

In Kaikēyī, words are commonly repeated to express continuation, distribution, etc.

Gauḍī is rich in compound words [Cf. the well-known Sanskrit Gauḍī rīti.]

Kauntalī, forsooth, abounds in the pleonastic suffix *ḍa*.

Fol. 45b.

ēkāvabhṛmnāniravācipāṇḍī syāta saippalīsaṁyutavarṇabhṛmnā
kaniṅgajāhiṁkhaci tâbhibhū(7)mnā prācyātasōrattapadāvilambā || 10 ||

Metre, Upajāti, as before.

ē-kāra-bhūmnī niravāci **Pāṇḍī**,
syāt **Saippalī** saṁyuta-varṇa-bhūmnī, |
Kaliṅga-jā *hiṁ*-khacitâbhibhūmnī,
Prācyā tu Sōraṭṭa-padâvalambā || 10 ||

Mk. has *pāṇḍyā* for *pāṇḍī*, and *saiṁhalī* (probably correct) for *saippalī*. *Sōraṭṭa* is distinct in the MS. Mk. here has *Prācyā tad-dēśīya-bhāṣâḍhyā*, which, it will be remembered, is in prose, not in metre.

Pāṇḍyā has been described as full of the letter ē.
Saippalī [? Saiṁhalī] is rich in compound consonants.
Kāliṅgī is replete with the syllable *hiṁ*.
But Prācyā is dependent on words of Saurāṣṭra.

[Regarding the form *Sōraṭṭa*, cf. *Marahaṭṭa* in verse 18 of the Nāgara section. If the text is correct, it is extraordinary that words of Saurāṣṭra, in the extreme West of India, should be found in an eastern dialect. Mk.'s account,—that it is full of eastern dēśya words,—is much more probable.]

Fol. 45b.

ābhīvikāprāyikabhaṭṭakādi karṇōdikāvē phaviparyyayēṇa |
dēśīpadānyēvatu(*Fol.* 46*a*)madhyadēśyāsyādgaurjjavīsaṁskṛtaśabdabhūmnā || 11 ||

Metre, Upajāti, as before.

Ābhīrikā prāyika-*bhaṭṭakâ*di,
Kārṇāṭikā rēpha-viparyayēṇa. |
dēśī-padāny ēva tu **Madhyadēśyā**,
syād **Gaurjarī** Saṁskṛta-śabda-bhūmnī || 11 ||

Ābhīrī commonly uses titles of respect, such as *bhaṭṭaka* and so forth.
Kārṇāṭī is distinguished by the change of the letter *r* [for *l*] [or, ? by metathesis of *r*].
But Madhyadēśyā employs only the dēśya words [of the country in which it is spoken]
Gaurjarī is full of Sanskrit words.

Fol. 46a.

syāddrāviḍīnasyaviparyyayēṇa pāścātyajāsyādranaparyyayēṇa |
vaitānikīlāmata(2)kāvabhūmnā kāñcītuṇa[31]vahulōpadiṣṭyā || 12 ||

[31] *The second* ū *in the second line is evidently meant for* ēō. *These two initial letters, when written close together, as in the present case, form a badly written* ṇa.

Metre, Upajāti, as before.

syād **Drāviḍī** lasya viparyayēṇa,
Pāścātya-jā syād ra-la-paryayēṇa, |
Vaitālikī-nāma *ṭa*-kāra-bhūmnī,
Kāñcī tu *ē*–*ō*-bahulôpadiṣṭā || 12 ||

For Drāviḍī, Mk. says *rēpha-vyatyayēna.* For Pāścātyā, he says *ra-ta-* (? *ra-la-*) *ha-bhāṁ vyatyayēna.* For Vaitālikī, he says *ḍha-*(or some MSS. *da-*)*kāra-bahulā.*
Drāviḍī is distinguished by the change of *l* [for *r*] [or, ?, by metathesis of *l*].
Pāścātyā is distinguished by the mutual interchange of *r* and *l*.
Vaitālikī is full of the letter *ṭ* [? *ḍh*].
But Kāñcī is described as having irregularly the letters *ē* and *ō*.

Regarding the changes of *r* and *l* in this and the preceding verse, it will be remembered that in Māgadhī Prakrit and its connected dialects *r* is regularly changed to *l* as in Kārṇāṭī. The same change occurs in Śaurasēnī Paiśācī, while in Pāñcālī Paiśācī *r* and *l* are mutually interchangeable, as in Pāścātyā.

Fol. 46a

pavēpyavabhraṁśabhidastitattaddhēśīyabhāṣāpadasaṁprayōgāt |
nasāviśēṣādiha(3)saṁpradiṣṭābhēdōyadasyāmatidurnipaḥ || 13 ||
|| itiprākṛtaśāsanēvrācaḍādyapabhraṁśastavakaḥ || * ||

Metre, Upajāti, as before.

parā 'py Apabhraṁśa-bhidā 'sti tattad-
dēśīya-bhāṣā-pada-saṁprayōgāt |
na sā viśēṣād iha sampradiṣṭā
bhēdō yad asyām ati durvi[kal]paḥ || 13 ||

| iti Prākṛta śāsanē Vrācaḍâdy-Apabhraṁśa-stabakaḥ. || * ||

Mk. here says *śēṣâdēśa-bhāṣā-vibhēdāt. Iti tēnaiva* [i. e. apparently our present author, from whom he is quoting] *uktatvāt. ēvaṁ-vidha-bhēda-hētu-kalpanē sahasra-dhâpi vaktuṁ śakyatvāt. tasmād yuktam uktam* :—

'vēdyā vidagdhair aparās tat-tad-dēśânusārataḥ.'

There is also another system of classifying the various kinds of Apabhraṁśa, viz. according to its use of the dēśya words of each particular country in which it is spoken. This is not shown in detail in the present work, as it is very difficult to determine the division according to this classification.

Mk.'s concluding remarks are to the same effect. In the above verses, the various Apabhraṁśa dialects are classified according to the peculiar characteristics of each. As Apabhraṁśa was a literary language used over the whole of India, it was also liable to be contaminated by the presence of local dēśya words, and these, provide another and distinct basis of classification. The author apparently is referring to the account of local dialects given by Bharata (xvii, 58ff.) as follows:—

gaṅgāsāgara-madhyē tu yē dēśāḥ saṁprakṛrtitāḥ |
ēkāra-bahulāṁ tēṣu bhāṣāṁ taj-jñaḥ prayōjayēt || 58 ||
vindhyasāgara-madhyē tu yē dēśāḥ śrutim āgatāḥ |
*na*kāra-bahulāṁ tēṣu bhāṣāṁ taj-jñaḥ prayōjayēt || 59 ||
surāṣṭrâvanti-dēśēṣu vētravaty-uttarēṣu ca |
yē dēśās tēṣu kurvīta *ca*kāra-bahulām iha || 60 ||
himavat-sindhusauvīrān yē ca dēśāḥ samāśritāḥ |
*u*kāra-bahulāṁ taj-jñas tēṣu bhāṣāṁ prayōjayēt || 61 ||
carmaṇvatīnadī-pārē yē cârbuda-samāśritāḥ |
*ta*kāra-bahulāṁ nityaṁ tēṣu bhāṣāṁ prayōjayēt || 62 ||

58. As for the lands which are grouped together as between the Ganges and the sea, the skilled author should employ a language which is full of the letter *ē*. [Cf. Pāṇḍyā and Kāñcī in verses 10 and 12, ab.]

59. As for those lands which we hear of as between the Vindhya and the sea, the skilled author will employ a language which is full of the letter *n* [? in which *n* is substituted for *l*].

60. As for the countries of Surāṣṭra and Avanti, and those which lie north of the Vētravatī, he should here make [the language] full of the letter *ca*.

61. As for those lands which are in the neighbourhood of the Himâlaya, and of the Sindhu-Sauvīras, the skilled author should employ a language full of the letter *u*. [Cf. Auḍrī, v. 9, ab.]

62. As for those whose home is the far side of the river Carmaṇvatī and near Mount Arbuda, he should always employ a language full of the letter *ta*. [Cf. Vaitālikī, v. 12, ab.]

It will be observed that not a single statement of Bharata agrees with the statements in Rāma-śarman's classification.

If we assume that Rāma-śarman's 'Māgadhī' in verse 8 is the same language as that referred to as 'Mālavī' by Mk. and that his 'Saippalī' in verse 10 corresponds to Mk.'s 'Saiṁhalī', then, including Nāgara, Vrācaḍa, Upanāgara, and Ṭakka, he has described twenty-four out of the twenty-seven given by Mk. in the list above quoted. The three that he has not described are Barbara, Āvanta, and (?) Vaiva. Neither are these described by Mk. in the prose passage corresponding to verses 6—13 above. We have therefore no information regarding them, beyond their mere names.

(*To be continued.*)

THE ORIGIN, GROWTH AND DECLINE OF THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE.

BY C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A.

(*Continued from Vol. LI, p.* 235.)

The reigns of Mallikârjuna and his brother Virûpâksha were rather short and filled only with differences in the royal family and the infirmities of the rulers. In the reign of the former there was a combined attack on the Vijayanagara capital by the Gajapati kings of Orissa and the Muhammadan kings of Bâhmanî. This was repulsed by the Sâḷuva chief Narasiṁha, who was then ruling over the eastern country. About the same time Kânchi was invaded by the Pâṇḍyas from the south. These were all indications of the weakness which marked the hold of the central power over distant provinces and the capital, too, at times. The prestige of the state was maintained by the Sâḷuva in the north. What really happened in the south is not clearly known. It is certain at any rate that the king was growing weak and powerless and that a powerful commander and local governor, who was also the far-seeing minister, could wield the destinies of the empire. Sâḷuva Narasiṁha, who had attained to a hero's fame by his repulsion of the two enemies from the north, took into his hands the whole government. The Sâḷuvas were already relations of the royal family. During the time of Dêvarâya II, Sâḷuva Tipparâja, the father of Gôparâja and a brother-in-law of the king, was the viceroy over the Tekkal country. And Sâḷuva Narasiṁha's assumption of the *de facto* regal position was but the precursor of a political phenomenon like the rule of Aḷiya Râmarâja in Sadâsiva's time about the middle of the sixteenth century.

The expression 'Usurpation' may jar on the ears of the advocates of strict succession. Still usurpers are not always to be denounced. If the last members of a ruling family happen to be successively unfit to wield the reins of the government and if the imperial interests are certain thereby to be jeopardised, a usurper is to be welcomed. And the fact that the usurper continues to rule on under exactly the previous conditions is but the testimony to the legitimacy of his assumption. An honest, just and judicious usurper has as much title to the historian's respect as a later ruling family has. If the Vijayanagara dynasty has risen to prominence and illumined the pages of South-Indian history, it is because the earlier houses, namely the Chôḷa, the Pâṇḍya and the Hoysala, had degenerated. The continuity of the state is maintained by such judicious replacements and assumptions. Political philosophy has a good word even for the 'tyrants' of Greece.

Sâḷuva Narasiṁha assumed royal titles about A.D. 1484. There were many circumstances favourable to his ascendency for some time. From A.D. 1375 the south had been independently held by the Sâḷuva chief Gôpa-Tippa. Narasiṁha himself had been minister under three successive sovereigns, viz., Prauḍha Dêvarâya, Virûpâksha and Mallikârjuna. To a long ministerial experience and the resultant influence in the state he added the glories of a conqueror and a defender of the capital, which naturally made him the fittest and so the most popular leader of the state in the decadent stage of the hereditary line of kings. During his ministry and his rule the kingdom itself was known to foreigners as 'the kingdom of Narasiṁha,' because of his domination over it for a peaceful and prosperous period of 44 years.

The Sâḷuva dynasty, too, had a brief period of rule and yielded place to the Tuḷuva dynasty to which Kṛishṇarâya belonged. The ascendency of the latter was also the result of the weakness of the departed dynasty. Minister ousted minister, usurper ousted usurper, but only with the intention of maintaining the state in its ancient integrity, strength and glory. Such successions as these were but the mediæval manifestations of the operations of the law of the 'rule of the hero' as against the 'rule of the heir.'

Thus, from A.D. 1336 to about A.D. 1506, *i.e.*, for about 170 years, the Vijayanagara Empire had gone through a process of consolidation and expansion. Internally it was, generally speaking, strong. Though the ruling person and family occasionally proved unequal to the task, the organising and governing resources of the state were yet strong. Throughout the whole of Southern India from the Konkan in the west to Kânchi in the east, and from Udayagiri in the north to Tinnevelly in the south, the Vijayanagara rule had been known, though appreciated only in parts.

The idea of an All-South-Indian sovereignty, with its centre at Vijayanagara, had now come to be felt and realised, though certain local ruling families were awaiting an opportunity to shake off its supremacy. The occasional troubles in the royal family and in the capital, owing to disputed but soon-settled successions in the one case, and to powerful but repulsed foreign attacks by the Muhammadans and their allies in the other, conjured up ideas of independence in the representatives of such local families. But the time was soon to come when the brand of the Vijayanagara supremacy was to be set upon the whole of Southern India. During the period consolidation progressed mainly in the western, southern and eastern parts of the peninsula ; the north was almost always out of its dominion. The Bahmini Muhammadans and the Gajapatis of Orissa were generally in league against the rising southern power.

The Period of Expansion.

The imperial enterprise and aspirations of the Vijayanagara house till the close of the fifteenth century were limited to the conquest of the country between the Malprabha and the Bhîma rivers in the north and the Kâverî on the south. This part of the country had been already consolidated to a great extent. In the earlier days of the empire the chief concern of the rulers was to resist the attacks of the Muhammadans from the north and save the capital with the peninsular dominions attached to it. During this period of defensive conquest, the forts of Raichur and Mudkal had many a time passed under their rule. But with the opening of the sixteenth century the Vijayanagara monarch framed and undertook a military policy which was very far-sighted and venturesome. The permanent conquest of Raichur and Mudkal on the Bahmini frontier was held absolutely necessary for keeping back the encroachments of the Muhammadans. The policy was intended to handicap the enemy's resources and attempts by planting military outposts in his lands. This long-cherished and much-emphasised conquest could not be effectively carried out before two decades of the sixteenth century had passed. Krishṇarâya adopted the military and political testaments of his predecessor and executed them to the letter. He not only fulfilled but improved upon them. The Âdil Shâhî capital, *viz.*, Bîjâpûr fell into his hands. But Krishṇarâya's rule did not begin so prosperously. Rebellions were springing up. Encroachments had taken place. The former had to be quelled and the latter set back. The Ummattur chiefs of Maisur laid claim to the lordship of Penugonda. Krishṇarâya, as the first step in his conquering career, put them down. This was enough to ring the note of his greatness and that of Vijayanagara supremacy throughout the south. To the east he made three expeditions, by which the provinces of Udayagiri and Koṇḍavîḍu were *recovered* to the Vijayanagara crown. Successively his conquests and dominions extended into Kaliṅga, the modern Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts. Cuttack is also claimed among his conquests. In his day the Vijayanagara Empire reachêd its widest boundaries. These conquests dealt a severe blow to the Golkonda Mussalmans and their ally, the Gajapatis of

Orissa. But his conquest and occupation of Bîjâpûr is the crowning event of his glorious military career. No part of the presidency is there, where his inscriptions are not found. During his time the Hindu as well as Muhammadan adversaries in the north of the Vijayanagara Empire had their beards singed in their own strongholds.

Kṛishṇarâya was not merely a conqueror and general but also a sagacious and far-seeing statesman. His personality commanded a glorious literary homage from contemporary poets and the highest personal regard from his vassals. With the Araviti family, a member of which had formerly helped Sâḷuva Narasiṁha a great deal in the firm establishment of his kingdom, Kṛishṇarâya formed marriage relations. Râmarâja and Tirumala, the later ministers and masters of the Vijayanagara state, were his sons-in-law. The other families also were kept warmly attached to him. About ten ruling families of the Telugu and Kanarese provinces were his devoted supporters and participated in his conquests and administration. With these commanding and attractive qualities he combined a delicate sense of chivalrous honour for his captive adversaries. The Gajapati prince who had resisted his attacks on Udayagiri and Koṇḍavîḍu was taken a political prisoner. But as the next diplomatic step Kṛishṇarâya made him the Governor of a Kanarese province in Maisur. He was also much sought after by the Portuguese of Goa, who in other reigns were either challenging or setting at nought the power of the Vijayanagara king.

With Kṛishṇarâya passed away the days of expansion. Consolidation again occupied the attention of the ruler in Achyutarâya's time. The extreme south of the peninsula revolted. A special expedition under the personal command of the Vijayanagara emperor quelled the rebellion. The Portuguese of Goa declared their independence. Achyutadêva was of much softer stuff than Kṛishṇarâya. He was mostly led by his brother-in-law in the Government of the Empire. Family dissensions broke out after his death. But the interest of the Government and the maintenance of its ancient glory brought to the front the political genius of Râmarâja, the son-in-law of Kṛishṇa the Great and the brother-in-law of Sadâśiva the Mild, the successor of Achyuta. He was one of the greatest ministers of the Vijayanagara throne. In his time the empire was almost in the same glorious condition as in Kṛishṇa's time. The Bahmini kingdoms in their political vicissitudes very often appealed to and got a mediatory help from him. In many a treaty between any two of these Muhammadan states he had a voice—the very powerful voice—of the arbitrator. This reminds us strongly of the position of England as an arbitrator in the European continental affairs in the time of Henry VIII. His greatness was acknowledged by his contemporary sovereigns. He had a great genius for organisation and command at home and effective diplomacy abroad. If the battle of Talikôta succeeded it was during a providential moment of union among the bickering Bahmini kingdoms; for before and after the event these were ever divided amongst themselves. Even the loss of the battle with the fall of this pillar of Vijayanagara is by some Muhammadan contemporary writers attributed to a plot laid by two Muhammadan employees in Râmarâja's army. Râmarâja had but shortly before offended Muhammadan susceptibilities by the misuse of their sacred places at a time of friendly but advantageous occupation of their territory. Vengeance was intended and wreaked. Vijayanagara the capital town, the 'like of which was not known elsewhere in the mediaeval world,' changed its face. The cloud of desolation rose on her skies. Like Ayodhya after the withdrawal of Râma, Vijayanagara remained desolate and disconsolate. The old royal line had become almost extinct. And like the Sâḷuvas, the Aravîṭis, who were relations of the royal family by marriage, assumed the crown. Though after 1565 the city of Vijayanagara might not have been the same famous city of yore, the Amarâvatî of the times, the Vijayanagar Empire did not end then. For fully a century later, its supremacy was willingly recognised in the south, and its memories lovingly enshrined in tradition and literature.

Among the causes that led to its final decay and disappearance from the pages of history were :—

(1) the weakness of the later members of the royal line ;
(2) the rise of the Râjâs of Maisur to independence ;
(3) the growing power of the Nâyakâs of Madura and Tanjore who, though acknowledging the sovereignty of the Karnata kings, were stronger than they ;
(4) the Mussalman occupation of the country round Arcot, which was near Chandragiri, the latest capital of the house ;
(5) the Maratha occupation of Jinji in Sivaji's time and the unnational co-operation of his successors in the south with the Mussalmans there against the representatives of the Karnata line.

Though the practical sovereignty of the Vijayanagara house passed away about the middle of the seventeenth century, a sentimental recognition of it survived even as late as A.D. 1790. This is a good testimony to its original power later greatness and popularity and to the respect accorded to it even in the days of its infirmity and decease.

Throughout the period of its powerful existence the Vijayanagara kingdom was but a member of a complex political group. From the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries of the Christian era this political group consisted of the five Bahmini Mussalman kingdoms and the one growing Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara. The former, though related to one another by the tie of common religion, were still divided by the law of rival kingdoms. It is a mistake to imagine that religion kept on the Muhammadan kingdoms in a settled line of political unselfishness towards one another. It cannot be said either that these kingdoms recognised any such potential larger commonwealth as the several members of the United States of America now recognise. Encroachments and aggrandisements were common among them. In such a political world, the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara had great scope for extending its political influence into the Bahmini zone. In the early part of the sixteenth century when the Bahmini kingdom underwent dissolution and five monarchies emerged from it, the Vijayanagara kings largely controlled the balance of power among the Bahmini states, just as the kings of England maintained a balance of power in the continent about the same period. While by its opposition to the advance of the Muhammadan conquests and civilisation into the south, this kingdom humanised and tamed the conquering and plundering instincts of the aliens, by its diplomatic influence on their politics it checked the rise of any one of these to extraordinary power to the detriment of the interests of the other kingdoms and of its own power. By keeping them at bay and reducing them to conditions of friendship or subordination, it familiarised them with the worthy features of Hindu life and civilisation, and consequently brought them into sympathy with it. As a result of this long period of contact the later Muhammadan conquests of the southern Peninsula were not marked by the savage character of the earlier conquests. On the other hand, we find such political phenomena as the Muhammadan chief 'Ayinu'l-Mulk being a willing and brother-like vassal of Râma Râja and the Muhammadan king Ibrâhîm of Golkonda staying with Râma Râja for some years in his court, as a result of which Ibrâhîm cultivated a strong taste for Telugu Literature and became in his later ruling days a patron of Telugu poetry. As a result of this appreciation of Hindu civilisation and character, Muhammadan kings even confirmed and granted numberless *agraharas* to Hindus. In this and other respects Vijayanagara bequeathed a humane and pro-Hindu policy to its Muhammadan successors. If the south as compared with the north of India bears to-day a lighter imprint of Islamic civilisation, it is because of the powerful existence for more than two centuries of this empire whose full history has yet to be written.

THE MULLAIPĀTTU.

(An Ancient Tamil Idyll)

By J. M. SOMASUNDRAM, B.A.

THE *Tholkâppiyam,* the oldest and best Tamil Grammar extant and the most precious mine of information on the ancient Tamils, has a chapter on the *Porul,* or song of love and war, creating a series of laws for a 'correct' construction of life. In this it has been followed by the latest orthodox grammars.

In the first place a *porul* must consist of *akam* or internal subject and *puram* or external subject. That is to say, the *akam* is concerned with love between two human souls brought together providentially or by chance, their joys and sorrows, hopes and fears their love undergoing no change whatever in the various vicissitudes of life. While the *puram* is concerned with nearly all the activities of human society: primarily with war and the martial exploits of the people.

In the next place, for the purposes of a *porul,* the Tamil Country is divided into four divisions called *thinai. viz.,* Kurinji (hill), Mullai (forest), Marutham (cultivated plain), Neithal (sea-board). Later a fifth, Pālai (desert) was added. Each of the above divisions is held to have its own characteristics as to outward features and setting, flora, fauna and climate, and as to inhabitants and their occupation and character. The people and chiefs, too, in each had special names; and further, the lovers in each had their peculiar and appropriate states of mind and behaviour, governed by surroundings, the time of the day and the season of the year. All this could never, however, be strictly adhered to, and a mingling of feelings and behaviour common to the whole world is not uncommonly met with in the songs.

In this way, the distinctive behaviour expected of a lover was illicit or secret union among the Kuravars of the hills (Kurinji), patience among the Idayers of the forests (Mullai, the division we are now concerned with), sulks among the Ulavar of the cultivated plains (Marutham), pining among the Paravars of the sea-board (Neithal), and separation among the Maravars or Vedars of the deserts (Pālai). Each division had its special deity. Muruga for the hill folk, Māl (Vishnu) for the forest folk, Indra for the agriculturist of the plains (Maruthamâkkal), Varuṇa for the fishermen of the sea-board, and Durgâ for the hunters of the deserts, for which term read 'jungles.' Each division had, of course, its own peculiar occupations and marriage customs, determined by heredity and environment.

The main points requisite for the 'correct' setting of a *porul,* or ancient Tamil song of love and war, may be tabulated as follows:—

Thinai or District.	Description of District.	Deity of District.	People of District.	Description of People.	Characteristic attitude of Lovers
1. Kurinji ..	Hill tracts ..	Muruga ..	Kuravar ..	Wild hillmen.	Secret or Illicit union.
2. Mullai ..	Forests ..	Māl (Vishnu)	Idayer ..	Forest herdsmen.	Patience.
3. Marutham.	Cultivated plains.	Indra ..	Ulavar (Maruthamākkal).	Cultivators..	Sulks.
4. Neithal ..	Sea-board ..	Varuṇa ..	Paravar ..	Fishermen, seamen and merchants.	Pining.
5. Pālai ..	Desert jungles.	Durgâ ..	Maravar or Vedar.	Huntsmen ..	Separation.

All this means that the ancient Tamils were recognised by themselves as consisting of wild men of the hills, herdsmen of the forests, cultivators of the plains, fishermen and seamen of the coasts, and hunters of the jungles: each class with its inherited cult and customs. This observation leads by way of corollary to the suggestion that the order in which the *thinai*, or districts, their descriptions and their people are placed, connotes successive stages in civic life. That is, the ancient Tamils passed from a primitive life to civilisation, successively from a wild life in the hills to a pastoral life in the forests, thence to an agricultural life in the well-watered plains and onwards to that of fishermen and seamen on the seaboard, including a high civilisation as merchant adventurers. Later on the hunter's life of the jungle was also recognised as a life apart.

As has been above shown, each of the stages in civilisation was held to have developed a characteristic temperament. A poet was therefore bound to set his song of love and war according to the district in which his story was placed, and the rules which bound him also obliged him to add certain other items to the setting, which were prescribed for him. Nevertheless, he was able, by attention to minute and elaborate details, held to be appropriate, to produce a beautiful as well as a typical idyll. In the poem now given in translation the scene is laid in the *Mullai Thinai*, or forest district, and accordingly the following characteristic details (*Karuporul*) are incorporated in it: the food grains are *ragi* and *sāmai*; the animals are stags and hares; the trees *konrai* and *kurunthu*; the flower, *mullai*; the birds, wild-fowl; the occupation, grazing; the music, *sādari*, clamorous songs with bucolic sports; the water, fresh streams; the deity, Māl or Vishnu, (which looks as if the Brahmans had already appropriated the local god, Māl, to their own Vishnu); the season and time, winter and evening, by ' winter ' understanding the rainy-season; and there are other minor obligatory details.

We find that practically all the early poems contain similar details of the *thinai* chosen, and hence one may surmise that the earliest Tamil poetic compositions were Pastorals. This may well have been the case, as the beauty of the Mullai or Forest Country and the comparatively restful life that came to those men by turning to grazing herds and cattle for a livelihood may well have first roused the poetic faculty in them to activity.

Put very briefly, the story of the *Mullaipāttu* is that of a heroine waiting for her hero absent on a campaign, in fond and loving thought of him. She pictures him in camp and the neighing of his horses rings in her ears. Finally her lover is restored to the patient lady. The poem contains 103 lines and is couched in the form of a conversation among the heroine's attendant matrons, disclosing her state of mind and that of the warriors in camp, and incidentally the nature of the Southern rainy season and the great prowess of the hero. It is thus an ancient poem on lines that have very long since become familiar to the world. It is the setting that is of interest now.

The *Mullaipāttu* is the fifth of the series comprising the Ten Idylls known as the *Pathupāttu*. It was composed by Nâpputhânār, the son of a jeweller, or rather dealer in gold, of Kāverippumpattinam. The date of the poem cannot be definitely fixed, but it belongs to that stage of Tamil literature when the Third Tamil Sangam flourished in Madura, which scholars agree to place between the second and third centuries A.D.

I give below a translation of this Idyll and need hardly say that the beauty of the original is lost in the rendering of it into a foreign language. Nevertheless, the glimpses of ancient manners, thought and conditions of life reflected in the poem are of exceeding interest.

The Mullaipāttu.

On a winter evening, before the gathering in of night, when the fast sailing clouds—even as Thirumāl [Shrī-Vishnu] bearing Lakshmi on His bosom, and the *chakra* and the right-spiral conch in His hands, heightened Himself when Mahāvalī poured water into His palms—rose high aloft into the heavens, drunk with the cold water of the roaring seas, and having rested for a while on the high mountains enveloping the expansive world, were pouring out their heavy rain—then the aged matrons of the palace bent their steps to the outskirts of the well-guarded city, and offering to the deity a *nali* of paddy and sweet-smelling *mullai*, which had blossomed to tunes resembling those of *yāl* hummed by swarming bees, stood with folded hands waiting for words of omen.

And having heard, they returned and spoke to her [the heroine] who had jewels lying loose on her person and pearly drops of tears collecting in her flower-like eyes darkened by collyrium. The words [of good omen that they] heard were those of a young shepherdess, who, with arms crossed over her shivering shoulders, observing the impatience and trouble of young calves fastened by cords, told them their mothers would very soon come to them, driven from behind by cow-herds with crooks in their hands. [Said they] "Thou, of *māmai* complexion, such were the words of good omen that we heard. Be Thou comforted. It is certain thy Lord crowned with victory will soon be here, laden with the spoils of war and the tributes of his enemies."

Uncomforted even by these profuse words [of sympathy], she contemplated her Lord, now missing from her side, in an encampment, bordered by streams and as expansive as the sea in the midst of a jungle. [Her mind's eye saw] his camp pitched in a wide jungle which had been cleared of far-smelling *pidavam* and other green bushes after the fastnesses of the Vedars, who formed the enemy's frontier-guard, had been destroyed. It was fortified by a hedge of forest thorns.

At the junction of straight long streets of camp, thatched with green leaves, small-eyed elephants with cheeks emitting ichor stood on guard, refused to eat the bundles of tall sugar-canes, stalks of paddy and sweet leaves, and [only] brushed their faces with them and laid their trunks over sharp-pointed tusks, while young elephant-drivers in their northern dialect urged them to eat the masses of food [before them], pricking them with their sharp forked goads.

In his tent supported on poles [fixed in the ground] and secured by cords, [his] quiver of arrows—such as emboldens one not to fly from the field—hung from [his] bow, like as the crimson-dyed clothes of austere *Andhanas* are suspended from their tripods. The [tent-poles made out of] spears with carved flower-heads and shields are the [warrior's] only protection.

Encircled by these [tents] and amidst the armies speaking many different tongues is set apart the [King's] tent of different-coloured canvas, supported on well-seasoned staves. Damsels with arms adorned with small bracelets and with tresses which fall on beauteous shoulders are on guard both day and night, their vari-coloured belts shining with glittering daggers, and move about with oil-cans lighting numerous lamps and replenishing them with oil, and trimming their wicks as they burn out.

At midnight, long after the long-tongued bell has rung all to rest, aged body-guards of majestic bearing go around the camp with drowsy eyelids like full-blown *punali* creepers and bushes shaken by drizzle and gentle breeze, and, those infallible in calculating time,

announce the hour of night thus :—" O Thou that vanquisheth thine enemies in this wide world surrounded by roaring waters, this is the time of night as seen from thy *nalika-vattil.*"[1]

Valiant Yavanas [western foreigners] of fearful appearance and muscular build, clad in tight jackets, which cover their bodies and hide their horse-whips, stand outside on guard. Within the elegant well-lit inner apartment, adorned with tiger-chains of skilled workmanship, well-clad dumb Mlechas [who make themselves understood by signs] attend on the King, who spends a sleepless night absorbed in thoughts of [coming] battle.

In that camp, filled with sweet music of the drums of victory—the camp, the very thought of which makes his enemies quake with fear—the King is reclining on a bed, supporting his head on an arm wearing a *kadakam*, and thinks of his men who hewed down their enemies, of his elephants forgetful of their females and wounded by hard-hitting swords, of his warriors gaining laurels by hewing to the earth trunks of elephants that fall and quiver like serpents, [of men] who sacrifice their very life in battle, jealous to gain victory for the honey-filled wreath and bounty in reward, and of horses in pain that decline to eat their grass, pricking their ears on hearing the sound of the piercing arrows on their shields of protection.

With the flame of the thick wicks burning steadily out of the hollow of the hands of golden statues, in her beautiful apartment in her great palace of seven storeys, the Queen thinks of the King meditating thus in his camp, and contemplating many things she quivers as a peacock pierced by an arrow. She secures fast [her] wristlets that have loosened and slipped down and breathes deeply, pining over the absence of her lord, lost in contemplation of him.

And as she heard the sound of the rain-water falling from the corners of her mansion, she was reminded of her lord's promised time of return, [when] the neighing of the steeds attached to his chariot of invincible fame reached her beautiful ears :—the King returning from the victorious field coveted by his enemies with streaming standards which knew naught but victory.

[Behind him] followed a large army with horns and conches blowing—leaving behind them the profuse *valli* roots that matured in that season, the stag with his knotted branching horns frisking about with his hind amid ripening stalks of *varagu*, already in want of the rains which now begin to drizzle in tiny drops with the beginning of the winter [season], the *kāyā* trees whose profuse leaves pour forth their dark flowers, the *konrai* trees whose tender leaflets and branches send a shower of gold, the pointed buds of white *kandhal* whose blossom is as wide as the palm, and the *thōnri* which had put forth its red blossoms as they came along the wide red sandy paths overgrown with forest vegetation.

MISCELLANEA.

PAIŚACHÎ AND CHÛLIKAPAIŚACHIKA.

On p. 52 of Volume LI of the *Indian Antiquary* Mr. P. V. Râmânujaswâmi discusses a remark of mine that Hêmachandra in his Prakrit Grammar treats of three varieties of Paiśâchi, and maintains that Hêmachandra knows of only two varieties. May I point out that this is a mere question of words. Hêmachandra certainly does admit the existence of only two dialects,—Paiśâchi and Chûlikâpaiśâchika. But he describes two varieties of the latter. One of these varieties closely agrees with the Paiśâchi of Vararuchi, while the other agrees with the Paiśâchi of the later Eastern Grammarians, Râma-Śarman and Mârkaṇḍêya. These two varieties differ in one most important point of phonetics, and though Hêmachandra is entitled, if he pleases, to group them together under one head, I still think that a clearer perception of the Paiśâchî

[1] *Nalika-vattil* : a clepsydra or ancient water-clock. It consists of a graduated metal cup with a hole in the centre placed in a vessel of water. As the water rose in the cup it indicated the hour.

known to him is to be obtained by saying that,—as he actually does,—he describes three varieties, *viz.*, Paiśâchî proper, and two varieties of Chûlikâ-paiśâchika.

May I add that never, even in my wildest moments, have I thought that the word "Chûlikâ-paiśâchikê" employed by Hêmachandra was a dual, as Mr. Râmânujaswâmî suggests that I may have done. It is of course a locative singular.

I must repeat that the difference between him and me is one of words and of words only. He maintains, and I fully admit, that Hêmachandra groups Paiśâchî under two appellations; but that, as I have explained, is not inconsistent with the fact that Hêmachandra actually describes three varieties.

GEORGE GRIERSON.

THE CORE OF KARṆÂṬA.

Inscriptions found in Dharwar district speak of a part of Kuntala as Eraḍaṟunûṟu—*I.A.*, XII, p. 271; *E.I.*, XIII. p. 326. This expression literally means two-six-hundred, or twelve-hundred. Dr. Fleet however, has interpreted it as the name of a two-district area comprising six-hundred villages, the districts being Puligeṟe three-hundred, and Beḷvola three-hundred. In a Nilgunda inscription these districts are mentioned as *Dvitriśatam*, two-three-hundred—*E.I.*, IV, p. 206. This discrepancy has not been explained. Now it so happens that the poet Ranna, in his *Gadâyuddha* (982 A.D.), describes his language as that of Eradaṟunûṟu, the core of Kannaḍa—I, 42. His native district must therefore have been included in the area, and from his *Ajita-Purâṇa*, XII, 45, we learn that he was born at Muduvoḷalu, in Jambukhaṇḍi Seventy, Beḷugali Five-hundred. It was at one time a three-hundred district—*E. I.*, VI, p. 29; VII, p. 209. In the previous century the author of *Kavirâja-mârga* had placed the core of Kannaḍa between the towns Kisuvoḷalu, Onkunda, Puligeṟe, and Kopaṇa. This last was in Hagaritige Three-hundred—*E.I.*, XII, p. 308. I think therefore that Eradaṟunûṟu comprised four three-hundred districts, Beḷvola, Beḷgali, Puligeṟe, and Hagaritige.

I may add that the derivation of Karṇâṭa from *kari-nâḍu*, black country, does not satisfy many Indian scholars, for Mysore is not black, and they do not consider it probable that a land which, according to Nṛipatuṅga stretched from the Kaveri to the Godâvarî, would be described by an inauspicious colour. I have proposed to derive the name from *karu-nâḍu*, elevated or great land. As a separate word, *karu*, in this sense, is now obsolete, but it survives in the names of places like Karûru, and in words like *karumâḍa*, a lofty dwelling, and *karugallu*, a large stone which marks the site of a village and is annually worshipped The adverb *karam*, which meant 'greatly', was perhaps derived from the same root. Tamil authors have written the name as *karunâḍu*, which in that language, even in the modern dialect, would mean 'elevated land', and Tamil scholars, like Mr. Justice Sesha Aiyar of Travancore, have commended the new derivation, for unlike Choḷa, Paṇḍya, Kerala, and other Dravidian lands of the south, Karṇâṭa was situated on a plateau and is still spoken of as the land above the Ghâts. The Tamil word may, however, be a corruption of the Sanskrit name.

H. NARAYANA RAO.

AN EPITHET OF SAMUDRAGUPTA.

चिरोत्सन्नाश्वमेधाहर्त्तुः, one of the epithets, always and only, applied to the Gupta emperor, Samudragupta, shows that he revived the ancient rite of the horse-sacrifice which had long remained in abeyance. But the Cammaka copper-plate inscription [1] of the Vâkâṭaka Mahârâja Pravarasena II shows that Pravarasena I had celebrated the horse-sacrifice four times, (चतुरश्वमेधयाजिनः) and that Mahârâja Śri Bhavanâga of the Bhâraśivas had celebrated it as many as ten times (दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नातानाम्, etc.).

These two kings no doubt lived before Samudragupta: The daughter of Candragupta II, named Prabhâvatîguptâ had married Rudrasena II, the great great grandson of Mahârâja Pravarasena I.[2]

If the identification of Rudrasena I, the grandson of Pravarasena I, with the Rudradeva of the Allahabad Pillar inscription[3] is accepted, Samudragupta would be the contemporary of the grandson of Pravarasena I of the Vâkâṭakas. Mahârâja Bhavanâga's time goes further back as he was the father-in-law of Mahârâja Pravarasena I. (See the expression महाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य, etc., in the Cammaka plate referred to above.)

How is it then that Samudragupta *revived* the horse-sacrifice, which had remained *long* in abeyance, probably since the days of Puṣyamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty?[4]

Kings like Pravarasena and Bhavanâga may not have as good a reason to celebrate the horse-sacrifice as Samudragupta undoubtedly had—and really when the father-in-law of the Bhâraśiva dynasty celebrates the sacrifice ten times and the son-in-law of the Vâkâṭaka dynasty celebrates it at least four times, their horse-sacrifices could not have been more than petty formal affairs without the real substance. Yet the rite as such *was* in practice not very long before Samudragupta and how can it be said that *he revived* it?

D. B. DISKALKAR.

1 Fleet's *G.I.* No. 55. 2 *E.I.*, Jan. 1919, p. 39. 3 Fleet's *G.I.*, No. 1. 4 Smith *E.H.I.*, p. 208.

NOTES ON 'HALA' AND 'PAILAM' IN A GUJARAT COPPER-PLATE GRANT.

Recently I had occasion to go through the Sunaka grant of the Châlukya king Karṇadeva as published in Vol. I of Epigraphia Indica (*vide* No. XXXVI, pp. 316-318) and interpreted by Prof. E. Hultzsch. The words *Hâla* and *Pâïlâṁ* occur in the phrase **पाइल्लां १२ वहंति (तीं) हल४ इति हल चतुष्टय भूमी** [ll. 10-11 of plate 1 of the grant]. This phrase has been translated as follows: "*hala* 4 *i. e.* (*in words*) four ploughs of land carrying, (*i.e.*, requiring as seed corn) 12 *pâïlâṁ* (or 48 *sers*): and to this a footnote has been added as follows:

I owe this explanation of the words **पाइल्लां १२ वहंति** to Dr. Bühler, who remarks on them—"The translation is merely tentative. Pâïlâṁ seems to be the Gujarâti plural of *pâiluṁ*, which latter I take to be indentical with the modern *Pâyalî* 'a measure of four *sers*' (or 4·8 pounds). See Shapurji Edalji's *Gujarati and English Dictionary*, 2nd Edition, *s.v.* **पायली.**"

Here though something has been said of *Pâïlâṁ* measure, the word '*hala*' has remained unexplained.

In two Copper plates grants[1] discovered about fifty years ago in Sylhet, the word '*hala*' occurs as a measure of land and although Dr. Mitra discussed a good deal about the word, he did not say how much land was exactly meant by the term. He could have, however, easily got the requisite information, only if he had enquired about it of any person belonging to the locality: as in the district of Sylhet, '*hala*'—commonly called '*hâla*' is yet a current measure of land. The table below will shew the details :—

7 cubits	..1 nala[2] (rod or rather reed of measure).
1 nala × 1 nala	..1 rekha.
4 rekhas	..1 yashṭi.
2–8 yashṭis	..1 kedâra (called Keyâra commonly).
12 kedâras	..1 hâla.

So a '*hâla*' is 7×7×4×28×12=65856 square cubits=3·4 acres (circ.)

Prof. Hultzsch has not stated whether the '*hala*' measure is still current in Guzarat or not; I believe the measure may yet be found to exist there as in Sylhet.

As regards *pâïlâṁ*, not only the translation but also the explanation in the foot-note seems to be tentative. Dr. Bühler's identification of it with modern *pâyali* is based on conjecture. Led by such an insecure interpretation of *pâïlâṁ*, Prof. Hultzsch has translated *vahanti(i)* very curiously, as "carrying (*i.e.*, requiring as seed corn)." *Vahantî* ought to be translated as "bearing[3] (*i.e.* producing)": in that case the above interpretation of *pâïlâṁ* becomes apparently erroneous.

Curiously enough, this '*pâïlâṁ*' measure of corn is found in certain quarters in the same district of Sylhet—especially in the great rice-producing *parganá* Bâṇiyâchang. The table is as follows:

7½ seers (of paddy)	.. 1 pûrâ.
16 pûrâs	.. 1 bhûtâ.
16 bhûtâs	.. 1 pâïlâ.[4]

Unlike the Gujarati '*ser*'—which seems to weigh 1·2 lb. [as *pâyali* is 4 *sers* (or 4·8 lbs.) *vide* the foot-note already quoted]—the *seer* here is about 2 lbs. and 40 *seers* make a maund. So that a *pâïlá* is 7½ seers×16×16÷40=16 maunds.

A kedâra of a well-cultivated fertile field in the said locality (in Sylhet) may yield as much as 4 bhûtâs (*i.e.* 12 maunds) of paddy, a hâla of land of above condition may produce 48 bhûtâs or 3 pâïlâs—so that 4 halas may bear 12 pâïlâs. Assuming that the land granted was the best of the sort, the above calculations may suit the grant of the Chalukya king. The *pâïlîṁ* in the Sunaka plates inscriptions has apparently no connection with pâyali[5] of the modern use and so no fantastic intrepretation need be put on *vahanti* to suit a wrong conjecture.

Sometimes two extremes meet: and here, an ancient record discovered in the western part of India has its interpretation supported even by the modern state of things at a place in the easternmost province in the Empire!

PADMANATH BHATTACHARYYA.

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1 *Vide* proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. VIII, August, 1880: Dr. Rajendralâla Mitra's article on "Copper-plates inscriptions from Sylhet."

2 The length of this measuring rod varies a little sometime but such a variation is negligible. It is remarkable that all these terms of land measurement are pure Sanskrit words.

3 In some of the Kâmarûpa copper-plates inscriptions, land granted has been mentioned with the produce; *e.g.*, in Bala-Varman's grant (*JASB.*, 1897, pt. I, pp. 285 *et seq.*), we find "Dhânyachatus sahasrotpattimatî bhûmiḥ" (land producing 4000 paddy).

4 I suspect, the word *pâïlâṁ* in the Sunaka grant inscriptions is with a wrong *anusvâra* and the crude form should be *pâïlâ* as in the Sylhet Table. This ˙ in *pâïlâṁ* should have been a ঃ (*visarga*) if inflected in accusative plural (or it might have been without any sign of inflection, like the word *hala* in "hala 4'.

5 It is vary strange indeed that the same locality in Sylhet has a measure similar in name with *pâyali*, it is called *pâli*, which, however is equal to 4 *pûrâs* *i.e.* 30 seers or ¾ths of a maund, and not a small measure of 1·2 lb. in weight.

BOOK-NOTICES.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY. Published by the Department of Modern Indian History, three times yearly. Edited by PROFESSOR SHAFAAT AHMAD KHAN, LITT. D; F.R. Historical Society. University Professor of Modern Indian History, Allahabad. Vol. I, Pt. I. Serial No. 1. Nov. 1921.

Yet another periodical in English conducted altogether by Indians, published this time by the Indian Branch of the Oxford University Press, and devoted to History, has been launched into the sea of Oriental Research. Such a fact is in itself a further proof of the great change that has come over Indian Education within the experience of the present writer, due, be it observed, to the large-minded methods of the British Government in educating the people with whom it has had to deal. It is not many years ago since the production of such a *Journal* as that under review would have been impossible.

The subjects dealt with in this first issue of the new periodical are fascinating indeed. It starts with "East India Trade in the XVIIth Century," giving a well informed general account thereof by the editor, based on original research in English Libraries—the right and, one may say, the only way to produce a paper that can be of real use to students, whether the opinions expressed by the author as the result of his research are to the mind of the reader or not.

This is followed by a still more valuable Article on the "Sources for XVIIth Century British India in the British Archives." This is worth even an old student's serious attention, as Professor Shafaat Ahmad Khan has made good use of his time in England to dive not only into the resources of the British Museum, the Bodleian and several Libraries in London—he might have included Cambridge in his purview—but he has also included in his search the MSS. examined by the Historical Manuscripts Commission and the enormous mass of MS. matter at the India Office and Public Record Office. Many in the latter collection I may add are, however, still so indexed as to be practically beyond the uninitiated searcher's capacity to discover. In this connection I am glad to observe the following remark on p. 30 :—"John Marshall was probably the first Englishman who learnt the Sanskrit language and explained the philosophy, the religion and the customs of the Hindus. His manuscripts were written during the years 1662-4." John Marshall was a more remarkable man than is now recognised, and his observations on trade were quite out of the common. His "works" as a whole want rescuing from the MSS. and detailed competent editing. The article winds up with a long description of the Rawlinson MSS. at the Bodleian and their bearing on trade, which is most useful as a reference memorandum for the searcher to keep by him.

Professor Shafaat Ahmed Khan, who writes most of the issue, has a third article in which he prints a series of documents on British Indian History, that are after my own heart, and he follows them up with more documents on "The E. I. Company's War with Aurangzeb" in a fashion altogether commendable.

The two other articles are a chapter from the writer's (Professor Beni Prasad) forthcoming *History of Jahangir*, which I for one shall be glad to see, and an account by Professor Ishwari Prasad, 'Administration of Sher Shah,' which follows rather soon upon Professor Kalikaranjan Qanungo's excellent *Sher Shah*; but that ruler's reign was so important to the history of modern India, that we can hardly have too much of honest studies of it.

On the whole we may safely congratulate the University of Allahabad on the opening number of its historical journal. Having said thus much, let an old friend of Indian research say a word of criticism. There are too many misprints, but I know the difficulty of avoiding these in English work in India. I have also tested references and quotations and find them by no means accurate—an old "Indian" failing.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE SUBJECT INDEX TO PERIODICALS, 1917-1919. Issued by the Literary Association. I.—Language and Literature.—Pt. 1. Classical, Oriental and Primitive. August 1921, the Library Association, Stapley House, 33 Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C. 1. Agents: P. S. King and Son, Ltd. Price 2s. 6d. net.

I have much pleasure in bringing this very fine compilation to the notice of the readers of the *Indian Antiquary*. The scope of the list includes Classical and Oriental Literature, Mythology, Geography, History and Chronology and Primitive Language and Literature. But Archæology and Art are included in a separate List "Fine Arts, etc." Other lists are in the course of publication.

	£	s.	d.
A. Theology and Philosophy ..	0	7	6
B-E. Historical, Political, and Economic Sciences	1	1	0
F. Education and Child Welfare ..	0	4	0
G. Fine Art and Archæology ..	0	9	0
H. Music	0	2	6
I. Language and Literature—			
Pt. 1. Classical, Oriental and Primitive	0	2	6
Pt. 2. Modern, including Bibliography and Library Administration ..	0	5	0
J. Science and Technology (*In preparation*).			

The work has been magnificently done by competent editors, and authors in this *Journal* will find their communications adequately represented among other papers on the same subjects.

R. C. TEMPLE.

LA CHINE, par HENRI CORDIER, membre de l'Institut, Prof. à l'Ecole des Langues Orientales. Collection Payot ; Directeur, Georges Batault. Payot et Cie., Paris, 106 Boulevard Saint-Germain. 1921.

This is a useful little book of 138 pages duodecimo, on China, by the well known Sinologue, Prof. Henri Cordier. It is divided into two parts, descriptive and historical. Both are not only instructive, but of great weight as they come from so competent an authority on all he writes about. Certain items are very useful indeed. *e.g.*, the weights and measures on pp. 67-68 and the table of Dynasties on pp. 135-138. The whole work should prove of great use as a *vade mecum* even to advanced students of things Chinese. R. C. TEMPLE.

JIVATMAN IN THE BRAHMA-SUTRAS, a Comparative Study by ABHAYAKUMAR GUHA, M.A., PH.D., approved thesis for Ph.D., Calcutta. Calcutta University, 1921.

This is a good specimen of the philosophico-religious work of the modern type of Hindu scholar—independent comparative examination of the original texts with a bold expression of opinion in consequence thereof. Whatever opinions one may have of the results attained, work on such lines is to be encouraged and makes for sound scholarship. The author is a true follower of the so-called "philosophy" of the Vêdânta, and to him true knowledge is "revealed;" that is to say, it is not what Europeans understand by "philosophy."

His mental attitude is shown in his concluding paragraph: "The Vêdânta in its unfalsified form is the greatest consolation in the suffering of life and death, is the strongest support of the seekers after truth, and is the highest path that has ever been revealed unto humanity. It is not for India alone; in the language of Swamin Vivekananda, it is for the whole world. In the whole world there is hardly any study so beneficial and ennobling as that of the Vêdânta. Nay, it is destined sooner or later to become the faith of the whole world."

With these ideas fixed in his mind the author takes us through the many interpretations of what may be called the orthodox Hindu Theory of Life as contained in the commentaries of the recognised masters on Bâdarâyana's *sutras*—Śankara, Râmânuja, Mâdhva, Bâladêva, Srîkaṇṭha, Nîmvârka, Vallabha, Vijñanabhikshu and Bhâskara. He compares them all together and with many other writers of minor importance and with analogous works of European philosophers, profoundly disagreeing with these last, and also with many of the Indians too, even the most famous. With none of this am I disposed to quarrel. It all helps to a solution of a question which must vary with the inevitable increase in human knowledge, and about which, until it is "scientifically" settled, thinkers must continue to disagree.

To these remarks I would add that the book contains much that is informing and many arresting arguments well worth study by all who would understand the attitude of many educated Hindus towards one of the most momentous questions that exists.

Dr. Guha winds up his Preface with a statement which has my hearty agreement: "I am sorry to note that I have not been able to adopt the system of transliteration recommended by the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, for want of necessary types with diacritical marks in the Press, where I have got this Thesis printed, for which I hope to be excused by all scholars engaged in Oriental studies. If any occasion arises for a second edition, I will certainly try to remove this and other blemishes that have passed unnoticed in the pages of this work." As one who has of late had to occupy an important position in the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, and has moreover had to wrestle at his own expense with the vagaries of scholars and committees as to transliteration for more than a generation, I sincerely sympathise with Dr. Guha, and live in hope that the time is not far distant when a method of writing Oriental languages in Roman characters will have been devised that shall meet alike the necessities of an ordinary printing press and the desires of scholars, even if we never arrive at anything which will satisfy the demands of professed phonologists.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A LARGE "MAUND."

The following note taken from an account of Waziristan in 1921 in the *Journal of the United Service Institute of India* for (1922), vol. LII, p. 61, is of some interest to numismatists:

"The maund in Waziristan is 51 seers of 102 tolahs or 2 pounds each"

R. C. TEMPLE.

KOS AND MIL = MILE.

The following extract from an account of Waziristan in 1921 in the *Journal of the United Service Institute of India* for (1922), vol. LII, p. 61, is instructive from two points of view: (1) as showing how the *kos* is measured in mountainous country, and (2) as showing in *mil* = mile that corruptions of English have extended beyond British India into so un-British a country as Afghanistan.

"The *kos* may be taken as in India for the fifth part of a *manzil* or day's march, which is less in hilly districts. The *mil* or English mile is understood by those who deal with Europeans."

R. C. TEMPLE.

HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE FROM THE WORKS OF PÂṆINI, KÂTYÂYANA AND PATAÑJALI.[1]

BY DR. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., PH.D.

THE title of the paper points to an important and interesting line of investigation which may be profitably undertaken by the historian of Sanskrit literature, who cannot always come across any very fertile sources of information in individual Sanskrit works. Such works generally, and naturally, refer to those bearing upon their own subject-matter, and not to works treating of other topics. But the limitation of this reference does not apply to the grammatical works. For the traditional standpoint of Sanskritists has ascribed to grammar the position that modern pedagogics would ascribe to logic. Even in the Upanishads, grammar has been singled out among the then subjects of study as the *Vedânâm Veda*, the science of sciences. Thus, by its inherent character, grammar has to draw freely and liberally upon the entire field of literature and folklore, of language, and even of the unwritten customs and usages of speech, for its data and materials, and transcends the limitations which restrict the range of other classes of works in respect of their literary references and allusions.

Thus the *sûtras* of Pâṇini, the prince of grammarians, the *vârtikas* of Kâtyâyana, and the *Mahâbhâshya* of Patañjali, all abound in references to various classes of literature that were evolved up to their times and also, occasionally, even to individual works under these classes. If, with the distinguished Orientalist, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, we roughly fix upon the seventh century B.C. as the date of Pâṇini, and, according to the received opinion, B.C. 350 and B.C. 150 as approximately the dates of Kâtyâyana and Patañjali, we shall have some knowledge of the history of Sanskrit literature for a period of about 500 years from the references those grammarians convey to the various Sanskrit works known to them and in their epochs.

Sanskrit literature, in Pâṇini's time, or, more strictly speaking, even before his time, had been sufficiently developed in volume and variety to be comprehended by him under several classes or types, sharply distinguished from one another in their contents and purposes and sometimes even in the principle of their growth or formation. As usual, the principle of classification adopted by Pâṇini is at once novel and scientific and may be fruitfully applied to the history of all literatures.

Pâṇini's analytical insight has distinguished the following classes of literature in Sanskrit :—

I. **Dṛishṭa,** *i.e.*, literature that is 'seen, or revealed' and is to be ascribed to authors specifically designated as 'seers' or 'ṛishis.'

As extant examples of this revealed literature, Pâṇini mentions the three Vedas generally [IV. 3, 129] and, individually, the *Ṛig Veda* [VI. 3, 55. 133; VII. 4, 39, etc.], *Sâma Veda* [I. 2, 34; IV. 2, 7. 60; V. 2, 59, etc.], and *a Yajur Veda* [II. 4, 4; IV. 2, 60; V. 4, 77, etc.].

As regards the *Ṛig Veda*, Pâṇini knew of its *Śâkala śâkhâ* or recension [IV. 3, 128], of its *Pada-pâṭha* [VI. 1, 115; VII, 1, 57; VIII. 1, 18, etc.] and *Krama-pâṭha* [IV. 2, 61, etc.] and of its division into *sûktas, adhyâyas,* and *anuvâkas* [V. 2, 60].

As 'seers' or 'ṛishis' Pâṇini mentions *Vâmadeva* [IV. 2, 7. 9], *Praskaṇva, Hariśchandra,* and *Maṇḍûka.*

[1] A paper contributed to the second Oriental Conference.

The practical applications of the three Vedas to the performance of religious ceremonies were also considerably developed in Pâṇini's time, as is evident from his reference to several classes of priestly specialists proficient in the particular practices of their respective arts. These are *Chhândoga, Ukthika, Yajñika* and *Bahvṛicha* [IV. 3, 129]. The *chhândôga* or *udgâtṛi* priests were those who sang in metre ; the *ukthikas* were those who recited certain verses called *ukthas* as distinguished from the *Sâmon* verses which had to be chanted and from the *yajus* verses which were muttered sacrificial formulæ, as explained by Monier Williams. The *yâjñikas* were the priests connected with the *Yajur Veda* and the *bahvṛichas* were the *Hotṛi* priests who represented the *Ṛig Veda* in sacrificial ceremonies. In Pâṇini's time each of these classes of priests developed special schools which were meant to conserve their own particular texts and rules to be studied by the priests concerned for purposes of their practical application in ceremonies.

Pâṇini is silent regarding the *Atharva Veda*, for the word occurs only in some of the *gaṇas* and not in his *sûtras.* There is also the absence of a clear declaration in respect of the literature of the *Âraṇyakas* and *Upanishads.* The word *âraṇyaka* is explained in its literal sense and not as indicative of a literary work [IV. 2, 129], while the word *upanishad* is referred to in the sense of a *secret* [I. 4, 79], though the *Bâlamanoramâ* takes it to mean the literary work, *Vedânta-bhâga.* If we infer from Pâṇini's silence regarding these works that they were not extant in his time, we must be prepared to declare a much earlier date for Pâṇini himself.

Kâtyâyana and Patañjali were of course acquainted with a greater volume and variety of Vedic literature. The *vârtikas* definitely mention the *Atharva Veda* [IV. 2, 38. 63 ; IV. 3, 133, etc.]. The *vârtika* to IV. 3, 105 refers to Yâjñavalkya, the author of the white *Yajur Veda*, as one to be included among the later or more modern *ṛishis* than those contemplated in the *sûtra* itself, which in my opinion shows that Yâjñavalkya was considered by Kâtyâyana to be a contemporary of Pâṇini.

II. Prokta, *i.e.*, literature which is propounded or enounced for the first time but which is not 'revealed' [IV. 2, 63 ; 3, 101, etc.]. Pâṇini mentions several varieties of *Prokta* literature, *viz.* :—

(1) *Chhandas* works, among which are mentioned those enounced by Tittiri, Varatantu, Khaṇḍika and Ukha ; works by *ṛishis* like Kâśyapa and Kauśika ; works of Śaunaka and others ; of Kaṭha and Charaka, Kalâpi and Chhâgalî ; of the direct pupils of Kalâpi (numbering four according to the *Kâśikâ*) and Vaiśampâyana (whose pupils numbered nine according to the *Kâśikâ*, IV. 3, 101-109).

Goldstücker takes the works of Śaunaka referred to above to be the second *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛig Veda* which, being thus a *prokta* work, is regarded by him as later in time than the other parts of the *Ṛig Veda.*

To Pâṇini's list of these secondary Vedic works, Patañjali adds those known as *Kâṭhaka, Kâlâpaka, Kauthuma* [II. 4. 3], *Maudaka*, and *Paippalâdaka* which is a *śâkhâ* of the *Atharva Veda* [gloss to IV. 3, 101]. Of these he singles out the *Kâṭhaka* and *Kâlâpaka* recensions as being most widely prevalent and taught in every village.

(2) *Brâhmaṇa* works [IV. 3, 105]. So far as I know Pâṇini does not mention aale vidual work under the Brâhmaṇa literature, but only refers to such Brâhm ah Euro- were enounced by the ancient sages in a general way. The *Kâśikâ* howeveC. TEMPLE. by 'ancient sages' Pâṇini meant Bhâllava, Śâṭyâyaṇa and Aitareya

refers to Brâhmaṇa works of 30 or 40 *adhyâyas* [V. 1, 62]; to Anu-Brâhmaṇas [IV. 2, 63] or works written in imitation of or based upon the Brâhmaṇas; and also to attempts at indexing *mantras* for convenience of reference at sacrifices [IV. 4, 125–127].

(3) *Kalpa works*, of which individual examples are not mentioned by Pâṇini, though the *Kâśikâ* cites two, *viz.*, those of Paiṅga and Aruṇaparâja [IV. 3, 105]. Kâtyâyana and Patañjali refer to the Brâhmaṇa and Kalpa works of more modern sages like Yâjñavalkya and Sulava.

(4) *Sûtra works*, of which two classes are mentioned by Pâṇini, *viz.*, (i) *Bhikṣu-sûtras* propounded by Pârâśarya and Karmanda, in which are collected the rules and precepts to be observed by the *bhikshus*, ascetics (*i.e.*, men in the fourth *âśrama* of life) and (ii) *Naṭa-sûtras* which give collections of rules for actors [IV. 3, 110-111] and were propounded by Śilâlin and Kriśâśvin.

III. Upajñâta, *i.e.*, original works in which the authors impart the knowledge they have themselves discovered or developed untaught [II. 4, 21; IV. 3, 115; VI. 2, 14]. Pâṇini's work is itself described as an example of such original literature by the *Kâśikâ*, which also mentions further the grammatical works of Kâśakritsna, Âpiśala and Vyâḍi. Other examples of such literature cited by the *Kâśikâ* are *Gurulâghavam* or the science of wealth and Dushkaraṇa which, according to some, means *Kâmaśâstra* or sexual science. Sometimes Pâṇini's work is mentioned as belonging to the *prokta* class of literature. Thus the formation *Pâṇinîyam* is explained as *Pâṇininâ proktam*, the system of grammar enounced by Pâṇini [IV. 2, 64].

IV. Krita, *i.e.*, literature that is ordinarily composed [IV. 3, 87. 116; *cf.* the expression *śâstra-krit* in the *vârtika* to III. 1, 85]. Pâṇini mentions the following varieties of this class of works :—

(1) *Śiśu-Krandîya*, a treatise on the cries of infants [IV. 3, 88].

(2) *Yâmasabhîya*, a book relating to the court of Yama [*ibid.*].

(3) Works bearing on the seasons; *e.g.*, a *vâsantika* is one who studies the book relating to spring [IV. 2, 64].

(4) *Śloka* (cf. *ślokakâra*) [III. 1, 25; 2, 23]; thus, *upaślokayati*=one who praises in verse.

(5) *Gâthâ* works (*ibid*).

(6) *Sûtra* whence *sûtrakâra* (*ibid*).

(7) *Mantra* whence *mantrakâra* (*ibid*).

(8) *Mahâbhârata* [VI. 2, 38].

(9) *Kathâ* whence *Kâthika* or story-teller [IV. 4, 102].

There is a further development of this general literature in the ages of Kâtyâyana and Patañjali. Thus Kâtyâyana knew of a work dealing with the wars of the gods and demons called *Daivâsuram*; of works known as *Vâyasavidyâ*, *Sarpavidyâ*, *Gaulakshaṇa*, *Aśva-lakshaṇa* dealing with crows, snakes, cows and horses respectively; of *Aṅga-vidyâ*, *Kshatra-vidyâ*, *Dharma-vidyâ*, *Sansarga-vidyâ*; of *Âkhyâna* (story), *Âkhyâyikâ* (fiction), *Itihâsa* and *Purâṇa*; of works known as *Anuśû*, *Lakshya* and *Lakshaṇa* [*Vâr.* to IV. 2, 60]. A *vârtika* mentions the celebrated author Vyâsa whose son is Śuka according to Patañjali [IV. 1, 97].

Patañjali was very familiar with the *Mahâbhârata*, as is evident from his mention of Yudhishṭhira and Arjuna as the elder and the younger brother [II. 2, 34] and of Vâsudeva, Bâladeva, Nâkula, Sâhadeva and Bhaimasenya as members of non-rishi families of Vrishṇi and Kuru [IV. 1, 114] and also from his reference to the story of Kaṅsa killed by Krishṇa as being very popular [III. 1, 26 (6)]. As examples of the literature of fiction or *Âkhyâyikâ*, Patañjali mentions Vâsavadattâ, Sumanottarâ and Bhaimarathî, while the *Kâśikâ* adds the name of Urvaśî. Patañjali also refers to the *kâvya* literature of which he instances the

work of Vararuchi and Jâlaukâ slokas [IV. 3, 101 (37)]. Lastly, Vyâkaraṇa and Mîmâṁsâ are referred to as subjects of specialised studies [II. 2, 29].

V. **Vyâkhyâna** or the literature of commentaries [IV. 3, 66]. Pâṇini knew of commentaries.—

(1) On Soma and other sacrifices.

(2) On *adhyâyas* of works of *ṛishis* [IV. 3, 69] of which the *Kâśikâ* mentions *Vâsishṭhika* and *Vaiśvâmitrika* as examples.

(3) Called *Pauroḍâśika* and *Puroḍâśika* [*ibid.*, 70].

(4) On *Chhanda* works called *Chhandasya* and *Chhândasa* [*ibid.* 71].

(5) Called *Châturhotrika*, *Pâñchahotṛika*, *Brâhmaṇika*, *Ârchika*, *Prâthamika*, *Âdhvarika*, *Pauraścharaṇika*, *Nâmika*, *Âkhyâtika*, *Nâmâkhyâtika* [*ibid.*, 72].

(6) On works classified under *Ṛigayanâdi* [*ibid.*, 73] under which the *Kâśikâ* mentions no less than twenty-five works like *Upanishad*, *Nyâya*, *Śikshâ*, *Vyâkaraṇa*, *Vâstu-vidyâ*, *Kshatra-vidyâ*, *Utpâta* and the like.

As examples of commentaries on sacrificial works, Patañjali mentions *Pâkayâjñika*, *Nâvayâjñika*, *Pâñchaudanika*, *Sâptaudanika*, *Dâśaudanika*, *Agnishṭomika*, *Vâjapeyika*, *Râjasûyika*. Patañjali also mentions commentaries on *Nirukta* and *Vyâkaraṇa* [IV. 3, 66].

Apart from the references to other branches of literature, the grammatical works throw light upon the history of their own subject. For instance, Pâṇini mentions among his predecessors Âpiśali, Kâśyapa, Gârgya, Gâlava, Châkravarman, Bhâradvâja, Śakaṭâyana, Śâkalya, Senaka, Sphoṭâyana; also authors designated collectively as eastern [II. 4, 60; III. 4, 18; IV. 1, 17. 43. 160, etc.] and northern grammarians [III. 4, 19; IV. 1, 130, 157, etc.]. Patañjali mentions the four stages in the history of grammatical literature as represented by the four *âchâryas*, Âpiśala-Pâṇini-Vyâḍi-Gautama [VI. 2, 36], the order of their mention being that of chronology according to the Vârtika on II. 2, 34. He also refers to other schools of grammar such as those of the Bhâradvâjiyas [III. 1, 89 (1); IV. 1, 79 (1); VI. 4, 7 (1); *ibid.*, 155 (1)], Saunagas [II. 2, 18 (1-4); VI. 3, 44 (1)], Kuṇaravâdava [VII. 3, 1 (6)], Sauryabhâgavat [VIII. 2, 106 (3)], and Kuṇi [Kaiyyaṭa's gloss. on I. 1, 75].

MANU'S "MIXED CASTES."

BY H. A. ROSE.

IT will be generally conceded that two main motives underlie the laws of marriage: (1) eugenic, (2) the other economic, the desire to keep property in the kin. To the former belongs the rule, instinctive or otherwise, against incest. But incest is a very variable offence. We are not now concerned with its punishment but with its effect on the offspring. Manu lays down no clear rules about exogamy, and his commentators are not agreed as to his meaning, but it is clear that he forbade marriage with a woman of the same *gotra* as the man; and between him and a *sapinda* on the mother's side: III, § 5.[1] The *gotra* was the traceable kin, the *sapinda* a fairly near cognate. That in fixing these limits Manu, or his school, had some eugenic aims in view seems certain. He goes on to say that sickly wives or those unlikely to have male offspring should be avoided, however wealthy they may be. His ideals of marriage are twofold, according as a man's first or subsequent marriage is in question. For the first wife a bride of equal caste *must* be chosen: III. § 4. But immediately the rule is qualified and such equality is only recommended. For a second marriage indeed the ideal appears to be that the bride should be of *lower* status than her husband, even two or three castes lower. But no sooner is this concession made in III, § 12 than in §§ 13—19 it is withdrawn, and the Brâhmana who marries a Sûdra wife is denounced in no measured terms; though it has been laid down that he is at liberty to go down so far for a spouse.

[1] *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXV.

So much for Manu's express marriage-law. But by implication this is by no means all of it. When we turn to his chapter on Mixed Castes we find a far more complex and far less ideal state of affairs. The right or license to take a wife from below is seemingly extended to the first wife, and treated as quite *en règle*, such a union being *anuloma* or 'with the hair, and contrasted with a much lower type of marriage, the *pratiloma*, or 'against the hair,' *i.e.* a marriage between a woman of high and a man of lower caste. *Pratiloma* has results so curious that they deserve to be set forth in a table[2], thus :—

Pratiloma. *Anuloma.*

IV.

A Nishâda[3] X a Sûdra's dr. . . . But if she marry a Kshatriya . . . . . . a Brâhmana.

a Pukkasa's dr. X a Chandâla. an Ugra's dr. X a Brâhmana: . . a Kshattri.

Sopâka =(5) an Âvrita. a Svapâka.

a Nishâda (Pârasava)'s dr. X a Sûdra : . . . or a Chandâla

Kukkutaka. Antyâvasâyin.

III.

A Sûdra X a Vaisya's dr. . . . But if she X a Brâhmana.

an Âyogava's dr. X a Brâhmana. an Ambashtha's dr. X. a Brâhmana : or a Vaidehaka.

a Dhigvana. an Âbhîra. a Vena.

an Âyogava's dr. X a Dasyu . . . a Vaideha . . or a Nishâda.

a Sairandhra. a Maitreyaka. a Dâsa or Mârgava.

II.

A Sûdra . . . a Vaisya X a Kshatriya's dr.

Kshattri. (4) a Mâgadha. (5)

I.

A Sûdra . . . a Vaisya . . or a Kshatriya X a Brâhmana's dr.

a Chandâla (1) a Sûta (3)

a Vaideha's dr. X (2) a Nishâda. . . . a Chandâla. . . . a Nishâda

a Pândusopâka. an Âhindika.

a Kârâvara's dr. X a Vaideha . . . . a Kârâvara.

a Meda. an Andhra.

The Brâhmana being the highest in rank, the degradation attaching to his daughter, if she marries beneath her, is the greatest. If she marry a Sûdra, their son will be the 'lowest of men' as Manu says more than once. Thus we can correct the order of degradation in X, § 26. The order should be Chândâla, Vaidehaka, Sûta, Mâgadha, Kshattri, and Âyogava. But obviously the principle can still operate, and so Manu explains "just as a Sûdra begets

[2] Here | = son of : X = 'married' : and 's = 'whose' or 'and his'.

[3] Nârada gives a different account of the Nishâda's origin. He says the Nishâda is distinct from and inferior to the Pârasava. The Nishâda is a Sûdra woman's son by a Kshatriya, while the Pârasava is her son by a Brâhman: *SBE.*, XXXIII, p. 188 (XII, § 108). This would make the Nishâda of Nârada the same as Manu's Ugra. But the MSS. differ, a Nepalese text making the Ugra, Pârasava and Nishâda all *anuloma* sons of a Sûdra woman by husbands of the (three) higher castes : *ibid.*, p. 186 n. to § 193. But if this text is correct we are driven to making the Ugra a son of a Sûdra woman by a Vaisya, so that the ascending scale would be :—Ugra, Pârasava, Nishâda, as Nârada gives it. This shows how uncertain the application of the principles must have been.

on a Brâhmana female a being who is outcast from the Aryan community, so that out-caste begets on females of the four castes sons even more worthy of being outcasted than he is himself." Such are in effect Manu's words, but the train of his thought can best be followed in the table. Manu omits to specify which is the mixed caste formed when a Brâhmana's daughter marries a Chandâla, or a Vaideha, etc. He is equally silent as to what results when a Kshatriya's or a Vaisya's daughter marries a Chandâla, etc. In other words he gives us no illustrations to X, § 30.

But the principle of *pratiloma* can go on operating among the mixed castes *inter se*. Indeed Manu says there are fifteen *more* mixed castes, engendered on females of higher rank (but not of the four castes) by men who are *vâhya* or 'excluded,' and these lower races are still more worthy of being outcasted than the former : § 31. These fifteen he does not specify fully, but he clearly gives samples of them. *E.g.*, (reading the lower part of the table) a Vaideha's daughter has by a Chandâla a Pândusopâka, a 'dealer in cane.' And an Âyogava's daughter has by a Vaideha a Maitreyaka or 'bell-ringer.' These two specimens do not bring out the principle at all well, for the two resulting occupational castes are quite clean and respectable, though *ex hypothesi* the Pândusopâka ought to be lower, much lower, than a Chandâla; and a Maitreyaka lower than a Vaideha. Thus we not only fail to trace the 15 castes, but doubt whether the two specified are correctly ranked in Manu as we have him. Before we try to track down the other castes in the table, let us look at the *anuloma* castes.

First, a man marrying only one caste below him begets no new caste, so the table has only to exhibit what happens when there is more than one degree of hypergamy. When a Sûdra's daughter (top of the table) has an Ugra son by a Kshatriya his rank is fairly good, seeing that his daughter, espoused to a Brâhmana, bears an Âvrita, apparently a respectable caste, though its status is left undefined. But in § 49, we find an Ugra equated to a Kshattri, so that *anuloma* does not avail the Ugra much.[4] Although he resembles a Kshatriya just as much as a Sûdra, V, § 9, the function assigned to him is catching animals living in holes. One can understand the degradation of the Sûdra wife's progeny by a Brâhmana, because Manu denounced such unions, as already noted. Yet the Nishâda whom she bears is interpreted to be distinct from the *pratiloma* Nishâda who catches fish.[5] The daughter of an *anuloma* Nishâda marrying a Chandâla must however be regarded as marrying beneath her, for their son is an Antyâvasâyin, who is "employed in burial-grounds and despised even by those excluded" : X, § 39, being seemingly inferior to a Kukkutaka, her son by a Sûdra.

The cases of a Vaisya's daughter seem much simpler. Her son by a Brâhmana is a professional man, practising the 'art of healing' : X, § 47. And his daughter by marrying a Brâhmana can raise their issue to the decent status of an Âbhîra, though Manu does not define that status. But if an Ambashtha's daughter espouse a husband of distinctly low status, an admittedly degraded Vaidehaka, her son must be a Vena, whom the commentators identify with the Baruda or 'basket-maker' : X, § 19. But at best the illustrations are not very convincing and all we can do is to suggest that both the *pratiloma* and *anuloma* principles are on work on this side also.

Moreover the table shows several castes whose origin is not described. A Nishâda appears to be below a Sûdra ; at all events there is a *pratiloma* Nishâda, and by marrying him a Sûdra's daughter loses caste for her sons, who become Pukkasas, equated to Ugras

4 Manu describes the Ugra as "ferocious in his manners and delighting in cruelty" : X, § 9. The *ugrâ* was one of the two consecratory (?) rites at a coronation, and was so called because it 'effected the subjugation of enemies': Law, *Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 196.

5 V, n. 7 on p. 403. Yet so low is the *anuloma* Nishâda that his nickname Pârasava is interpreted to mean 'a living corpse', IX, § 178.

and Kshattris : § 49. And a Pukkasa's daughter can go down further and espouse a Chandâla, thereby creating a caste as low as the Chandâla, *viz.*, the Sopâka.[6] The Sopâka's vocation is not defined, but he was 'sinful,' living by the occupations of his sire (? the Chandâla), and ever despised by good men : X, § 38. But it is when we come to the lower *pratiloma* groups again that we see how important the Nishâda was. There was Nishâda blood in nearly every one of them. Yet we are not told how this or the Dasyu caste originated. The Dasyu was outside the pale of Aryan caste, whatever his tongue : X, § 45 ; but we cannot say that he or the Nishâda was one of the fifteen mixed castes. Nor is it clear that an Âyogava's daughter lost or gained status by marrying him, or any other of her numerous suitors. One would imagine that by espousing a Brâhmana she would elevate her son's caste to some extent, but the Dhigvana is only a leather-worker[7] and so must be far below the Âyogava who is a carpenter. We can only conjecture that the fifteen castes included the Pândusopâka, Kârâvara, Meda, Andhra, Âhindika, Sairandhra, Maitreyika, Pukkasa, Dâsa, Sopâka, and possibly the Nishâda and Dasyu.

That makes twelve in all, and we may make up fifteen by including the Antyâvasâyin, Kukkutaka, and Vena. We cannot however settle the precedence of these fifteen mixed castes *inter se* or in relation to the original six. The inference from the whole chapter is that Manu or his editor was enunciating principles actually at work, as they are to this day, but never applied or applicable to any actually existing social groups on any great scale. It can hardly be imagined, for instance, that the division of labour was held up until there was a sufficient supply of Âyogavas to make carpenters, or that the leather industry had to ca'canny until the carpenters had had an abundance of daughters to marry Brâhmanas and become Dhigvanas. Such large occupational groups must have preceded Manu's definitions of the status of the fruits of *mêsalliances* in terms of their lowly social position.

Lastly, it is doubtful whether these mixed castes were each quite homogeneous in status. The Sûta almost certainly was not. His position was seemingly dependent on the office which he held : as to which see Law, *Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 87.

Manu gives his reasons for thus setting forth the law of *anuloma*. It was based on a primitive physiological theory, not, he admits, universally accepted even in India. The basic idea was, as applied to humankind, that the son of an Aryan by a non-Aryan woman might inherit Aryan characteristics, whereas the son of an Aryan woman by a non-Aryan man was condemned by nature to inherit the non-Aryan traits of his father : X, §§ 72 and 67. Hence the Sûdra woman's children by a Brahman could by marrying Brahmans for six generations regain, as it were, their patrilineal caste, that of the Brahman, within the seventh generation. At least this is the only interpretation which § 64 will bear in the light of the modern working of the principle.[8]

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6 I assume that the Svapâka of § 51 is really a Sopâka. The Svapâka is really not so very low. He is the son of a Kshattri by an Ugra's daughter, and so apparently pure *anuloma* all through : 19.

7 Another 'worker in leather' is the Kârâvara.

8 It operates still among the Brahmans and among the Ghirths of the Kângra District in the Punjab. "In the seventh generation the Ghirth's daughter becomes a queen", runs the proverb. Apparently this proverb or Manu's principle misled Émile Senart into writing as if a system of seven castes could be traced in the Punjab. The correct view is that within certain castes there are, as it were, seven degrees of impurity, which can be removed by proper marriages for six generations : *Les Castes dans l' Inde*, p. 30.

We must now consider the effects of the *anuloma* and *pratiloma* principles on the law of inheritance. As far as the present writer has been able to trace, the progeny of a *pratiloma* marriage was *absolutely* excluded from the succession[9]. Even on failure of sons of every category Manu seems to rule out the possibility of a son by *pratiloma* taking any share in his father's estate. Vishnu is more explicit. After defining the twelve categories of sons, he declares that children begotten (by husbands of inferior caste) on women of a higher caste receive no share : *SBE.*, VII, § 37. At best he allows them maintenance. He thus, it appears, excludes them even from the twelfth and lowest category of sons who may inherit : *cf.* § 27.

The *anuloma* sons on the other hand *all* took shares in the inheritance, but those shares were graded in accordance with their rank. This principle was entirely different from that which regulated succession among the twelve categories, each of which excluded all the grades below it. Some idea of the complications which could arise (and in practice must have arisen) out of this system may be gathered from the fact that in each category the *anuloma* principle could operate ; so that when it had been decided to which category sons belonged it might next be necessary to decide how they were to share if their mothers were not of the same status. Manu explains his principle by two examples. He takes the case of a Brâhmana who has had four wives, a Brâhman(i), a Kshatriya, a Vaisya and a Sûdra wife, and says the estate may be divided in two ways :—

		I.	II
1. To the Brâhmani's son	..	'one most excellent share' + 3 shares of the remainder	.. 4 shares.
2. ,, ,, Kshatriya wife's son	..	2 ,, ,, ,,	.. 3 ,,
3. ,, ,, Vaisya ,,	..	1½ ,, ,, ,,	.. 2 ,,
4. ,, ,, Sûdra ,,	..	1 ,, ,, ,,	.. 1 share.
	Total	7½ shares.	10 shares.

The "most excellent share" is not defined. It may not have been very large. It will be noticed that, whichever method of partition was adopted, the Brâhmani's son got six-fifteenths and the Vaisya wife's son three-fifteenths. By method I the Kshatriya wife's son got half a fifteenth more and the Sûdra wife's son so much less than by method II. It may be suggested that the 'most excellent share' was one-fourth of a share only, or in modern parlance a *sawâîd*. If this conjecture could be proved the 'remainder' was very nearly the whole estate. It remains to notice the apparently later rules which, in accord with the prohibition of a Brahman's marriage with a Sûdra woman, debar their son from taking more than a tenth share even when he is an only son, and then lay it down that *no* son by a Sûdra mother, whatever his father's caste, shall inherit as of right but may take whatever his father may give him : Manu, IX, §§ 154 & 155.[10]

9 J. Jolly in his *Recht und Sitte*, p. 62, does not bring this point out at all clearly. Further he does not mention *anuloma* or the effects of it on the law of inheritance. In his translation of Brihaspati (*SBE.*, XXXIII), p. 374, § 27 he has "Let Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sûdras, begotten in order by a Brahman, take four, three, two shares, and one share in succession." This means : "Let the son begotten on a Brahman wife, the son begotten on a Kshatriya wife, (and so on) by a Brahman, take four, three etc."; just Manu's rule II.

10 Manu, § IX, deals somewhat briefly with the whole question. Vishnu amplifies his doctrine, adopting his method II, and not only never excluding the Sûdra wife's son but actually allowing him to take half the estate when he is the only son : XVIII, §§ 1 to 40.

Whether the *anuloma* and *pratiloma* principles had any real influence on the formation of castes may be doubted. They can hardly have led to the constitution of the lower menial and artizan castes *en masse*, though they may have contributed fresh sections to masses already existing. Their legal consequences must have been indirectly of great importance, and it is regrettable that we do not know precisely when they first came into operation. But if and when fully recognised and enforced, one of them must have been the cessation of *pratiloma* marriage as carrying no better status than concubinage. The *anuloma* principle must have been less drastic, but amply potent enough to bring about that fission of the higher castes which is so distinctive of modern Hinduism. Hindu Law had little or no regard for the institution of property as an end to which the eugenic welfare of the family might be sacrificed. It never recognised primogeniture, where private estates were concerned, as anything more than the right to a small extra honorific share. It even counterbalanced that share by special rights of ultimogeniture and the like. Its leading principle was absolutely equal division of the estate among all sons of equal status. But under the influence of an ideal which, however mistaken, was an eugenic ideal it fostered variety of status, just as it elaborated gradations of marriage and even more numerous degrees of sonship by blood, by appointment, by fiction and by adoption. In modern Indian custom every principle laid down by the ancient jurists can be traced, often in a modified or even a debased form, but almost invariably recognizable. Even in Muhammadan tribes we find the principle of *anuloma* at work.

It would however be unsafe to assume that in a purely or predominantly Muhammadan tract, where there is a vague but widespread feeling that sons by a wife of low birth (lowliness of status being quite undefined), no element of contract enters in. Just as a woman or her kin may contract for her that her husband is not to take a second wife during her lifetime under a penalty,[11] so it may be made the condition of the gift of a bride that her offspring is to succeed to the bulk of her husband's estate. Such a stipulation may be express or implied. In any case there is often, among both Hindus and Muhammadans, a strong sentiment in favour of giving sons by a wife of high status a substantially larger share in his father's estate than sons by a wife, equally married, are entitled to.[12] It is probable that a similar principle could be traced in other primitive legal systems, but that of *anuloma* seems to be distinctively Hindu. At any rate the present writer has failed to discover any indication of it in Hammurabi's Code or other records of early law.

THE HISTORY OF THE NIZÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR WOLSELEY HAIG, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(Continued from Vol. LI, p. 242.)

XCIX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE MISSION OF QÂSIM BEG AND MÎRZÂ MUHAMMAD TAQÎ TO BÎJÂPÛR, FOR THE PURPOSE OF BRINGING BACK FOR THE PRINCE, MÎRÂN HUSAIN, THE SISTER OF IBRÂHÎM 'ÂDIL SHÂH II.

When Ṣalâbat Khân was relieved of the anxiety caused by the near presence of the imperial army, he busied himself in arranging for the marriage of Mîrân Ḥusain, and, in pursuance of the former agreement, sent the physician Qâsim Beg and Mîrzâ Muḥammad Taqî

11 In India contracts in restraint of polygyny are by no means rare, but they have been nullified by the British codes. English lawyers applied the rule that all contracts in restraint of marriage are void to a social system entirely unknown to the makers of the rule. Hence a covenant to refrain from marrying other wives is just as invalid, under Anglo-Indian law, as one to abstain from marriage altogether.

12 Rose, *A Compendium of the Punjab Customary Law*, Lahore, 1911, p. 79 ff. It should be noted that the rule wavers between giving the inferior sons a diminished share and excluding them from inheritance altogether, but allowing them maintenance.

with valuable presents and offerings to arrange with Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II for the journey of his sister to Aḥmadnagar, to meet her husband, Mîrân Ḥusain. These envoys, after reaching the city of Bijâpûr, brought their mission to a successful termination and returned to Aḥmadnagar with conciliatory answers from Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh. Mîrzâ Muḥammad Taqî was then deputed to bring the bride and set out for Bijâpûr with this object. He brought the royal bride, seated in a howdah, in great state to Aḥmadnagar, but as the whole of the negotiations had proceeded on the basis of the retrocession of the fortress of Sholâpûr, and Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II evaded the fulfilment of this condition, Salâbat Khân delayed the marriage feast and festivities until the fortress should have been surrendered.

At this time the king's infatuation for Tuljî, the dancing girl, greatly increased and the dancers succeeded in obtaining anything that they wished, until one day the king, when in a specially generous mood, gave to one of the dancing girls a necklace of pearls, each pearl of which was a gem of the finest water. Naṣir Khân took the necklace to Ṣalâbat Khân and told him the story of its having been given by the king to the dancing girl, and suggested that its return should be demanded. According to some the king commanded that the rope of pearls should be given to a person whom Ṣalâbat Khân deemed to be unworthy of it, and Ṣalâbat Khân hesitated to carry out the order. Whichever story be true it is certain that the king was so enraged with Ṣalâbat Khân that he set light to the treasury, and burnt and destroyed utterly countless jewels, rich stuffs, and rare valuables from all cities and countries. When the flames leaped up their sparks were wafted to the royal library and other buildings, and the smoke of destruction began to arise from these. The royal servants did their best and with great difficulty succeeded in rescuing from the flames a very little out of very much.[280]

Although some attribute the king's act to folly and senseless wastefulness and say that as boundless generosity and prodigality bring about in time miserliness and penuriousness, so excess leads to folly and wastefulness; yet the act was in truth evidence of the king's lofty spirit, which counted as nothing beside itself the world and all that was in it. This it was which had led him to withdraw from affairs of state and to pass his time in acquiring merit.

When the dancing girls had obtained so much influence as to be admitted to intimate converse with the king and had ascertained that the king was becoming estranged from Ṣalâbat Khân, they began still further to poison the king's mind against him and to open the doors of strife and discord. They continually harped on Ṣalâbat Khân's independent power in the state and proved to the king that he habitually disobeyed the king's commands, until the king began to make trial of Ṣalâbat Khân by commanding him to perform duties

280 Firishta says (ii, 283, 284) that the name of this dancing girl was Fathi Shâh and that the king wished to give her two costly necklaces of pearls, sapphires, and rubies, which had formed part of the Vijayanagar booty. He also says that Ṣalâbat Khân at first refused to give the necklaces to Fatḥi Shâh and that when the king insisted substituted, after consultation with the *amîrs*, two other necklaces. The woman discovered the substitution and complained to the king, who sent for Ṣalâbat Khân and ordered him to have all the state jewels brought forth from the treasury and arranged in a room in the palace. Ṣalâbat Khân, bent on saving the Vijayanagar necklaces, concealed them, but had all the other jewels set out. The king caused the room to be cleared and went with Fathi Shâh to inspect the jewels. On missing the Vijayanagar necklaces he became so enraged that he wrapped up all the jewels in some valuable carpets, set fire to the carpets, and left the room. His attendants rushed in to save what they could and succeeded in saving all the jewels except the pearls, so that they and the carpets were all that was lost. From this day forth Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh was known as "the Madman."

little suited to his dignity[281]. Thus at this time a *farmân* was issued ordering Ṣalâbat Khân to go to the fortress of Darb[282] and not to return until further orders. Although Ṣalâbat Khân so far obeyed the order as to go in haste to the fortress, he did not wait for an order recalling him, but returned without it. A few days later Ṣalâbat Khân was ordered to go to Junnâr and, having prepared a lofty throne, to await in the village of Nârangâon the arrival of the king, who proposed to tour in that part of his dominions. Ṣalâbat Khân proceeded to obey that order, and rendered acceptable service, but, as before, did not remain where he was, but returned to court without leave. In addition to all this, the petition of Wâghojî, *Nâikwârî* of the fort of Shivner, full of slander of Ṣalâbat Khân, was presented to the king by means of the dancing girls and added to the king's indignation against his minister. The king now issued a fresh order directing Ṣalâbat Khân to go to the village of Pâtorî[283] and set up a throne there, and a pavilion for the throne and everything that might be necessary for the holding of a royal court. Ṣalâbat Khân set out for Pâtorî and busied himself in carrying out the orders which he had received. The king's health now gave way, and the court physicians, among them Qâsim Beg and Ḥakîm Ḥasan Kâshî, were engaged in treating him until the chief physician, Ḥakîm Miṣrî, arrived from the hospital and by his treatment completely restored the king to health.

While the physicians were employed in treating the king, Ṣalâbat Khân once again returned to the capital without leave, and the king, enraged by his repeated acts of disobedience, summoned him to court. Ṣalâbat Khân never entered the royal presence without fear and trembling, and the king, taking advantage of his nervous terror, hid behind a door and suddenly came forth as Ṣalâbat Khân entered, and stopped him, with his sword drawn, intending to cut him down. Salâbat Khân, seeing the king before him with his sword raised, fell and rolled on the ground like a half-killed bird and wept and howled for mercy. The king, overcome by this sight, refrained from slaying him and ordered that he should be imprisoned. On Ṣafar 10, in the year mentioned above,[284] a *farmân* was issued to Mîrzâ Ṣâdiq and Bihzâd-ul-Mulk, ordering them to send Ṣalâbat Khân to the fortress of Parenda, and to undertake jointly the administration of the kingdom. Mîrzâ Ṣâdiq and Bihzâd-ul-Mulk

281 According to Firishta what chiefly enraged the king against Ṣalâbat Khân was the advance of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II to the frontier. Ibrâhîm insisted that the marriage between his sister and prince Husain should be consummated or that his sister should be sent back. Ṣalâbat Khân replied that neither request could be complied with until the fortress of Sholâpûr had been retroceded. Ibrâhîm thereupon crossed the frontier and laid siege to the fortress of Ausa. Murtazâ Niẓâm Shâh sent for Ṣalâbat Khân, upbraided him for having brought this trouble on the state, and accused him of treachery. Ṣalâbat Khân protested his loyalty and the king accused him, with more reason, of disobedience, and weakly added that if he had the power he would imprison him. Ṣalâbat Khân replied that he was the king's humble servant and only required to be told in which fort he was to be imprisoned, when he would go there and remain there as a prisoner.—F. ii, 284.

282 Firishta says (ii, 285) that Ṣalâbat Khân was ordered to go to Danda-Râjpûrî and, on receiving the order, went straight to his house, caused his servants to put him in irons, and, in spite of the protests of his followers, went to Dandâ-Râjpurî and remained a prisoner there. On his departure the king appointed Qâsim Beg Hakim *vakîl* and *pîshwâ* and Mîrzâ Muḥammad Taqî Naẓîrî minister. Firishta does not mention the subsequent movements of Ṣalâbat Khân, here described. According to him Ṣalâbat Khân remained obediently in Danda-Râjpûrî until he was recalled, by Firishta's own advice, to counteract the plots of Sulṭân Husain Sabzavârî, who had received the title of Mîrzâ Khân. Sayyid 'Alî appears to relate all the stories circulated by Ṣalâbat Khân's enemies.

283 Pâthurlî, about thirty-one miles east of Ahmadnagar.

284 No year has been mentioned but H. 995 appears to have been the year, in which case this date would be equivalent to Jan. 20, A.D. 1587.

then became joint *vakîls* and *pîshvâs* and sent Ṣalâbat K͟hân to the fortress of Parenda. On his arrival there a fresh *farmân* was received, ordering that he should be sent to the fortress of Ausa, and he was accordingly sent thither.

When Bihzâd-ul-Mulk had acted as *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* jointly with Mîrzâ Ṣâdiq for a short time, he plotted to oust Mîrzâ Ṣâdiq from the office in order that he himself might hold it alone, thereby following the example set by Ṣalâbat K͟hân. His designs became known to the king, who was angered by them, and a *farmân* was issued to Mîrzâ Ṣâdiq ordering him to imprison Bihzâd-ul-Mulk and send him to Parenda, and to undertake the duties of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* by himself. The order was obeyed, and Bihzâd-ul-Mulk was sent to Parenda and imprisoned at the end of the month of Ṣafar (Feb. A.D. 1587), while Mîrzâ Ṣâdiq undertook alone the duties of the office of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*, and drew all power in the state into his own hands. At this time Tuljî the dancing girl and her followers, who had till now been in attendance on the king day and night, were debarred from his presence, and his own servants had access to him once again. One of them, named Ismâ'îl, received the title of Ismâ'îl K͟hân, or rather Ismâ'îl Shâh, and rose by degrees to be an *amîr* and to great power in the state.

C.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE MARCH OF IBRÂHÎM 'ÂDIL SHÂH II WITH HIS ARMY TO THE COUNTRY OF MURTAẒÂ NIẒÂM SHÂH, AND OF THE DISPUTES THAT AROSE THEREFROM.

It has already been mentioned that when Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh objected to surrendering the fortress of Sholâpûr, Ṣalâbat K͟hân postponed the marriage feast of Mîrân Ḥusain and thus put an end to the friendship between the two royal houses. Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh then set himself to cultivate the friendship of Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh, and to enter into an alliance with that family; he marched with his army and sent an envoy to Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh, professing friendship for him and a desire to be connected with his family by marriage. Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh, who also had reason to be displeased with Ṣalâbat K͟hân, received these overtures favourably and agreed to give Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh his sister in marriage, but for fear of Ṣalâbat K͟hân hesitated to send her. In the meantime news of the arrest of Ṣalâbat K͟hân was received, and Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh, whose mind was now easy regarding Ṣalâbat K͟hân took advantage of the opportunity to conclude the marriage festivities of his sister and Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II, and then Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh marched with his army towards the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar and wasted the frontier provinces of the kingdom.

Mîrzâ Ṣâdiq reported this matter to the king, who commanded that Ṣalâbat K͟hân and Bihzâd-ul-Mulk should be released from confinement and placed in administrative charge and military command of their own *jâgîrs*, that Shâhzâda Mîrân Ḥusain should be interned in Daulatâbâd, and that the royal *pîshkhâna* should be dispatched towards Bîjâpûr, while the *amîrs* and chiefs of the army repaired to the capital with their troops. Mîrzâ Ṣâdiq was ordered to submit a report when all this should have been done.

Mîrzâ Ṣâdiq, in obedience to the royal command, sent a messenger to summon Ṣalâbat K͟hân and Bihzâd-ul-Mulk from the fortresses in which they were imprisoned, placed Mîrân Ḥusain in Daulatâbâd, and sent the royal *pîshkhânâ* on towards Bîjâpûr. He then reported to the king that his commands had been executed.

The king now reflected that the recall of Ṣalâbat K͟hân to duty would be attributed to infirmity of purpose on his part, and a fresh order was issued to the effect that Ṣalâbat K͟hân should be detained as before, and should not be summoned to the presence. Bihzâd-ul-Mulk had not reached the fortress to which he was being sent when the *farmân* recalling

him reached him, and he returned to court. Ṣalâbat Khân acted on the first *farmân* which had reached him, paying no attention to the prohibition in the second *farmân*, and set out for the capital. Bihzâd-ul-Mulk on his return to the capital endeavoured, as before, to associate himself with Mîrzâ Ṣâdiq in the office of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*, but this design conflicted with Mîrzâ Ṣâdiq's plans, and he reported the matter to the king, from whom he obtained a fresh *farmân* for the arrest of Bihzâd-ul-Mulk. Mîrzâ Ṣâdiq, having regard to the crisis, did not give effect to this order, but represented to the king that as the 'Âdil Shâhî army had reached the frontier, it would be better to postpone the arrest of Bihzâd-ul-Mulk. The king was enraged by Mîrzâ Ṣâdiq's intercession for Bihzâd-ul-Mulk, and issued a *farmân* to the latter directing him to arrest Mîrzâ Ṣâdiq and send him to the fortress of Râjûrî. In the meantime Ṣalâbat Khân, who had set out in accordance with the first *farmân*, arrived at the capital, and when the king heard of his arrival he issued another *farmân* directing that he too should be sent to the fortress of Râjûrî. Bihzâd-ul-Mulk, in obedience to these commands, sent Ṣalâbat Khân and Mîrzâ Ṣâdiq together to Râjûrî.

The duration of Mîrzâ Ṣâdiq's tenure of the office of *pîshvâ*, after the deposition of Ṣalâbat Khân, was no more than nine days, but in these few days he did much for the people, organized many charities, and instituted many public works. Blessed is the man who is not intoxicated with the pride of ten day's power, but considers the poor and needy, and neglects not the oppressed and afflicted.

The duration of Ṣalâbat Khân's tenure of the office of *pîshvâ*, both alone and in association with Asad Khân was at least twelve years. He, too, certainly did much good while he was in power, and no *pîshvâ* was ever so powerful as he was during this period.

At this time, owing to the constant change of *pîshvâs*, the affairs of the kingdom fell into confusion, many villages were deserted and fell into ruins, and the inhabitants of the kingdom fell on evil days, and the kingdom began to decay.

Bihzâd-ul-Mulk, finding the field now clear before him, was led on by ambition to represent to the king that without a *pîshvâ* the affairs of the kingdom could not fail to fall into confusion, in the hope that the king would confer this high office on him. But it was far from the king's intention to appoint Bihzâd-ul-Mulk *pîshvâ*, and on Monday, Rabi-ul-Awwal 14 (Feb. 13, A.D. 1587) the post was conferred on Qâsim Beg, the son of Qâsim Beg.

Although Qâsim Beg at first, out of regard to his personal safety, declined the appointment, he was at length prevailed upon by Ḥakîm Miṣrî and other officers of state to accept office. A *farmân* was then issued ordering that Bihzâd-ul-Mulk and Sanjar Khân should be imprisoned, and Qâsim Beg sent them to the fortress of Ranṣûrî.

In the meantime the king received news that Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh had advanced as far as Parenda, and Qâsim Beg, who was a good-natured and good hearted man, now used his best endeavours to compose the quarrel and bring about peace. He sent an envoy to Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh to say that by the exertion of well-wishers the foundation of friendship between the two dynasties had been cemented by a matrimonial alliance, and that although Ṣalâbat Khân had, at the instance of some self-seekers, postponed the celebration of the marriage feast for a short time, he would now set himself to atone for this dereliction and would do his best to cause the feast to be held at once.

Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, on this good man's intervention, retired from Parenda, and Qâsim Beg summoned the prince from Daulatâbâd and, with the king's permission, made preparations for a splendid feast and for the celebration of the consummation of the marriage in the village of Pâtorî. The astrologers were then ordered to select an auspicious hour for the

consummation of the marriage, and selected an auspicious night. The marriage was consummated on that night, the key to his desires being placed in the hand of the prince. The *amîrs* and chief officers of the army and the *vazîrs* and courtiers attended, offered their congratulations, and scattered largesse.

After the conclusion of the festivities the king issued a *farmân* summoning the prince to court. Qâsim Beg sent on the prince to court, and he remained there, without being allowed to depart, for three days. On the fourth night, at the time when all men take rest, a fire broke out in the bedchamber of the guiltless prince, but since his hour had not yet come he escaped from this calamity by the help of the dancing girls. Some attributed this fire to the king's majesty, but God knows the truth of all things.[285]

When the prince escaped from the heart of the flames of that fire, Qâsim Beg undertook to protect his person and managed to persuade him, perturbed as he was, that he need have no fear of fire. The king now ordered that the prince should be sent back to Daulatâbâd, and Qâsim Beg sent him back thither under the charge of some of his own trusted servants, taking every possible precaution for his personal safety.

After this a royal *farmân* was issued removing Muḥib Khân from the post of commandant of Daulatâbâd and appointing Aḥmad Khân in his place, and a secret order was issued to Aḥmad Khân directing him to put the prince to death. But the prince was beloved by all, both great and small, and Qâsim Beg also was opposed to any violence against him. Aḥmad Khân therefore put to death another who resembled the prince, and sent his head to the king. The people, when they saw, as they thought, the head of their favourite, were naturally convinced that the prince had been put to death, but a few days later the commandant's artifice and the fact that the prince was still alive became known, and the king, who attributed this disobedience and deceit to Qâsim Beg, issued an order removing him from the office of *pîshvâ*, and Ḥabîb Khân, who had formerly been known as Musharraf-ul-Mamâlik, acquired the office of *pîshvâ* by the efforts of Futûḥ;[286] but his tenure of the office lasted no longer than one night, for, at the end of the night on which he put on the robe of honour which had been conferred on him as *vakîl*, Ḥabîb Khân, one of the immediate attendants of the king, gave Futûḥ a jewelled necklace and by his help became *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*, and the king removed Ḥabîb Khân from the office of *pîshvâ* almost at the moment in which he conferred it on him.

Qâsim Beg was *vakîl* for nine months, and was followed by Ḥabîb Khân who held office for one night.[287] After that, in accordance with the royal command, the sons of some of the old officers of the court who had been concerned in public affairs gained access to the king's

[285] There is no doubt of Murtazâ Niẓâm Shâh's guilt. Firishta, who was in close attendance on him at this time and belonged to his party, not the prince's, says that he caused the prince's bedding to be set on fire and then had the door of his bedroom secured, so that he could not escape. Fatḥî Shâh, the king's favourite dancing girl, heard the prince's cries and, taking pity on him, had him released, and Qâsim Beg and Mîrzâ Muḥammad Taqî Naẓîrî sent him secretly back to Daulatâbâd. Two or three days later the king went to the bedroom to search for his son's remains, but finding not even a bone questioned Fatḥî Shâh. She suggested that the prince's bones had been entirely calcined but the king refused to believe this, and pressed her more closely, whereupon she admitted that she had saved the prince and handed him over to Qâsim Beg and Mîrzâ Muhammad Taqî, but they, on being examined, denied any knowledge of the affair, whereupon the king dismissed them and appointed Mirzâ Sâdiq Khân Urdûbâdî *vakîl*.—F. ii. 285.

[286] I take this most unusual name to be Sayyid 'Alî's version of Fatḥi Shâh, the title conferred by Murtazâ Niẓâm Shah on Tuljî, the dancing girl.

[287] According to Firishta, Mirzâ Muḥammad Ṣâdiq Urdûbâdî succeeded Qâsim Beg as *vakîl* and, on refusing to aid the king in his designs against his son's life, was superseded by Sulṭân Ḥusain Sabzavârî, who received the title of Mîrzâ Khân—F. ii. 285.

private council. Among these were Maulânâ Ḥabibullâh, son of Maulânâ 'Inâyatullâh Tâ'i, who in the days of the late king and in the early days of the reign of Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh had been one of the chief pillars of the Aḥmadnagar kingdom, Sulṭân Ḥusain, son of Sulṭân Ḥasan Sabzavârî, Vafâ Khân and the sons of the other *amîrs* and officers. These the king summoned to court, and as he was guided by divine grace, he followed the advice of the chief men in the kingdom, who were convinced, as though by inspiration, that Sulṭân Ḥusain, who was known as Mîrzâ Khân, was inspired with capability for office. The king therefore commanded all to support him. Thereafter all, having been asked their age, were invested with robes of honour and allowed to depart. Early the next morning, at the instance of Futûḥ and her followers, the king summoned Maulânâ Ḥabîbullâh, invested him with a robe of honour and appointed him to the administration of all the affairs of the kingdom. When the son of Maulânâ 'Inâyatullâh was transferrd to the post of *vakîl*, he arrested most of the nobles and officers of the kingdom, and especially the foreigners, such as Qâsim Beg, Ḥakîm Misri, Mîrzâ Muḥammad Taqî, Amîn-ul-Mulk, Ḥabîb Khân, Shâh Rafî'-ud-dîn Ḥusain, Mîrzâ Muqîm and others, and sent them to distant fortresses.

In the meantime the petition of Râja Bahârjîû[288] had arrived at court. Its purport was that his brother, Nârâyan, had risen in rebellion against him and that many had gathered around him. He requested that a force might be sent from the capital to his assistance and promised to pay *nacl bahâ* and to regard himself thenceforward as a vassal of Aḥmadnagar. In accordance with the royal command a number of the principal *amîrs*, such as Nûr Khân, Saif Khân, Abhang Khân, Jahângîr Khân and Saif-ul-Mulk, were sent with a large army to the assistance of Râja Bahârj û, and Farhâd Khân was appointed to the command of the army. The *amîrs* marched in accordance with the royal command, and when they reached the frontier of Bahârjîû's country, they learnt that Nârâyanjîû had overpowered him and imprisoned him, and had established himself as independent ruler of the country. They therefore halted on the frontier and reported the condition of affairs to the capital. The son of Maulânâ 'Inâyatullâh was then beginning to totter, preparatory to falling from the office of *vakîl*, and nobody took the trouble to answer the letter of the *amîrs* until the Maulânâ was deposed and Mîrzâ Khân, with the assistance of Ismâ'îl Khân, was appointed *vakîl*. Then however, Mîrzâ Khân sent a man to recall the *amîrs* and entered into friendship with them.

The way of this matter was on this wise. When the son of Maulânâ 'Inâyatullâh had been *pîshvâ* for nearly three months, Mîrzâ Khân entered into a confederacy with Ismâ'îl Khân and promised to pay him the sum of 10,000 huns when he should be appointed, and in the meantime he paid as earnest money to Futûḥ the sum of 2,000 huns, so that the whole of that party unanimously favoured his elevation to the post of *pîshvâ*, and began to make reports and complaints to the king regarding the son of Maulânâ 'Inâyatullâh and succeeded in prejudicing the king against him and in obtaining a *farmân* for his deposition. The son of Maulânâ 'Inâyatullâh was, indeed, not fit for the office of *vakîl*. Mîrzâ Ṣâdiq, an account of whose prosperity and disgrace has already been given, said of his tenure of the office of *pîshvâ* that he was a pregnant *pîshvâ* and was gravid for nine months, nine days and nine hours, which is the period of pregnancy, during the tenure of the office of *pîshvâ* by Qâsim Beg, Mirzâ Ṣâdiq himself, and Ḥabib Khân, and that a black crow was born. A strange thing is that the following hemistich is a chronogram for the date of the deposition of the son of Maulânâ 'Inâyatullâh. لقا کرد پنهان کلاغ سیاه[289].

[288] This was Bahârji, Râja of Baglâna. Firishta does not mention this affair.

[289] I cannot extract from this chronogram any possible date for the dismissal.

When the appointment of *pîshvâ* was, by the help of the dancing girls, bestowed on Mirza Khân, who was, in truth, the cause of the ruin of the Niẓâm Shâhî dynasty, he, in accordance with the vileness of his disposition and his natural wickedness, began to lay the axe to the root of the power and *prestige* of the Niẓâm Shâhî dynasty, and to behave with great ingratitude to his old master, and to plot and conspire against the king with a gang who were tired of his seclusion and abstraction from affairs of state, with the object of putting the prince on the throne.

When Mîrzâ Khân was settled in the post of *vakîl* he sent to recall the *amîrs* who had been sent to the assistance of Bahârjîû, and succeeded in turning them into partisans of his own in the matter of placing the prince on the throne. He falsely accused Farhâd Khân and Saif-ul-Mulk, who would not aid him in this matter, of some offence, and seized them and imprisoned them in a fortress. He confiscated their *jâgîrs* and conferred them on 'Alî Khân, his own mother's brother, to whom also he gave the title of Kishvar Khân. He also entered into correspondence with Bîjâpûr on this subject, and sent to Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh to remind him that the prince was his son-in-law and suffered great hardship and misfortune in Aḥmadnagar, as a band of dancing girls who had the king's ear and access to all his councils were for ever trying to compass the overthrow of the prince. He said that the prince had hitherto, by the assistance of his well-wishers, escaped from the snares of his enemies, and was hoping that his connection by marriage with Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh would induce the latter to invade Aḥmadnagar, come to his assistance, set him on the throne of his ancestors, and return. He promised that whenever Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh came to the prince's aid the fortress of Parenda would be surrendered to him.

Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, led astray by these fomenters of strife, and induced by his connection with the prince and by the hope of increasing his dominions, ordered his army to assemble, and sent on his *pîshkhâna*. He then marched, at the head of a very strong and numerous army, for the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar.

When the news of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh's approach reached the king, his kingly pride and valour led him to order the *pîshkhâna* forth and to send it on in the direction of Bîjâpûr. All the *amîrs* and *vazîrs* who were of the party of the prince were sent on with the advanced guard before the rest of the army, and although they openly obeyed the royal command, yet when they reached the village of Pâtorî they halted and advanced no further.

The king, in spite of the instability of his position and of his ill-health, was firmly resolved on punishing the enemy, and marched from the capital with his army.

When the *amîrs* heard that the king had marched, they left the village of Pâtorî and marched on to the village of Dâwâra,[290] and the king and his army encamped at Pâtorî.

As the greater part of the army, from the prince downwards, were openly disobedient, and the greater number of the foreigners and loyal servants, whose staunchness and fidelity will be remembered to their credit until the end of the world, and whose swords and counsel had ever been at the disposal of the kings of the Niẓâm Shâhî dynasty, were now imprisoned in various fortresses by Ismâ'il Khân and his followers, who held all power in the state, and, being rendered helpless, owing to the quarrels between the *amîrs*, could not render any assistance at this crisis, and as the king suspected that all trouble had been brought about by Mîrzâ Khân, whom he bitterly reproached, there was no course open to him but to send a humble message to Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, promising to pay him a large sum of money and to attempt to compose the quarrel by peaceful means.

290 Pâthardi and Dhânorâ.

Mîrzâ Khân was now much alarmed, and attempted to persuade the king's servants, under whose charge he was, to let him go free, in order that he might persuade the *amîrs* to cease their opposition to the king's wishes, and to attack the 'Âdil Shâhî army. The fool Ismâ'îl Khân, in his simplicity, believed that Mîrzâ Khân was speaking the truth and let him go free. Mîrzâ Khân then made off to the *amîrs* and at last openly showed himself a traitor. On the following day, he and all the *amîrs* marched with the army to Daulatâbâd and placed themselves at the disposal of the prince [291].

When Mîrzâ Khân fled towards the *amîrs*, the royal camp moved from the village of Pâtorî to Mahkarî, and thence to the capital.

Before Mîrzâ Khân and the *amîrs* could reach Daulatâbâd and make obeisance to the prince, the *kotwâl* of that fortress and all its garrison had concurred in raising the prince to the throne, and had actually seated him on the throne. Râstîn Khân, governor of the city of Bîr, and all the citizens had followed the example of Daulatâbâd and declared for the prince. In the meantime Mîrzâ Khân also, with the chief *amîrs*, arrived at Daulatâbâd and made obeisance to the prince. The accession of Mîrzâ Khân and the *amîrs* greatly strengthened the position of the prince, and adherents began to assemble from all sides. The prince entrusted all affairs of administration to Mîrzâ Khân and made him his *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*, and even entered into an engagement with Mîrzâ Khân to the effect that he would never even think of deposing him from the office of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ.*

On the following day at sunrise Mîrzâ Khân brought the prince forth from Daulatâbâd and they marched out into the open plain. It is said that when the prince left the fortress, the moon was in Scorpio, and although he was strongly advised not to leave the fort then, he paid no heed to the advice.

291 This account of the last days of the reign of Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh I is not correct. Firishta, who was employed by the king as a confidential agent and adviser during his contest with the prince, is a far better authority than Sayyid 'Alî. He says that when the *amîrs* and the army halted at Dhânora and refused to advance any further against the army of Bîjâpûr, which was besieging Ausa, he was himself sent by the king to make inquiries in the camp and report the cause of the delay. Mirzâ Khân, who had returned to the city, was much alarmed by the deputation of Firishta, whom he knew to be devoted to the king's interest, and offered the dancing girl, Fatḥî Shâh, a bribe of 12,000 *hûns* to obtain an order appointing him to investigate the cause of the army's slothfulness. The bribe was accepted and the imbecile king sent Mirzâ Khân to the camp. Firishta fled from the camp on Mirzâ Khân's arrivâl and was pursued, but contrived to elude his pursuers and to reach Aḥmadnagar in the morning, when he made his report to the king. He said that Mirzâ Khân intended to go to Daulatâbâd, release the prince, and raise him to the throne. Fatḥî Shâh, who was present at the interview, gave him the lie and said that it was inconceivable that Mirzâ Khân should be meditating treason. Firishta replied that he had no motive for wishing to injure Mîrzâ Khân but feared that the truth of his report would soon be manifest. He was yet speaking when spies came in and reported that Mîrzâ Khân and the *amirs* were marching to Daulatâbâd with the object of proclaiming the prince. The king, in great alarm, asked Firishta what was to be done. Firishta replied that two measures, either of which was certain of success, were open. The first was to assemble the guards and march rapidly to Paithan to oppose the progress of the rebellious *amîrs*, who would be deserted by the army when it was seen that the king had taken the field. To this the king pleaded sickness caused by poison administered by a eunuch, who, he feared, had been in the pay of Mîrzâ Khân. Firishta's second proposal was that Ṣalâbat Khân should be recalled from Dandâ Râjpurî, and that the king should be carried in his litter as far as Junnâr, to meet him. He said that the army, on learning that the king and Ṣalâbat Khân had met and were reconciled, would at once desert the prince and Mîrzâ Khân and return to its allegiance. The king issued an order recalling Ṣalâbat Khân from Dandâ Râjpurî and would have started to meet him, had not the dancing girl dissuaded him by alarming him. The miserable king lost heart, and decided to await Ṣalâbat Khân's arrival in Aḥmadnagar. It was Ṣalâbat Khân's arrival that Mîrzâ Khân had feared, and in order to forestall it he was marching on Daulatâbâd by double stages. Firishta, seeing that the king was entirely in the hands of Fatḥî Shâh, was constrained to let events take their course—F. ii, 286-288.

Mîrzâ Khân, having brought the prince forth from the fort, presented to him the confederates who had declared for him, and when all the *amîrs*, officers, *silâḥdârs*, and troops who had agreed to raise the prince to the throne had made their obeisance and had been assured of the increase of his bounty and favour towards them, some of them were promoted. Among these was Mîr Muḥammad Ṣâliḥ Nîshâbûrî, who received the title of Khânkhânân and the appointment of *Sar-i-naubat.*

When the news of the prince's intentions reached the city of Aḥmadnagar, most of the army, who were by nature a faithless crew, forgot their obligation and disgraced themselves by forsaking their lawful master and hastening to join the prince, and during the two or three days which the prince now spent in Daulatâbâd he was joined by innumerable troops.

When an enormous force had thus gathered round the prince's standard, the prince marched on Aḥmadnagar. Meanwhile the king contracted dysentery and became very weak. Although Ismâ'îl Khân and his party strove hard to enlist some help, so that they might meet the rebels in the field, their efforts were unsucessful. The dancing girls were now dispersed. Some of them hid their heads in holes and corners and others fled to all parts in fear of their lives. Ismâ'îl Khân, the head of that gang, was unable to cope with the calamity that had befallen him, and sent umbrella and *âftâbgîrs,* the special insignia of royalty, by the hand of Dâûd Khân, another member of the gang, to the prince, and asked for an assurance that his life would be spared, but was so overcome by terror and perplexity that, without waiting for this assurance, he fled to the prince's camp. When Dâûd Khân, who had started before Ismâ'îl Khân, reached the prince's camp, he was slain by the turbulent mob, but Ismâ'îl's fate was not decided so soon, for when he arrived he was admitted to make his obeisance, and Mîrzâ Khân, interceding for him, prevented the mob from doing him violence.

When the prince's army arrived before Aḥmadnagar,[292] it halted by the *Kâlâ Chabûtra* in order that an auspicious hour for entering the city might be chosen, and the prince's tent was pitched there. The Sayyids, *maulavîs,* and the great men and the people of the city came forth to pay their respects and offer their congratulations, and received the honour of being allowed to make their obeisance, while the chief men of the army went out to welcome the prince, and all were graciously received. The next day at sunrise the prince mounted in royal state and rode with his *amîrs* and officers towards the citadel of Aḥmadnagar to pay his respects to the king.

When the prince was admitted to the royal presence he made his obeisance,[293] and the king with paternal kindness called him to him. A number of the prince's most devoted adherents, who had from motives of caution accompanied him to the royal presence, were apprehensive of the prince's advancing to the foot of the throne, notwithstanding the great weakness of the king, but the king, perceiving their anxiety, reassured the prince, and, when he drew near embraced him and kissed his forehead, and then gave him some useful and profitable advice regarding kingcraft and the mutability of all human concerns. When the king had finished his discourse, the prince took his leave, and sent the king, owing to his great weakness, from the Baghdâd palace to the bath of Ḥaidar Khân. Then Mîrzâ Khân and

292 On the arrival of Prince Husain before Aḥmadnagar, Firishta attempted to have the gates of the fort shut until Ṣalâbat Khân should arrive; but all except Fathî Shâh and her maid-servant, Sabza, had deserted the king, and there was none to carry out any orders. The prince and Mîrzâ Khân, with thirty or forty ruffians, entered the fort and made their way to the Baghdâd palace, slaying all whom they met on their way. Firishta was recognized by the prince as a school-fellow, and was protected by him —F. ii, 288.

293 According to Firishta, the prince, on entering his father's presence, treated him with every conceivable indignity and, touching him with the point of his sword, threatened to run him through the body. The king replied that he was sick unto death and would not trouble his son for many days longer, and prayed that his life might be spared. The appeal touched the prince for the moment, and he demeaned himself more humanely—F. ii, 288.

some of the fomenters of strife who were in the prince's company, began to ply him with arguments to the effect that a king is the shadow of God and can, no more than God, endure a partner or a rival, and that any such should, in accordance with God's law, be removed. They succeeded in gaining the prince's consent and the prince proceeded to compass the king's death,[294] and made manifest to all the truth of what the astrologers had foretold regarding the prince. Of a truth it becomes not a king to be a parricide, and if he becomes one his reign endures not. The days of the new king's reign had not yet reached one year, when the ill luck consequent on this base action overtook him and handed him over to the gang which had instigated him to this action, so that he was slain, as will soon be described.

The death of the king caused widespread lamentation and mourning. After his death the learned and accomplished men of the court made the necessary arrangements for his enshroudment and funeral and buried him in the garden of Rauẓah, among the tombs of his ancestors.

This dreadful calamity happened on Rajab 18, A.H. 996 (June 14, A.D. 1588). Most accounts say that Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh reigned twenty-four years.[295]

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

"MALABAR."

As is well known, the term Malabar, properly the South-West Coast of India, was, up to the eighteenth century at any rate, extended round Cape Comorin, up the South-East Coast. So that Malabar came to mean any inhabitant of Southern India.

An interesting instance of this is to be found in a chatty book of travels *On and Off Duty in Annam*, by Gabrielle M. Vassal (London, 1910; Heinemann). At the end of the book, pp. 277-278, is a short glossary of no intrinsic value, *e.g.*, "*Sais*, coachman: the name the French have given to the native driver." "*Choum-choum:* the native alcohol made from fermented rice," which must be the author's idea of *sam-shū*. But she gives, nevertheless, an explanation of "Malabar," as used in Annam, which rings true: "Malabar was the term used for any Indian in Indo-China; now it is used for the closed carriage driven originally by the Indians: the small box which is the favourite carriage of the Annamese." Here clearly the 'Indian' is the Chuliā (Cholā, Tamil) of the Coromandel (S.E.) Coast, or the Kling (Kalinga, Telugu) further up the Coast northwards, and the carriage is the familiar bandy, Tamil *vandi*, of Madras and the Coast generally.

R. C. TEMPLE.

MEDINA TALNABY.

A Seventeenth Century Hobson-Jobson.

Jón Olafsson, 1593-1679, the Icelandic traveller, was in India (Tranquebar) from 1621 to 1624 and on his return home wrote an account of his travels in MS, which has since been printed in Icelandic in Copenhagen, well edited by Hr. Sigfús Blöndal. He followed the common practice of his day of interlarding his MS. with information from contemporary writers, using the *Compendium Cosmographiœ*, a short geography in Danish by Hans (or Pjetur) Nansen (1633), for the purpose of enlarging on the geographical portion of his book. In describing Asia he records, amongst the cities of Arabia, two which he calls Medina and Talnaby.

Nansen's *Compendium* was popular and ran into editions–1633, 1635, 1646. Jón Olafsson's "Medina and Talnby" discloses a good instance of the rise of a Hobson-Jobson. In the 1633 and 1635 editions of Nansen, the names are printed as one—"Medina Talnaby." In the 1646 edition, somebody inserted a comma thus: "Medina, Talnaby." Incidentally this shows that Jón Olafsson used the 1646 edition, reading the statement as the names of two towns. These words, however, represent the name of one town only! Let us write them as one name "Medinatalnaby" and divide the name up "Medinat-al-naby." The name becomes at once Medinatu'n-Naby, the City of the Prophet, *i.e.*, Medina not far from Mecca.

R. C. TEMPLE.

294 Sayyid 'Alî does not give the details of Murtazâ Niẓâm Shâh's death. According to Firishta, Husain II, a few days after his interview with his father, had him carried to the bath and caused it to be heated to a much higher temperature than usual. He then had all apertures closed and allowed the king, no water to drink, so that he was suffocated, or rather, baked to death—F. ii, 288.

295 Firishta agrees in the date here given as that of Murtâẓâ Niẓam Shâh's death, but says that he reigned for twenty-four years and five months. He adds that he was buried temporarily at Rauẓah, above Daulatâbâd, and that his body was exhumed by his brother, Burhân II, and sent to Karbalâ, where it was buried beside those of his father and grandfather—F. ii, 288.

BOOK-NOTICE.

AN ELEMENTARY PALAUNG GRAMMAR by MRS. LESLIE MILNE. Introduction by C. O. BLAGDEN. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1921.

I understand Mrs. Milne's difficulties in "this first attempt to reduce the Palaung language to writing and to unravel its construction," because in 1875, in co-operation with Mr. E. H. Man I made an attempt to reduce a language—an Andamanese dialect of a tribe that epidemics introduced by Europeans have alas! since absolutely wiped out—for the first time to writing. The difficulties before us were much greater than those Mrs. Milne had to encounter, for the reasons that there was no previous knowledge to guide us and no known group of languages with which to compare what we were trying to learn. I well remember the difficulty of making anything of an obviously grammatical construction out of the statements of natives of the soil, quite as intent on learning our language as we were on learning theirs, and utterly unable to explain, or help in explaining, any grammatical form. Something of the same trouble no doubt fell to Mrs. Milne in her endeavours.

This book is not "scientific." That is, it does not attempt to present the language philologically, and uses for grammatical purposes the terms and expressions commonly employed in teaching and explaining English to English people. The book is none the less useful and clear to those for whom it is primarily intended—I take it missionaries and Government officials. For such a purpose it is a good book.

It is also an honest book and shirks no difficulties presented by an analytical language framed on lines unknown to European learners. There is a real attempt to explain the why and wherefore of every word in every sentence quoted: which after all is what the learner wants, unless he be a philological student. Such a student will find out for himself how very inadequate is the usual English scheme of grammatical teaching, where "non-Aryan" Oriental languages are concerned. I need not point out to such the deficiencies in this respect on almost every page of this book.

One result is that a great many words have to be treated as "particles"—a term dear to the old time grammarians when faced with a syllable or word essential to any given language, which he could not account for or exactly classify—a term I personally should like to see tabued to all grammarians. While we are on this point, there is one 'particle,' *tu*, which very often appears, with every kind of sense attached to it according to context. Mrs. Milne gives it the general sense of the English 'to.' It seems to me to be really what I have called a 'conjunctor of intimate relation' in treating Nicobarese—a tongue in general alliance with those to which Palaung belongs, *viz.*, those of the general Mon Race. This is to say that *ta* in both Nicobarese and Palaung is used when it is necessary or desirable to express the fact that there is an intimate relation between two words in a sentence.

This leads me to note that Palaung, like other languages of the kind, has a wide list of what we used to call numeral co-efficients, but I suppose we must now call them numeral determinatives. I am not sure, however, whether the younger term is an improvement, especially as this *Grammar* tends to show that these words are really descriptive or classificatory. Perhaps the best and most generally intelligible term for them would be 'classifier.' I throw this out as a hint to professional grammarians.

Turning to the "System of writing," I am very pleased to see that only four unusual letters are used, and my remarks thereon will show the authoress how far the public she caters for will grasp her meaning, though I suspect it is that skilled philologist Mr. Otto Blagden who is responsible for them and not Mrs. Milne. I will preface my remarks by quoting from p. 12: "When there is no diacritical mark over a letter, the vowel sound is short; when a straight line is over a letter:—ā, the vowel sound is long." Then "a as a in *Mann* (German)" makes ā as a in *father* ?—"a as u in *but*" makes ā̤ as ur in *further*. Am I right? We now get a little puzzle: "ϵ as in e in *get* or *well*" makes ē in *fāte*?—"e as a in *pane*" makes ō in ? what, raising the question of why print both ϵ and e? What is gained by doing so?

I next come to a greater difficulty:—"ị as i in *pin*," and "̣ as i in *medicine*," what then are ị and ī? Have we in Palaung what Sir George Grierson would call "long short i" and "short long i?" If so, it should be stated. *Primâ facie*, there is no reason really for bothering the reader with either ϵ or ị.

Lastly, we have "o as o in *bone*," which would do away with ō altogether: however, I assume that Mrs. Milne means "o as o in *opaque*", which should leave us ō as in *bone*. And then we have what I can't print in the *Journal*, *viz.*, what looks like a q gone wrong to represent "o as in *hot* or *law*!" In the text we have very frequently this q gone wrong with the long mark over it, so it must be both long and short as in *hot* and *law*. But need we worry the public with this q gone wrong? Would not the much more easily printed ⊙ and ⊙̄ do equally well and be as easily explained? I throw this out as a hint.

The only further remark needed here is that the book is beautifully printed and Mr. Blagden's introduction admirable.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE PROJECTED ILLUSTRATED MAHABHARATA.

BY SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, BT.

IN vol. III, pt. I, of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute,* Poona, for July 1921, but published in January 1922, there is a paper by the Chief of Aundh on the lines to be followed in drawing the pictures for the Institute's edition of the *Mahâbhârata.* The Institute has been fortunate in securing a heavy Government subsidy supplemented by a princely donation from the Chief himself, who is anxious that the money shall be properly spent, *i.e.*, that the illustrations shall reproduce the period of the actors in the story as accurately as may be. He has fairly and dispassionately stated his views as tothe principles that should guide the artists employed. With these views I may say at once I heartily agree.

In ascertaining what these principles should be, the point that raises controversy is (to quote the Chief) the fact that "no caves or statues or carvings belonging to the epic period are available, nor is there any literary evidence which may unimpeachably be assigned to the epic period." To this I may add that it is not even yet definitely settled what was "the epic period." In the circumstances it is clear that all we can go upon is circumstantial evidence for such all-important points in pictorial representation as dress for man and beast, vehicles (animal or other), dwellings, processions, manners and customs, insignia and so on. And such circumstantial evidence as we have is based perforce on tradition, ancient or modern. The whole argument, therefore, rests on the value of tradition in such a matter as this or in allied matters.

In my judgment tradition is of very great value—especially if it can be traced back to a period when writing was unknown, or but sparsely used, or known only to a limited class. In such cases tradition is at least of equal value with written or inscribed documents, even if these can be shown to be contemporary. In literary matters it is not difficult to show that this is the case. The circumstances in which Sir George Grierson and Dr. Lionel Barnett recovered the practically unwritten Kashmiri text of the *Lallâ Vâkyâni,* 600 years after the author's date, make a case in point. The unquestioned accuracy with which a *hâfiz* will repeat the Kurân, a Jew the Hebrew Scriptures, and many a Christian of the days gone by could repeat the Bible, and members of Brahmanical and Buddhist Schools appropriate portions of what I may call the Indian Scriptures, are other cases in point. Yet another illustration of the value of literary tradition is the fact that some thirty years ago the broken stones of the Kalyâni Inscriptions at Pegu were set up again, despite many lost gaps, with complete accuracy because the text—recording the *upasampada* ceremony of ordination—was of supreme importance to the Buddhist hierarchy of Burma, and agreed word for word, even letter for letter, with the traditional written texts to be had in abundance in unvarying MSS.

The accuracy of pictorial representations of such ephemeral matters as the light and shade and the colouration of a landscape, of cloud effects and so on, are as much a matter of memory as the words of a text or the notes of a long musical work, and the fact that these can be, and are habitually, carried without error in certain types of brain is beyond cavil. In ancient sculpture and pictures allowance must of course be made for want of knowledge in perspective and anatomy, but this does not detract from the accuracy of tradition in such matters—dress, vehicles, dwellings, collective movements and manners—as go to the correct reproduction of a scene enacted before the date of the ancient artist. I therefore submit that we can safely trust his productions as to such points as the above.

As the Chief of Aundh says, we possess an ancient tradition of this kind in the sculptures and actual pictures at Sânchi, Bharhut, Bhilsa, Ajanta, Ellora, Java, Amaravati and so on,

and not only do I agree that we are safe in using them as models for such a project as an illustrated *Mahâbhârata*, but I have actually done so for illustrations of Indian History.

About ten years or more ago I was asked to write the Persian, Indian and Further Indian sections of Hutchinson's *History of the Nations.* It was to be a brief popular history from the earliest to the most modern times and highly illustrated, *i.e.*, with at least one picture on every page, besides many full-page illustrations. Of the Indian section, to which I will now restrict myself, I controlled the illustrations as well as the letter-press. As the history had to be very brief and cover the whole story from the earliest to the most modern times, I had to leave out very many important incidents and matters I wished to include in the 25,000 words I was allowed for all India, ancient, mediæval and modern. I used the power of profuse illustration to make good deficiencies as far as possible. The illustrations then became of paramount importance. Further, as the work was essentially "popular," more pictures containing "movement" than I wished had to be included. Lastly, I could command the services of English artists only, some of whom had never been in India and had, therefore, to be carefully taught and instructed.

For the ancient portion of the work I relied on the many books, illustrated in facsimile available nowadays on ancient Indian sculptured remains, and to my mind I was justified in doing so. Roughly the procedure was to select the photographs or other mechanical reproductions I wanted for my scenes, carefully explain them to the artist, and tell him to draw his picture with modern perspective and anatomy. He did not always quite clearly apprehend, but for the purpose in hand, *viz.*, pictures for the education of a public unlearned in things Indian, the artists, taken all round, seemed to me to succeed in recreating with reasonable accuracy Indian scenes of long ago. In the case of the proposed illustrated *Mahâbhârata*, I do not see why the Chief of Aundh and his colleagues should not succeed in satisfying even a learned Indian public by following the same method—which indeed I gather is what he proposes to do—with this difference :—my artists were English without expert Indian knowledge, he and his artists are expert Indians.

The ancient scenes depicted were as follows :—

Prehistoric India.

1 p. 115—The dawn of life ; building a home. Drawn from a description of Andamanese practice ; the most primitive Oriental type known.

2. p. 116—The early morning of life ; the daily bread. Taken from a photograph of primitive life in Bengal.

3. p. 117—The forenoon of life ; Aryans entering India. Artist's own idea, accepted by myself.

4. p. 118—Aryans settled in India : open-air sacrifice. From description : artist had been long in India.

North India.

5. p. 119—Maya's Dream of the Birth of Gautama Siddharta, the Buddha, B.C. 568.[1] From a well known Buddhist sculptured scene.

[1] Attached to the section of the work is a table of "Dates of Indian History" with a cautionary note :—"Most of the early dates and many Hindu dates up to the Muhammadan Conquest in 1193 are still controversial."

6. p. 120—A hermit in times beyond date. From sculptured scenes by an artist who knew India well.
7. p. 121—An exhortation by Mahâvîra, the Jina, B.C. 560. From a description.
8. p. 122—The last days of Buddha's teaching, B.C. 489. From a description, to bring out the difference between the nakedness of Mahâvîra and the clothing of Buddha.
9. p. 122—Prasenajit of Kosala (Oudh) pays a visit, B.C. 520. From a sculpture; not successful: very stiff and the horse's tail should be tied to the harness. The scene is fairly portrayed, nevertheless.
10. p. 123—Ajâtasatru of Magadha makes a midnight call, B.C. 495. From description, based on ancient sculpture.
11. p. 124—Anâthapindaka's great act of charity, B.C. 483. From a well-known Buddhist sculpture.
12. p. 125—Porus awaits the attack of Alexander, July, B.C. 326. From description, based on Greek accounts, of the opening scene of the battle.
13. p. 126—A feat of Alexander the Great, B.C. 326. From the Greek account of the attack on the fort of the Malloi.
14. p. 126—Ancient Indian coins from photographs.
15. p. 127—Chandragupta Maurya entertains his bride from Babylon, B.C. 303. From a well-known sculptured scene, showing contemporary customs: the great ladies scantily clothed; the maidservants fully clothed. But I doubt if an ancient Greeco-Persian or Babylonian princess could have been induced to appear otherwise than heavily clad.
16. p. 128—Asoka's Envoy declares peace, B.C. 261. From another sculptured scene of the same kind as No. 15.
17. p. 129—Somewhere there is a fine full-page dancing scene from a sculpture which is missing from the copy I now have.
18. p. 129—Foreigners at Sanchi with offerings, B.C. 145. From a sculptured scene.
19. p. 130—Asoka's missionaries set up an edict Pillar at Lauriya Nandangarh, B.C. 244. Partly from description and partly from sculptured figures.
20. p. 131—King Milinda asks questions, B.C. 140. From description, by an artist who knew India.
21. p. 132—Gondophares receives a letter from St. Thomas, c. 45 A.D. From description to an artist acquainted with Indo-Baktrian art.
22. p. 133—Kanishka inaugurates Mahâyâna (Northern) Buddhism, 100 A.D. From description and Indo-Baktrian art. The figure of the Buddha is much too modern.
23. p. 134—A street scene in Taxila, A.D. 260. From description. The instruction was that the ancient Buddhist sculptures were to be taken for the buildings, but that otherwise the bazaar would be much as it is now in Northern India.
24. p. 135—Vikramâditya Gupta goes forth to war, A.D. 395. From description.
25. p. 136—Kâlidâsa inditing the "Cloud Messenger," A.D. 375. From description.
26. p. 137—The defeat of the Ephthalites or White Huns, A.D. 528. A vigorous battle scene from a study of Mongolian and Indian pictures and designs.
27. p. 138—Fa Hsien at the ruins of Asoka's Palace, A.D. 407. From study of ancient sculpture.

28. p. 139—The Emperor Harsha pays homage to Buddha, A.D. 645. From description.
29. p. 140—An Ancient Coronation. Photograph of an Ajanta fresco, showing ancient method of painting a scene.
30. p. 144—Kîrtivarman Chandella visits his temple at Khajurâhu, A.D. 1065. From a photograph of a temple at Khajurâhu.
31. p. 144—Sankarâchârya talks of the One God, A.D. 815. From description to an artist who knew India.
32. p. 145—Râmânuja contemplating his philosophy of the One Personal God, A.D. 1100. From description and a metal image of Râmânuja.

The Deccan and South India.

33. p. 146—Worship at Kârli in the days of Christ, A.D. 20. From a photograph of the Cave and description showing that the dress of the people was much as now.
34. p. 148—Arrival of the Jewish pilgrims at Cochin, (traditionally) A.D. 68. From description showing Jewish dress of the period and modern Malabârî costume.
35. p. 149—Pulikesin II, the Châlukhya receives envoys from Persia, A.D. 625. From a coloured fresco at Ajanta.
36. p. 150—Cutting an Inscription at Vâtâpi, A.D. 578. From a photograph taken at Bâdâmi.
37. p. 150—A Singhalese raid into Southern India, A.D. 1175. From description.
38. p. 151—Vikramânka Châlukhya sends a friendly letter to Kulottunga Chola, c. 1080. From description and an Ajanta painting.
39. p. 152—Two busts showing ancient Indian jewellery. From Ajanta paintings.
40. p. 152—Ruins of the Kailâsa at Ellora. From a photograph.
41. p. 154—Defeat of Pulikesin II. Châlukhya by Mahâmalla Pallava at Bâdâmi, A.D. 642. Vigorous battle-piece from description.
42. p. 155—Râjarâja Chola inspects the bas-relief of his exploits at Tanjore, A.D. 995. From photographs of Tanjore temple walls and description giving modern costume to an artist who knew India.

Muhammadan and Later India.

The same principles as the above were adopted for illustrations of mediæval and modern India, of which the following are typical examples of the methods by which scenes, sometimes long gone by, were reconstructed :—

43. p. 172—The Mediæval Reformer Kabîr and his sons, A.D. 1510. From a contemporary Indian painting in the India Office.
44. p. 174—Rejoicings at the Birth of the Emperor Akbar the Great, A.D. 1542. From another contemporary Indian painting.
45. p. 174—The Khân Jahân shows Akbar his Princely Captives (the Rebellion of the Mîrzâs), A.D. 1572. In colours from a contemporary Indian painting.
46. p. 186—The Action between the French and the English off Pulo Aor (Straits of Singapore) in 1804. From a photograph of contemporary English print.
47. p. 194—Mahârâja Ranjît Singh of the Panjab, c. 1835. From a photograph of contemporary English painting.
48. p. 205—The Well at Cawnpore, 1857. From a photograph of a rare sketch made by an English officer on the spot after its discovery.

Note.—All the later illustrations were made after original contemporary European drawings.

Bearing in mind that the illustrations above mentioned were made by English artists for an English audience, it is hoped that the above remarks on the method of producing them may be of use to the Chief of Aundh and his colleagues in their praiseworthy attempt to bring home to the modern Hindu public the scenes described in their great Epic. In such a matter it is the public and not any particular class of *virtuosi* that have to be considered. In an effort to reach the public by illustration the initial cost is always great. Messrs. Hutchinsons' enterprise, of which my work was of course only a portion, meant, I understand, an outlay of £30,000, and I am not surprised to hear that the new *Mahâbhârata* will cost a great deal of money to produce.

PALLAVA PAINTING.

BY PROF. G. JOUVEAU DUBREUIL.[1]

PALLAVA sculpture and architecture are well-known, but Pallava painting is quite a new subject. Some traces of colour found at Mahâbalipuram and at Mâmandûr give room for suspicion that the monuments there have been painted, but these remains are quite sufficient to enable us to understand the art of Pallava painting. The discovery of frescoes in the Pallava rock-cut temple at Sittannavâsal are of much importance.

These paintings enable us to put forth the two following propositions :—

1. The process of Pallava painting is similar to that of the Ajanta paintings.
2. From an artistic point of view, the remains that we have are very remarkable. It would appear that the painting of the Pallavas was, perhaps, even more beautiful than their sculpture.

The frescoes at Sittannavâsal came to my knowledge thus. In the course of the year 1918, I undertook, with the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Row, a complete study of all the rock-cut temples of Southern India. Sittannavâsal figured in a list of villages that I sent to Mr. Gopinatha Row and I requested him to make an examination of the cave temple there. On the 27th January 1919, Mr. Gopinatha Row wrote to me, " In accordance with the strongly expressed desire of yours to undertake the writing of a work on the South Indian rock-cut shrines, I took twenty days' privilege leave before Christmas with permission to suffix the Christmas holidays to it and visited the following places. . . . . . ". And about Sittannavâsal and its frescoes he said, " These paintings are perhaps as old as the shrine and are in a fairly good state of preservation and need being copied fully." It is therefore certain that Mr. Gopinatha Row intended to return to Sittannavâsal to make a complete study of it, but unfortunately death prevented my friend from realising his project. The discovery of Pallava paintings appeared to me, however, to be so important that I went to the spot on the 3rd January 1920.

Sittannavâsal is nine miles to the north-west of Pudukkottai and is situated in the midst of the Pallava country, being only a few miles from Narttamalai, Malaiyadipatti, Kudumiyamalai and Kunnandarkôil, which contain well-known inscriptions of the epoch of the Pallavas.

The architectural style of the rock-cut shrine at Sittannavâsal is identical with that of the Mâmandûr caves, which we owe to Mahendravarman I., as is proved by the Mâmandûr inscription praising the poetical and musical talents of this king. The Sittannavâsal cave is a Jain temple and was carved out of the rock by men who were the contemporaries,

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1 The discovery referred to in this article was first announced on 13th November 1920 in a note privately printed at the State Press, Pudukkottai.

co-religionists and friends of Mahendravarman I., before he was converted by Appar. It was at one time fully decorated, but only the upper parts of the edifice are now intact. So there only remain the paintings on the ceilings, the capitals and the upper parts of the pillars.

The principal subject that is preserved is a grand fresco which adorns the whole extent of the ceiling of the verandah. This fresco represents a tank covered with lotus. In the midst of the flowers are found fish, geese, buffaloes, elephants and three men who are surely Jains holding lotuses in their hand. The skin of two of these Jains is dark-red in colour and that of the third is bright yellow. Their pose, their colouring and the sweetness of their countenance are indeed charming, and I regret very much my inability to give photographs of them here. Unfortunately red and yellow appear black in photographs and in this case the Jains are painted red, yellow and black, and photographs that I took with the greatest care failed to give any satisfactory result. Moreover, it is very difficult to make a copy of the fresco by hand, and it is almost impossible for anyone but a professional painter to reproduce a tableau without changing its expression. For my part it was impossible to make an exact copy of these paintings, whose charms consist in the versatility of design and in gradation of colouring with the half-tones and the light and shade. The fresco of "the Lotus tank" was probably some scene from the religious history of the Jains, which I do not know.

The decoration of the capitals of the two pillars of the façade is well-preserved, and consists of painted lotuses whose blooming stems intertwine with elegance. The pillars themselves are adorned with the figures of dancing-girls. The one on the right side is not well-preserved but, luckily, the one on the left has escaped almost completely the ravages of man, rain and time. As this part of the monument is in full light, it was easy for me to make a tracing of it on transparent paper and thus obtain an almost perfect reproduction of it, given here. This charming dancing-girl is a *dêvadâsi* of the temple, for in the seventh century, the Jains and the Buddhists had come to terms with God in regard to the introduction of dancing-girls into their austere religion.



FROM A PALLAVA FRESCO AT SITTANNAVÂSAL NEAR PUDUKKOTTAI.

The art of dancing was greatly honoured at the time of Mahendravarman I. In 1920 my friend, Mr. K. G. Sankara Aiyar of Trivandram, studied the Mâmandûr inscription with the aid of a few photographs that I had sent him, and was able to read in it the words : *navahitvacha nrityavihitah.* It is therefore probable that the king Mahendravarman I was the author of a treatise on dancing. In the same inscription he found the words : *kradha-ranisvara varnnayapura tapuh kavigira*, and elsewhere: *kinchavividhaih kritvavarnam Chandrâ-varnam.* Mahendravarman was thus the author of certain works on music, which is an art inseparable from dancing. Further, in *The Pallavas*, page 39, I have given it as my opinion that the Kudumiyamalai inscription referred to the musical talents of Mahendravarman.

I should add here that Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Row, when visiting the rock-cut temples of Pudukkottai State, made the important discovery of a new musical inscription and wrote to me as follows :—" The Tirumayyam Cave also contained a musical treatise similar to the Kudumiyamalai inscription. It is engraved on the wall of the shrine to Siva (rock-cut). A very late Pândya king has erased a portion of the inscription, stating that it is in an unintelligible script, and has engraved thereon a useless inscription of his own recording perhaps a gift of a few coins. The " beggar " did not know what serious damage he was doing to an invaluable inscription. The fragments that are available now read here and there :—Sha[dja], Gandhâra, Dhaiva[ta]—terms of Indian music, written in the same characters as the Kudumiyamalai inscription.

Of the fine arts of the Pallava epoch, we have known the sculpture for a long time. We have now some information about painting, music and dancing.

Thus the fresco paintings of Sittannavâsal complete our knowledge of the art of the Pallavas during the time of Mahendravarman I.

ODIA : A DERIVATION.

BY G. RAMADAS, B.A.

ODIYA, generally spelt Oṛiya in English, is the language of the Oḍias, who live in the province commonly called Orissa, which is usually held to be a contraction of Oḍra-dêśa, meaning the country of the Oḍras. The initial vowel *ô* is at times changed to *v*, and the name is then pronounced Voddês.

So great an authority as Sir George Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. V, pt. 2, p. 367, says : " It (Oṛiya) is the language of Oḍra or Utkala, both of which are ancient names of the country now known as Orissa." The first question then to attack is : When did these names, Odra, Oḍia, and Utkala, come to be used ?

The terms Odra, Oḍia and Utkala are not found in the *Râmâyaṇa*. In the *Mahâbhârata*, however, the name Ondra appears (*Bhîshma parva*, Canto 9, *śloka* 7), but in association with Barbarâs and Mlechhâs. It is possible that Ondra is here a wrong reading for Andhra. Anyhow it cannot refer to the Odras.

Utkala occurs in *śloka* 41 of the same Canto, where it is associated with the Daśârṇas, who may have derived their name from the river Daśârṇa, which is mentioned by Ptolemy as one of the four rivers of Kannagara and as the western mouth of the Ganges. The Daśârṇas are also mentioned in the *Vishṇu Purâṇa* as inhabiting the south-western part of Madhya-dêśa, in juxtaposition to the Sabarâs. The names of the kings of this people are given in the *Mahâbhârata*, but nothing more is said of the Utkalas.

In none of the Edicts of Aśoka are the Utkalas or Odras mentioned, and neither of these names is found in the inscriptions of the caves of the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills

of Orissa. Later on, Megasthenes and Pliny mention a number of peoples living in the country near the mouths of the Ganges, but it is impossible to identify any of them with the Odras or Utkalas.

In the Allahabad posthumous pillar inscription of Samudra-Gupta, only the metropolitan towns of the kingdoms conquered are mentioned, and it is not possible to say for certain which of them was the capital of the Odra-dêśa. All we can say is that three of the kingdoms seem to have been in the region along the coast, for Kâlidâsa, whose works belong to much the same period, says in his *Raghuvaṁśa*, Canto IV, that after Raghu had conquered the Sumhâs, princes of Vaṅga (Bengal), he crossed the river Kapiśa, and being shown the way by the princes of Utkala, bent his course towards Kalinga, with which land he associates the mountain Mahendra-giri. This kingdom of Utkala was, according to the Allahabad Inscription, ruled over by Vyaghrarâja, while Mahendra-giri was in the kingdom of Kalinga from Aśokan times, and what the Allahabad Inscription and Kâlidâsa's statement seem to imply is that by Samudra-Gupta's time the northern part of the Aśokan Kalinga had become a separate kingdom known as Uttara-Kalinga or Utkala. This is not an unnatural assumption to make. But as yet we have not met with any mention of Odra or Odia, and we cannot therefore be certain of the use of that term before the seventh century A.D., the latest date so far given to Kâlidâsa.

In the travels of Hwan Thsang, the Chinese Pilgrim of the seventh century, Odra is, however, mentioned, to the south of which is Konyôdha, and to the south of that again is Kalinga. It seems clear from these statements that the ancient Utkala had come to be known as Odra by the time of this prince of the Chinese pilgrims. It is now necessary to discuss how and why this new name came to be used.

As has been above said, the Utkalas and Daśârṇas were the people living in the region between Kannagara (Koṇârk, Kaṇârak) and the western mouth of the Ganges, and it is stated in the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa* that the Sabarâs were living in juxtaposition to the Daśârṇas. Besides these three, many minor tribes were probably also living in this region. The Utkalas must have become the most prominent of them all in subsequent times, as the whole territory was named after them.

To ascertain how the name Odra or Oḍia arose, we have to go to the derivation of the word itself. Monier Williams in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* says, "Odra is formed of *ud* to embrace, and the affix *rak* ; the *u* becomes *ō*." This makes out that the word originally meant "the people that embrace," and signifies that the people have the character of embracing or adopting the manners of others. However, had this been so observable in the people as to give them a name signifying that characteristic, Hwan Thsang, who never omitted to mention any prominent fact, would have said so in his account of Odra. At the present day they are found to be very tenacious in adhering to their native habits. The derivation given above cannot be accepted.

Sanskrit scholars always try to derive every word in that language from Sanskrit roots alone. This is due to their zeal to show that Sanskrit is a pure language unpolluted by the admixture of foreign (Mlechchha) and vernacular (Paiśachaka) elements. But an unbiased study will show that even in Sanskrit such foreign words do exist, and that words to express ideas foreign to Sanskrit had to be borrowed from other languages. Thus, *Hora, Drekkaṇa, Sunapha*, etc., of the astronomical expressions were adapted from Greek. From China came *chînî*. The names of towns and countries were not materially altered when they were taken into Sanskrit. Thus, Kottura, a purely Dravidian name formed of *kotta*, new, and *ûru*,

a town, became in Sanskrit Kottûraka, and the Sabara name Lanka remained unchanged in Sanskrit. Similarly the name Odra appears to have had its origin in a language which is unconnected with the sacred language of India.

The Kuis or Khonds are a tribe of the Dravidian class living in the hills of Orissa. "Their habitat is the hills separating the districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam in the Madras Presidency and continuing northwards into the Orissa Tributary States, Bod, Daspalla, and Nayagaṛh, and, crossing the Mahânadi, into Angul and the Khondmals. The Khond area further extends into the Central Provinces, covering the northern part of Kalâhandi, and the south of Patna." (Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. IV, p. 457.) These people cannot have been immigrants, for the migratory instinct is not in them, so far as can be now judged. They are very much attached to their homes. Though now confined to the hills, they must have once formed the people of both the hills and the littoral, until the irresistible flood of the Aryan peoples flowed down upon them from the mouths of the Ganges, and made most of them retreat into the hills. Even then some of them remained amongst their conquerors. "But over the whole tract [where Oriya is spoken], except the settled portions of Orissa, there are a number of tribes who know no Oṛiya, and whose only form of speech is some Dravidian or Muṇḍâ language" (Grierson, *op. cit.*, vol. V, pt. 2, p. 368). The occupation of Orissa by the Aryan conquerors is comparable with that of Britain by the Teutonic tribes. There was no extermination of the original inhabitants.

In course of time conquering immigrants penetrated into the hill tracts also, besides occupying all the low valleys and plains, and forced the Dravidian tribes up into the remoter hills. Even there the Khonds could not escape the invader's influence, and some of their words crept into the Khond language. All their cardinal numerals from three to twenty are Oṛiya—*Amu,* we (Oṛiya, *ame*); *sunna,* gold; *rûpa,* silver; *loko,* man; *châsâ-gatâñju*, cultivator (Oṛiya, *châsa,* cultivation); *gaudê-ñju,* shepherd (Oṛiya, *gaudu,* a shepherd); *osuréñju,* a devil (*osur,* a demon); *gôḍâ,* a horse; *honso,* a duck: *denga,* tall, are all examples of Oṛiya words that have been directly, or with the addition of Kui terminations, taken into Kui. Some of the Oṛiya customs are also found among the Khonds.

Where did these conquerors that exerted so much influence upon the indigenous inhabitants of the country come from? It has already been suggested that they were, prior to the seventh century, called the Utkalas, as inhabitants of the kingdom of Uttara-Kalinga. Their language and customs bear a resemblance to those of the people of Bengal and Bihar, and the three languages of Bengal, Bihar and Utkala all appear to have sprung from the Magadhi Prakrit. It may be assumed therefore that the Utkalas must have originally inhabited the region near the mouths of the Ganges, *i.e.*, the southern part of Magadha.

It cannot be definitely determined why these Utkalas left their original homes for the country of the Khonds, but they may have entered it after it had been conquered by Aśoka for reasons of trade. To the present day they show a strong tendency towards trade and traffic, and Oriya silk merchants are found in every place as far south as Madras. They have also always exhibited an adventurous and enterprising spirit, and this may have induced them to leave their native homes for pastures new. They certainly carried their arms southwards as far as Nellore, and the kings of Cuttack bore the titles of Gajapati, Gauḍêśvara, Navakoti-Karnâṭa-Kalabargêśvara, claiming a suzerainty over Kalinga, the Gauḍa country,[1] the Carnatic, and even Kulbarga. A copper-plate grant of Pratâpa Rudra

1 That is, the Vizagapatam District, because Simhachalam is called Gôvara-Kshêtra in the Oṛiya inscriptions of that temple. A class of shepherds called Gavarâs are found in large numbers in this district.

Dêva of this family, dated 1509-10 A.D. (No. 12 of Appendix A, *Epigraphical Report*, Madras, 1920–21) has been discovered at Kâvali in the Nellore District, and a stone inscription (No. 208 of 1899) of the same king in the Guntur District. But when the Oṛiyas came into conflict with the powerful Vijayanagar Empire under Kṛishṇa Dêva Râya, they had to recede northwards, and a boundary for their country was formed where Vaddâdi (Vadde of the Oḍias : *vâdi*, a limit), a town in the District of Vizagapatam, now stands. A further proof of their adventurous spirit is to be found in the fact that Vaddes, a class of Oḍias, are found settled so far south as the district of Tinnevelly.

Such being the spirit of the people, no wonder the Khonds had to submit, and were perhaps reduced to the position of the serfs of European feudal times. Thus degraded, the Khonds treated their superiors as over-lords and called them Oḍâs, which in the Kui language means kings. At the present day the indebted hillmen of the Jeypore Agency call their creditors *sâhukâr*, which in Oṛiya, as elsewhere, means money-lender, while the lower classes call the Brâhmans, especially the temple-priests, *mahâ-prabhu*, which means "great lord."

The Kui word *oḍa* is purely Dravidian and is found in all the Dravidian languages Thus :—Telugu, *Odayadu* or *Odayudu*, meaning "king" or "lord" : Kanarese, *Odayar*, the title of the Mahârâja of Mysore : Tamil, *Udayar*, meaning "king." Another form of the word, *Udayavar*, is applied only to Râmânuja, the reputed founder of the Vaishṇava religion in the South.

Add to this Dravidian word *oḍa* the suffix *iya*, which means 'belonging to,' and we get Oḍia, as the "people of the kings." Such a derivation conforms with vernacular habits, while Sanskrit scholars, who want to make every word pedantic, add *ra* to the root and form from it *odra* by the process of dropping the final *a* and lengthening the initial *o*. In my view the Oḍias got their name out of their own tongue and themselves gave it to their language and their country. The language is in fact of comparatively recent origin and did not take on a literary form till the middle of the nineteenth century.

INDIA AND THE ROMANS.

BY PROF. G. JOUVEAU DUBREUIL.

(*Translated from the French by Sir R. C. Temple.*[1])

IT is generally thought that Europe and India are far removed from each other, though relations between them were numerous before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and the progress of navigation. I propose not only to show that there were communications between India and Rome, but to try and prove that they were frequent and important and that India was thoroughly saturated with Roman civilisation.

The Roman Republic had without doubt hardly any relations with India. But the Emperor Augustus received two Indian embassies. One of them brought with it some presents and a letter written in Greek, by which a king in India gave the Romans complete liberty of entry and traffic. The presents consisted of curiosities from his country : a man without arms, an enormous tortoise, some snakes, and a gigantic partridge [? peacock]. The ambassadors went by the city of Broach, which is to the north of Bombay, followed the route of Nearchos along the Persian Gulf, and reached Italy by way of Antioch. That was the old route to Europe.

1 G. Jouveau-Dubreuil : *L'Inde et les Romains* ; Librairie Paul Geuthner, 13 rue Jacob, Paris, 1921. A pamphlet of 7 pages.

In the year B.C. 30 Augustus conquered Egypt, and from that time the ordinary route used was that by Egypt and the Red Sea. According to Strabo, real fleets, counting more than 120 vessels, used to leave the Red Sea and steer for India. Commerce now became very important and we have some details of it in the works of Strabo and Pliny, and above all in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* and in Ptolemy's *Geography*.

Let us go back to that time of long ago, and, in imagination, let us accompany a Roman merchant on his voyage. He makes the classic voyage across the Mediterranean from Rome to Alexandria, and then our merchant embarks on the Nile and goes up the river as far as Koptos, a little below Thebes. After this he crosses the desert on camel-back for 200 miles to Berenice, the port of the Troglodites [Cave-dwellers], in one of the gulfs of the Red Sea. There he finds about 400 vessels, ready to sail together as a fleet, for the ports of India. In the middle of July the fleet leaves the shores of Egypt and after some days arrives at Mouza, near the town of Mocha in Arabia. A little further on, in the Straits of Babel Mandeb, the fleet takes in fresh water at the port of Okêlis, now Ghalla. It passes in sight of Eudêmone or Aden, reaches the port of Kanê, and finally leaves the coast of Arabia. The ships now start on the open sea for India. It is the beginning of August. The [South-west] Monsoon is at its height, and therefore all that our hardy seamen had to do was to run before the Wind of Hippalos[2] to cross the whole width of the Arabian Gulf in a month.

The Indian coast is struck on a day in September, and after the bearings are taken the ship is directed to the port of Barygaza, now the town of Broach [Bharukachchha, Bharûch] in the Gulf of Cambay. Here our merchant lands a portion of the merchandise he has brought from Europe, the greater part of it consisting of articles for the *bâzâr* [cheap market], valueless rubbish made in Europe. There is plenty of made-up clothing because the rich Indians dress themselves in the latest fashions of Rome. There are objects in steel or bronze, glassware, tin, lead, sandrach[3] gum, coral, perfumery, unguents, etc. There are also special goods for presentation to the kings, because the town of Barygaza, which is the great seaport of Mâlwâ and the Deccan, is in direct communication with Ozênê, (Ujjayinî, Ujjain) where reigns Tiastanês (Chashtana), and with Paithana, of which the king is called Siro-Polemaios (Śrî-Pulumâyi). These princes live in the greatest luxury, and for them our merchant has brought some silver dishes richly chased, fine wines and instruments of music and paints, and also some of those Greek (Yavanî) slaves whose beauty and talents are extolled by the Hindu poets and much appreciated by the kings. All the European articles are sold dear and easily in the markets of Barygaza.

We now continue our voyage southwards, following the coast of Dakhinabades or the Deccan. It is dangerous and there is a risk of being captured by the pirates of Nitria before we can arrive at the port of Muziris (Muyirikkôdu or Cranganore), the great port of the country of the Chêras. In this town is found a Roman garrison composed of two cohorts, charged with the protection of commerce, and there is in the neighbourhood a temple of Augustus.

The ship next doubles Cape Komaria or Comorin and arrives at the port of Kolkhoî or Korkai. This town is in the centre of the pearl country and belongs to Pandion (the Pândyan) King of Madura. It is much frequented by Europeans and many of the inhabitants understand and speak Greek. The Pândyan (king) has a guard of Yavanas or European soldiers.

Besides all this, the current money is Roman, and our merchant has landed at Kolkhoî a great quantity of Roman pieces, which at once pass into circulation. They serve

2 Hippalos was the first Roman navigator to cross the Indian Ocean direct by the use of the Monsoon, about 79 A.D.

3 The gum of the Sandarach tree (Ar. *chandrus*), also known as Citrus. Jointed *arbor vitae*, Pounce tree. The resin was formerly much esteemed as a medicine, but is now only used as an ingredient in varnishes.

him to buy pearls, the principal product of the country, and a certain quantity of ivory coming from Ceylon, and some beryls which come from Punnâta or Punnâd, of which the capital, Padiyûr, stands on an affluent of the Cauvery.

In the month of November the ship leaves Kolkhoi with a cargo of pearls, ivory and precious stones for the return voyage to Europe. After rounding Cape Comorin the ship touches at the port of Becare [Vaikkarai] (now in the State of Travancore). It there takes in an enormous quantity of pepper from the town of Nelkyuda, which belongs to the Pândyan king, and is in the centre of the pepper region. After that the ship goes up the Malabar coast as far as Barygaza (Broach). In that port is taken in a freight of cotton cloths, especially very fine muslins, which have come from the neighbourhood of Masulipatam (Maesalia). It is now December or January; the wind is blowing from the north-east, and the ship can easily return to Arabia and thence to Egypt.

Our merchant can then go on quickly to Rome where he can sell very dear what he has bought in a cheap market in India. Pliny complains indignantly that goods were sold in Rome at a price which was a hundred times their cost in India. The risks of the voyage were thus more than repaid.

Despite the high prices at which pearls, incense, ivory, muslin and precious stones were sold in Rome, these articles went off at once, so great was the luxury and the taste for costly display in Rome under the first Emperors.

On their part the Indians were pleased to see the advent to their country of these Europeans who brought them the luxury and civilisation of the West. The Tamil poets tell us of the vases and lamps of the Yavanas and of the European soldiers, who wore fine armour and defended the city of Madura with courage.

There was at Pukar (Kâveripattanam) an entire quarter for European merchants, where the shops were full of rare and precious articles. A Tamil poem, the *Ahanânûru*, speaks with admiration of the great and beautiful ships of the Yavanas which frequented the port of Muziris.

The importance of Roman commerce was so great that the local money was completely replaced by the Roman. There have been discovered in the South of India numerous hoards buried in the earth and the pieces they contained were entirely Roman. There has never been found a single piece belonging to a native prince, which clearly proves that the kings had adopted the Roman money. This last had the advantage of being international, whereas the indigenous moneys had no currency outside their own country.

In 1850 an enormous quantity of gold pieces was discovered at Kottayam near Tellicherry. In 1856 at Kaliyamputtûr in the Madura district, a large number of gold coins of the time of Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, Domitian and Nerva was found. At Pollâchi in the Coimbatore district two hoards were discovered, both containing coins of Augustus and Tiberius. In the same district at Karuvûr two hoards were also discovered. One of these, found in 1878, contained 500 silver coins of Augustus and 90 silver coins of Tiberius. At Vellalûr in the same district of Coimbatore were found two hoards of silver coins. That found in 1842 contained 135 pieces of Augustus, 378 of Tiberius, 5 of Claudius. The other, found in 1891, was in a pot containing 180 pieces of Augustus and 329 of Tiberius. In 1898 there was discovered at Pudukkottai a hoard of a great quantity of coins of the Emperors from Augustus to Vespasian. It is to be remarked that all these coins were those of the Roman Emperors who reigned in the first century of our era.

Towards the end of that century Roman manners became simpler and there was a reaction against the unbridled luxury of the first emperors. As the South of India produced chiefly articles of luxury, its commerce with Rome fell off.

We now enter on the second phase of the history of the relations between India and the Romans. Up to this time the kingdom of the Parthians had served as a barrier between Northern India and the West. It is well known that the Parthians were the irreducible enemies of the Romans and hostile to Roman civilisation. But in the second half of the first century the Kushâns of Bactria conquered Northern India and introduced there a taste for Western civilisation. From that time communications between Northern India and Europe became practicable also by land. One passed from India into the valley of Kabul and thence into Bactria. Following then the course of the Oxus, one arrived at the Black Sea by way of the country of the Massagetes. One could also go by Baluchistan, the South of Persia and Mesopotamia.

Trajan and Antoninus Pius received ambassadors from India while Kanishka, a Kushân prince reigning in Northern India, bore in his inscription at Ava the title of Caesar, and at that time they [the Kushâns] made use of [Roman] hours for dividing the day, as is proved for us by the rock inscription at Manikyâla. The Kushân kings had coinage of their own, but it is to be remarked that the coins had exactly the weight of the Roman coins. The one silver coin which is known of Vima Kadphises is exactly of the weight of the [Roman] *denarius*, while the gold coins of the Kushâns have the same weight as the Roman gold coins. It is probable that Roman coins were not current in Northern India, because very few have been found in that region. Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that three gold pieces, namely of Domitian, Trajan, and Sabina the wife of Hadrian, respectively, have been found mixed up with coins of the Kushân kings in a sanctuary [*stûpa*] at Jalâlâbâd.

At that time Greek was the international language, and the Roman influence which penetrated into India in the first century of our era was in reality that cosmopolitan civilisation which is known as Graeco-Roman. From 105 to 273 A.D. the principal commercial emporium was Palmyra in Syria, and it is in some measure in consequence of its action as an intermediary that India received the Graeco-Roman culture, which spread itself thence through all the East.

This Western influence profoundly affected the whole of India. We possess innumerable sculptures which are so Graeco-Roman in style, that it is often necessary to know that they have been discovered in India in order to recognise them as Indian. The style is often called Graeco-Buddhist, because Graeco-Roman art is found applied to Buddhist subjects. It is chiefly in Gandhâra that sculptures of this kind have been discovered, and Professor Foucher of the Sorbonne has written a masterly work on the subject. Such sculptures have, however, been found at Mathurâ, on the Jamnâ, at Sârnâth near Benares, and at Amarâvatî near Bezwada, which clearly shows that this art was spread all over India. Probably the Oriental wars of the Romans in the days of Trajan and Hadrian helped to spread the Graeco-Roman art of Pergamos and Ephesus into India. The greater part of the foot-soldiers and horsemen represented in the bas-reliefs of Amarâvatî have the appearance of being imitations of those on Trajan's Column [at Rome]. Buddha in sculpture personates Apollo, and the god Kuvera has the same appearance as the Zeus of Phidias. The figures are of a Greek type; the hair is curly, and the clothing imitates the Roman toga. A halo adorns the head of the Buddha, of a kind which, with their regular features, their curly locks, their draperies and their gestures of benediction completes a faithful portrait of the saints of the ancient Christian Church.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.
SERIES IV.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S. (*Retired*).

IN this Series the *Bahâwalpur State Gazetteer* (Lahore, 1904) is referred to as B.; the *Chamba State Gazetteer* (Lahore, 1904) as Ch.; the *Simla Settlement Report* as Simla S. R.; the *Simla Hill States Gazetteer* (Lahore, 1904) as SS. (with the addition of the name of the State); the *Sirmur State Gazetteer* (Lahore, 1904) as Sirmûr; and the *Mandi and Suket States Gazetteer* (Lahore, 1904) as Mandi or Suket, as applicable. The words in this Series are principally excerpted from the above works, but some from unpublished sources, many from the present writer's *A Compendium of the Punjab Customary Law* (Lahore, 1910; cited as Comp.) and his *Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes* (Lahore, 1911, 1914 and 1919) have also been included. Roman numerals refer to the three previous Series. P.D.=the *Punjabi Dicty.* of Bhai Maya Singh, D.G.K.=Dera Ghâzi Khân, and D.I.K.=Dera Ismail Khân Districts.

Aba : a vocative, O father,=*bâwâjî*, among Paṭhâns and Shaikhs.

Abhyâgat : a begging *sâdhû*. Suket, 24.

Achar : 'character'. Gloss., I, p. 716.

Achhit : an offering of rice to Mahâdeo : Suket 23, or -at, Gloss., I, p. 376 : as much as will stay on the thumb, first and second fingers.

Adh-gabh : lit. 'mid-pregnancy,' and so a rite observed thereat. *Gloss.*, I, p. 733.

Adhi-ghârî : (add to, in III), called *gâhrî* in Pângî and Lâhul : *V.* Gahr. Ch., 231.

Adh-pâî : *v.* Pâî.

Adhwârû : the high fields above the village, used for grazing in summer : =Dudhârû : in Churâh : Ch., 228; but on p. 277 the forms *adwârî*, *dudhârî* are given.

Âgâ : a ceremony performed at night. A little *menhdî* is applied to the bridegroom's finger and the rest is sent to the bride, on the night before the wedding : Sangrûr (Jînd).

Agdhâl : a steel for striking fire : =Kaspâran. Simla S.R., xlv.

Ahangkara : vanity. Gloss., I, p. 716.

Ahrû : an official ranking below the Durbiyâl. Ch., 265.

Ailan : *Pieris ovalifolia.* Ch., 239.

Aira : a small tree, with leaves poisonous to cattle. Simla S.R., xliv.

Aji : a vocative, used in addressing a woman among Paṭhâns and Shaikhs.

Akal, *chhornâ* an observance performed on the 11th day after a death. Gloss., I, p. 855. See also *Banjûr chhoṛnâ* and *Barkhotsar.*

Akâlî : an *akâlî* yard contains 17 *girahs*, instead of 16, the usual number. Amritsar.

Akkar : a title given to men of good family, who enjoy immunity from *begâr*, and in former times were employed as soldiers. Ch., 178.

Akrî : a kind of *ak*. B., 114.

Altrântî : the 3rd day of the Mâgh festival. Sirmûr, 64.

Amangâl (?-al) : an inauspicious man. Suket, 25.

Amara : *Spondias mangifera.* Sirmûr, App. IV, iv.

Âmho sâmhana : simple exchange of brides in betrothal, in which only two are exchanged. Comp., 2. Cf. *Chobhan.*

Amrânî : watered or irrigated (?) :— *kohli*, land which produces rice with the aid of rain. Ch., 223.

Amrit : 'nectar' : *chhaknâ*, to drink nectar, the Sikh rite of initiation; *-sanskâr* = *pahul.* Gloss., I, pp. 696, 709 and 720.

Anchhu : *Rubus paniculatus.* Sirmûr, App. IV, v.

Anda : see under *Pâî.* Also, a small vessel of brass. Sirmûr, 43.

Andarlî : land close to the village. SS. Bilâspur, 15.

Angan : a verandah. Ch., 119.

Angrakha : a long tunic used by Hindus, reaching to the knees, with a cloth waist-band, tight trews and a small turban ; now confined to the older men. Ch., 205.

Angshi : a wooden hand-rake. Simla S.R., xlv.

Angû : =*angarka.* SS. Bashahr, 41

Ankh salâî : an observance in the third month of a first pregnancy in which the woman ceases to apply antimony to her eyes. Gloss, I, p. 731.

Annith : a leopard or panther ; syn., *bâgh* or *baghera.* Sirmûr, 6.

Ant-dân : the 'last alms,' given by a dying man. Gloss., I, p. 843.

Antrishtî : an offering of a cow, etc., made at death to a Gujrâtî Brahman. Ch., 209.

Apkatrî : a coarse cotton cloth. SS. Jubbal. 20.

Ara : a measure=4 *tâts* : Simla S.R., xliv.

Arandal, the food (rice and mutton) served to the bride's father party by the boy's on the third day after the wedding. Mandi, *v.* Dhâm.

Arg : a big loaf. Ch., 124.

Arjal : a horse or mare with three feet of one colour and the fourth of another—an evil sign—counteracted by a white blaze on the forehead. B., 184.

Arjan : *Terminalia chebula.* Ch., 239.

Arkhol : *Rhus sp.* or *semialata,* or *Wallichii,* cf. *titrî.* Ch., 236-7.

Arti : apricot. Simla S.R., xlii.

Arû : a wedge for splitting stone. Simla S.R., xlv.

Arvî : one of the two kinds of edible arum, *A. colocasia.* SS., Bashahr, 48.

Asa : a circular wooden vessel, in some places of 5, in others of 4 *odîs,* used on the threshing floor for measuring grain; Hazâra. See also under *Kassa.*

Asik-pher, worship (?) round the village. Gloss., I, p. 346. (Bashahr.)

Ashtamî : a tax levied for goats, etc., sacrificed at festivals. SS., Kumhârsain, 19.

Askântî : the first day of the Dîwâlî. Sirmûr, 63.

Asklântî : the first day of the Mâgh festival. Sirmûr, 64. (?)

Asnâo : vulg. *asnâd=rishtadâr* and *janwâî.*

Asur biâh : a form of marriage in which the bride's father receives consideration. B., 107. Cf. P.D., p. 48, *s.v.* Asar.

Ath-lâî : the eight circumbulations at a wedding when the pair are both made to go four times round the earthen lamp and vessel of water, the tape and a bunch of pomegranates. Ch., 146.

Athra : (Add. to III) *athrawâlî* is a woman whose children are born prematurely and generally die. *Athrî (sic) kâ mankâ* is a bead used as a talisman against *athrâ.* The correct term seems to be *aṭhrâh,* and the word can hardly mean bead, as that is the meaning of *mankâ.* Gloss., I, pp. 760 and 854.

Athrûha : 'sitting on the heels'. Attock Gr., p. 113.

Athwâhâ : a child born in the eighth month ; *athwân, -wahân,* or *-wânsa,* rites observed in the eighth (or ninth) months of pregnancy. Gloss., I, pp. 736, 739.

Athwârâ : regular *corvée,* as opposed to Hela, *q.v.* (Add. to III).

Aur-da-minh : late rain in Assun (Sept.-Oct.). B., 209 [Add to *Aur,* drought, on p. 56, P.D.]

Auṛî : an erect stone : SS., Jubbal, 12 ; a picture, or monument. Gloss., I, p. 341 n.

Autar : fr., Sanskrit *aputra,* 'sonless' : an *autar* stone is one erected by the relatives of a man who has died without leaving a male descendant to perform the *shrâddha* : *autariâna*

tirsera is a tax collected to maintain the temple of Râjâ Udâî Singh who died childless. Ch., 44 and 96.

Autrî : in Autrî Barânî 'unirrigated land' : Mandi, 24. Cf. Autri and Otar in III.

Ayar : *Andromeda ovalifolia.* Sirmûr, App. IV, vi.

Babach : father ; *teg babach,* 'elder father,' and *gato babach,* 'younger father,' in a polyandrous family. SS., Bashahr, 16.

Bâbat : a cess small in amount, paid by Brahman *mu'âfîdârs* to the State. SS., Kunhiâr, 5.

Bâbri : beans. Simla S.R., xli, and SS., Bashahr, 41.

Bada : a willow ; *Salix viminalis.* Ch. 240.

Badâran : a tax, levied on the Tikka's investiture with the sacred thread. SS., Kumhârsa in 22.

Bâdhâ : a kind of disparity fine, paid where a girl child is exchanged for one who is of age. Gloss., I, p. 788.

Badhâr : the second day of the wedding rites. Gloss., I, p. 897.

Badhâwa : lit. 'increase' ; add to P.D., *s.v.*—'because the vow is to add to the necklace each year'. Gloss., I, p. 780.

Badhnâ : a kettle = *tamâlu.* B., 195.

Badî-jadî : 'marriages and funerals'. SS., Bâghal, 18.

Bâg : a large square field. Sirmûr, App. I.

Bâg :=goira, a place outside the village set apart for the wedding procession. Gloss., I, p. 895.

Bagha : a dance. Gloss., I, p. 919.

Bagra : a cess levied on inferior grains. SS., Bashahr, 70.

Bâhan : 'subordinate gods' in Kulu. Gloss., I, p. 433. Cf. *bathu* : Diack, *Kulu Dialect of Hindi,* p. 50.

Bâharke : 'out-door,' the lower castes as opposed to Bhûtarke. Mandi, 340.

Bâharli : land at a distance from the village, opposed to Andarli. SS., Bilâspur, 15.

Bahatra : fr. *bahattar,* '72', having been invented in 1872 Bikramî : a weight = 9 *sers khâm.* Sirmûr, App. III.

Bahî Jawârî : lit., 'breakfast', (?), a sweet sent to each member of a wedding party the morning after the marriage ; Siâlkot. Gloss., I, p. 823.

Bahneli : an adopted sister ; Delhi. Gloss., I, p. 907.

Bahoria : (1) younger brother's wife, (2) son's wife, or (3) any other young wife in the family.

Bahu : (1) wife, (2) son's wife.

Bahur : a room in an upper story. Mandi, 33.

Bai fajr : to-morrow morning. B., 191.

Bai'ât : (? *bai'at*), religious self-surrender, lit. 'sale'. B., 180.

Baib : north-west. B., 106. Cf. *Bâibkon* in P.D., p. 75.

Baisar kî rotî : a kind of bread. SS., Bashahr, 41.

Bajanglaya : noon. SS., Bashahr, 41.

Bahâdurshâhî ser : a *ser* containing 18 *chhitanks* English. Hazâra.

Baind : Pasand. *q.v.*, Ch., 224.

Baindri : a crack in the soil, in Inner Sarâj ; in Outer called *balai* ; elsewhere in Kulu the term used is *waliyati*=Bejindri in the Simla Hills : *v.* Gloss., I, p. 438.

Baishai : a second quality of tobacco, cut in Baisâkh. Sirmûr, 67.

Baiṭhî-bhagtî : *v.* Bhagtî.

Baitri : a singer of sacred songs. Gloss., I, p. 376. ? Sankr. Maitreyaka, *Manu, SBE.*, X, 33.

Bajal : a snow pigeon, *columba leuconota.* Ch. 37.

Bajendri batâî : a gap between two furrows into which no seed has dropped ; =*bejindri* ; Simla Hills ; cf. *Bijandri.* Gloss., I, p. 438.

Bajoh : land held free of revenue or rent in lieu of service. Ch., 285.

Bakher : a scramble ; Karnâl. Gloss., I, p. 896.

Bakhru : a honeysuckle, *Lonicera quinquelocularis.* Ch., 239.

Bakli : =*chhal, Anogeissus latifolia.* Sirmûr, App. IV, v.

Bakra : a due (*lâg*), as being the price of a goat. Ch., 154.

Bakrû : a square loaf. Ch., 124.

Baksa : *Elaeodendron Roxburghii.* Sirmûr, App. IV, iii.

Balâwa : a system by which the State contributes to a subject's funeral as his family does to a Chief's. SS., Baghât, 12.

Bâlî : tribute. SS., Kumhârsain, 19.

Bâlkâ : a (? married) disciple. B., 173. *V.* P.D., 86 ; and cf. *Pâlak.*

Ballh : land free from stones and level ; cf. *Balhri* (its dim.) in III. Mandi, 64.

Bâlṛî : a bride. B., 108.

Bamb : a drum. B., 191. Hence Bamb-welâ, 9 p.m. and 11 p.m. *Bamb*, lit.=' a spout or jet '. P.D., 88.

Bân (add to III), -butânâ, ' to rub with *baṭnâ.*' Gloss., I, p. 814.

Bânatî : Kannedâr, ' embroidered ' (shoes). B., 102.

Banchauk : a small seed, like cummin, used for adulteration. Ch., 243.

Banda : *Viscum album.* Sirmûr, App. IV, vii.

Banda-bhara : (? obs.), a practice whereby traders entrusted goods to a Nânakputra for convoy. Gloss., I, p. 680.

Bandâkara : partition of land. SS., Kuthiâr, 10.

Bandhâ : add in III :- Ch., 152, 153 and 157. (2) A tax of As. 2 per house levied on tobacco smokers. SS., Bilâspur, 22.

Bandî : (i) a sub-division of a *kiâr*, q.v. Sirmûr, App. I. (ii), a concubine.

Bângar : high-lying land containing sandstone. Sirmûr, App. I.

Bangarî : a crop sown in autumn. Ch., 226.

Bangchuhru : a tax on shops selling bracelets, etc. Suket, 42.

Banjhârâ (beṭâ),=Chaukhandû ; in Mandi.

Banjûr chhoṛnâ :=Akal chhoṛnâ, *q.v.*

Banni : *Otostegia limbata.* Ch., 239.

Banshîra bhût: a hobgoblin who haunts forests. SS., Kumhârsain, 12.

Bar : (1) a boon. Gloss., I, p. 449. (2) a song, *ib.*, p. 158. (Simla Hills.)

Bar cheroti : *Ficus bengalensis.* Sirmûr, App. IV, vii.

Bârâ : a small field near a village,=the *niâî* of the plains : a kitchen garden. Sirmûr, App. I.

Baran : the most serious form of oath on the Râjâ. SS., Bashahr, 34. *V.* Darohi.

Barâtî : a peon. Sirmûr, 63.

Bârî : (1) a dried preparation made from *mâsh*, much like *sepa.* Simla S.R., xli. (2) a dish of grain ground and boiled. SS., Bashahr, 41.

Bariyârû : a kind of wheat, grown at high altitudes. Ch., 226.

Barhil : =Godami, a tool-keeper. Mandi, 51.

Barkan : a tree, the fruit of which is used in ablutions before a wedding. Simla S.R., xliv.

Barkhotsar chhoṛnâ : =Banjûr chhoṛnâ, *q.v.*

Barmî : yew. Ch., 236.

Barnî : (1) the orthodox form of betrothal, according to Hindu ritual. SS., Bashahr, 12. (2) the third form of marriage, rarely used. SS., Kumhârsain, 8.

Bâs : a tool, Panj. *basauli*. Simla S.R., xlv.

Barsi, Barsodhi : =Barsaudi in III. Cf. Gloss., I, p. 862.

Basând : a plot of land kept fallow in the Autumn harvest, in Churâh ; =*baindh*. Ch., 224. Cf. *Bâsand* in III.

Bashârtâ : the observance of bringing back the bride from her parent's home to her husband's house. Paṭhâns of Hoshiârpur.

Bashrî : the 2nd day of the Bisu festival. Sirmûr, 63.

Basniâr : land reserved for a Spring crop. Mandi, 42.

Basaîth : a kind of benevolence, levied every two or three years but on no fixed principle. SS., Kumhârsain, 19.

Basta : a fallow. SS., Jubbal, 17.

Basuthi : *Adhatoda vasica* Sirmûr, App. IV, vii. Cf. *Basûti* in III.

Bathailni : a fine sieve, used for *bathu* ; cf. *Kadelna*. Simla S.R., xlvi.

Bathânga : a commutation fee paid for *corvée*. SS., Bilâspur, 22.

Bâthrû : a kind of wheat which ripens early. Ch., 225.

Batlohi : spirits of grain. a cess SS., Bashahr, 74.

Batrauli. Batrâwal : a *corvée* levied on all, especially for building and repairing State houses, etc. SS., Bashahr, 73 and Kumhârsain, 22.

Batri : a fast ; Sansk, *Vrata*. Simla Hills, but in the upper hills the term used for the fast or the nine days of the *navarâtra* in Asauj is *Karili*. Gloss., I, p. 471.

Battadâr : inferior, a child by a wife of a lower tribe Comp., 25.

Battar : a method of sowing rice. Ch., 224.

Batti : wild syringa, *Deutzia corymboza*. Ch., 238.

Baturu : bread raised by the dough being mixed and left overnight. SS., Bashahr, 41.

Batwa : a plant whose roots are used in making *khim* ; cf. *Beri*. Sirmûr, 59.

Batwâl : one who puts the weights in the scale when salt is being weighed. Mandi, 51.

Bâû, Bhâû : 'many' (?). SS., Baghât, 1.

Bauni : *Quercus annulata*. Sirmûr, App. IV, vi.

Bebe : (1) sister, (2) any girl of one's own village ; =Jiji.

Begârû : a tenant liable to render *begâr* or forced labour, or *châkrundâ* in lieu of it. Ch., 280.

Bendhâ : bridegroom : *-ânî*. bride. *Lohârû*.

Beokari : a simple form of marriage. Mandi, 24.

Ber giggar: *Zizyphus vulgaris*. Sirmûr, App. IV, iii.

Beri : a plant whose roots are used to make *khim* ; cf. *Batwa*. Sirmûr, 59.

Besku : a watchman, of crops. Mandi, 62.

Bhabhâk : the true dawn, in the Ubhâ. B., 191, Syns. *Boh* and *Bara-phutdt*.

Bhabher : a valuable grass : *Andropogon involutus*. Sirmûr, 6.

Bhagti : a Hindu, male (?) who sings *kâfis, dohrâs*, etc. If he sings and dances standing he is called *khari-bhagti*, and if he does so sitting he is called *baithi-bhagti*. B., 114. Cf. *Bhagtia*, P.D., 116.

Bhaibaṭ : = Pagvand.

Bhail (? or) bhashil. shrubs (*Saliaccae*) of various kinds—used for basket-making Simla S.R., xlii.

Bhakh : ? imper., 'consume' or (?) 'burn'. Gloss., I, p. 345.

Bhan : mountain ash, *Pyrus aucuparia*. Ch., 238. Cf. Bhan in II.

Bhangoli : an oil expressed from the seeds of *bhang*. Suket, 27

Bhânjâ : also=*nandût*, 'husband's sister's son.'

Bhankhar : a soil similar to Bhilar, *q.v.* Sirmûr, App. I.

Bhaoli : a unit of assessment ; 24 *takas* =1 *bhaoli.* SS., Mangal, 1 ; and fr. 12 to 20 *lakhaos* =1 *bhaoli.* Bilâspur, 21.

Bhar : a store of grass. Mandi, 33.

Bharbhât-wela : the false dawn, among Hindus. B, 191. Among Muhammadans the syns. are Subh-kâzib and Ashûr-wela. *ib.*

Bhari : see under *Datha.*

Bharaon (Haqq-) : a cash cess levied to cover the cost of collecting revenue. SS., Bâghal, 15.

Bharoli : a *chupatti* made of *bhart,* 'pulse,' *Cajanus bicolor.* Simla S.R., xli.

Bhartoli : a bread made from *bhârt,* a pulse, *Cajanus bicolor.* SS., Bashahr, 48

Bhashil : see under *Bhail.*

Bhârt, Bhart : a pulse, *Cajanus bicolor.* SS., Bashahr, 48, and Kumhârsain, 15.

Bhat : a common oven. Sirmûr, 65. Also a term applied to marriages celebrated in an emergency on certain days. Mandi, 24.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK-NOTICE.

ÜBER DAS VERHALTNIS ZWISCHEN CÂRUDATTA UND MṚCCHAKAṬIKÂ. By Georg Morgenstierne. pp. 80 and lxii. Leipzig. Otto Harrassowitz. 1921.

When T. Gaṇapati Sâstri published the first of Bhâsa's dramas, he expressed the assured opinion that the *Cârudatta* was the prototype of the *Mṛcchakaṭikâ,* and he adduced several parallel passages from the two works in support of his view. The relationship has, on the whole, gone without serious question, but, in view of Bhattanatha Swamin's attempt[1] to throw doubt on the authenticity of Bhâsa's dramas, the detailed investigation of the *Cârudatta* undertaken by Mr. Morgenstierne has substantial interest and value, especially as it is accompanied by the text of the *Cârudatta* with the parallel passages of the *Mṛcchakaṭikâ.* A careful study of the two can yield only one result ; the *Mṛcchakaṭikâ* represents a working over of the *Cârudatta,* and the *Cârudatta* is not, as from isolated passages might be deduced, a shortened version of the *Mṛcchakaṭikâ.* The author, naturally enough, sometimes presses unduly points in favour of the priority of the *Cârudatta,* but the cumulative effect of the evidence is overwhelming.

It is more difficult to follow Mr. Morgenstierne in the chronological conclusions into which he is led by acceptance of Professor Konow's ingenious speculations[2] regarding the date of the *Mṛcchakaṭikâ.* The basis of these speculations is the acceptance of the view that King Śûdraka, who appears in the prologue as the author and as having entered the fire at the age of a hundred years and ten days, was in fact the redactor of the *Mṛcchakaṭikâ.* It becomes possible then to place the *Mṛcchakaṭikâ* before Kâlidâsa, on the ground that Somila and Râmila are credited with a *Śûdrakakathâ,* and the former can hardly be distinguished from the Saumilla, whose fame Kâlidâsa records along with that of Bhâsa and Kaviputrau. A more definite date for Śûdraka is then achieved by finding in him Śivadatta, the Âbhîra, whose son, Îsvarasena, is credited by Fleet[3] with the founding of the Cedi era of 248-249 A.D. on the overthrow of the Andhra dominion, a conjecture supported by the fact that in the *Mṛcchakaṭikâ* Pâlaka is dethroned by Âryaka, son of a cowherd (*gopâla*). It is really impossible to attach any weight to such contentions. The legendary character of Śûdraka was long ago pointed out by S. Lévi,[4] whose arguments are not dealt with by Konow, while Windisch[5] has pointed out that the Pâlaka legend shows clear signs of derivation from the Kṛṣṇa myth, and there is not the slightest hint anywhere that Śûdraka had any connection with the decline of the Andhras. Moreover there is good reason to believe that Kâlidâsa did not know the *Mṛcchakaṭikâ.* Both he and Bâṇa are silent as to Śûdraka, and the careful investigations of Mr. Morgenstierne have failed to produce a single instance of borrowing ; the few cases in which he thinks Kâlidâsa may in the *Mâlavikâgnimitra* have borrowed from the *Mṛcchakaṭikâ* are equally open to explanation as borrowings from or reminiscences of the *Cârudatta,* and, it may be added, in none of them is there any real sign of indebtedness. In fact Vâmana still remains the earliest source of certain citation from the *Mṛcchakaṭikâ,* and, though Lévi in his theory of the Śaka development of the Indian drama[6] was inclined to reconsider his earlier judgement of the date of the *Mṛcchakaṭikâ,* he adduced no arguments to counter his former conclusion.

1 *I.A.,* XLV. 189 ff.

2 *Kâhn's Festschrift,* pp. 107 ff.

3 *JRAS.,* 1905, p. 568.

4 *Théâtre Indien,* i. 196-208.

5 *Berichte der Sachs. Gesellschaft d. Wiss.* 1885, pp. 439, 440.

6 *J.A.* sér. 9, xx, 123 ff.

With the rejection of the historical theory of Śûdraka we can attain a plausible explanation of the apparent absurdity of the attribution to the king of the *Mrcchakaṭikâ*. The author who worked up Bhâsa's play, perhaps left incomplete by its writer, may well have thought it possible by the device of ascribing the work to Sûdraka to secure for it a measure of attention which would not have been accorded to it, had it appeared under his true name. Nor is it probable that the period between the *Cârudatta* and the *Mrcchakaṭikâ* was short, a mere half century if we are to accept Konow's indentification of the *râjasiṃhaḥ* of Bhâsa's plays with Rudrasiṃha, the Western Kṣatrapa, who reigned as Mahâkṣatrapa from 181-188 and 191-196 A.D., falling in the interim to the lower dignity of Kṣatrapa. This identification wholly lacks plausibility, and against it may be set off that of Dr. Barnett[7] who finds in the word an allusion to the Pâṇḍya Tër-Mâran Râjasiṃha I (c. A.D. 675), an indentification which postulates a decidedly late date for the *Mrcchakaṭikâ*.

Mr. Morgenstierne rejects with Prof. Konow the theory of Dr. Barnett. which denies Bhâsa's paternity of the dramas. On the whole it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that the ascription to Bhâsa is correct. The arguments adduced in support of the ascription have, indeed, very varying weight, and against that from the condition of Bhâsa's Prâkrit Dr. Barnett has brought a very pertinent consideration in the shape of a reminder that the Southern tradition presents plays like the *Nâgânanda* in a condition showing Prâkrit forms more archaic than are found in the Northern tradition, though he has not completely disposed of the evidence.[8] But Dr. Barnett clearly ignores the true character of the argument from Bâṇa's reference to the fame won by Bhâsa with plays whose beginnings were performed by the *sûtra-dhâra*. It would, certainly, be a *non sequitur* to conclude that the Trivandrum plays are Bhâsa's simply because they are begun by the *sûtra-dhâra*, but this is not the argument to be met. The contention[9] is (1) that by this decidedly noteworthy fact the plays are eligible to be considered Bhâsa's; (2) that they are, taken as a whole, marked by such outstanding merit as to indicate as their author a dramatist of the highest rank, and therefore accord with Bâṇa's reference to the winning of fame by them; (3) one of them, the Svapna-Vâsavadatta bears the same title and clearly dealt with the same incident as did, according to Râjaśekhara and doubtless also Vâkpati, a play of Bhâsa's; (4) Bhâmaha pays one of these plays, the *Pratijñâyaugandharâyaṇa* the same compliment of anonymous criticism as he does to Kâlidâsa's *Meghadûta*. To ignore these coincidences and to leave us with an anonymous dramatist of the highest Indian rank is to demand too much from probability. Moreover, the language, style, metre, and the dramatic technique are all most naturally explained by acceptance of a date prior to Kâlidâsa. On the other hand Bhâsa stands very far from the origins of drama, which even in Aśvaghoṣa appears in so highly developed a condition as to render it impossible to accept Konow's suggestion[10] that the drama need not be carried back more than a century before his date—assumed to be the middle of the second century A.D., a conclusion induced in part by an unfortunate acceptance of Professor Lüders' mistaken attempt[11] to reinterpret the evidence of the *Mahâbhâṣya*.[12]

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

41. An early Fountain Pen.

31 *March* 1750. *Consultation at Fort St. David*. The President produces a letter from the Ambassadors advising that on the 27th Instant they had an Audience of Nazir Jung [Nâzir Jang, Govr. of the Deccan from 1748, murdered in 1750] and deliver'd him the Present, on which Occasion he express'd himself in such friendly terms towards us and the English Nation in general as gives us the greatest reason to hope that all our Requests will be complied with, the rather as he promises ere long to give us convincing Proofs of his Esteem. They inclose a Paper wrote in their presence by Nauzir Jings own Hand with one of the Fountain Pens that was an Article of the Present, which he desires may be transmitted to his Britannick Majesty: The same being translated is now brought before the Board. . . .

In the Name of God Gracious and mercifull, By the Mercy of the Lord of the Earth. I am in hopes to have the North under my Possession as that of the South is under the Command of my Pen as far as a Certain Part of the Sea. I received the Pen you sent me as a good Sign that by the Works of the said Pen the remaining corner namely the East and West, may fall under my Command. By the help of God he that obeys me will attain his end, he that disobeys me will fall a Prey to the bloody and revengefull Swords of my brave Soldiers. (*Factory Records, Fort St. David*, vol. 7, pp. 150, 153).

R. C. TEMPLE.

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7 *Bull. School Oriental Studies*, I. i. 35-38; *JRAS.*, 1921, pp. 587-589.

8 Besides Lesny, *ZDMG.*, lxxii, 203-208, see W. Printz, *Bhâsa's Prâkrit* (1921).

9 See Sukthankar, "Studies in Bhâsa" in *JAOS.*, xl and xli: Lindenau, *Bhâsa-Studien* (1918).

10 *Das indische Drama*, p. 49.

11 *SBAW.*, 1916, pp. 698 ff.

12 See *Bull School Oriental Studies*, I, iv, 27—32.

COLOUR SYMBOLISM.

(As a Subject for Indian Research.)

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

IN 1900 the late Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, whose premature death has been such a loss to Anthropology, revived the study of Colour Symbolism in his own effective manner by a lecture on "Primitive Colour Vision."[1] It had previously been somewhat ineffectively mooted for some time, but Dr. Rivers showed that it could be made to play an important part in the study of the development of the human mind. "The subject of the evolution of the colour sense in man," he wrote, "is one which can only be settled by the convergence to one point of lines of investigation which are usually widely separated. The sciences of archæology, philology, psychology and physiology must all be called upon to contribute to the elucidation of this problem." His work fired Mr. Donald Mackenzie "to collect evidence regarding Colour Symbolism in ancient religious art and literature" with the object of writing a book thereon. The book is written, but not yet published, being one of the many victims of post-war financial conditions, but he has, nevertheless, published an illuminating and very valuable preliminary article on the subject as a line of anthropological research.[2] This in its turn has induced me to write the present paper in the hope of rousing enthusiasm thereon among Indian scholars.

The whole point of Rivers' contention was that to the primitive mind terms for colours can, and often do, convey much more than the mere names for colours as such, and for that reason the same term can denote on occasion more than one distinct colour : *e.g.*, the Celtic *glas* is used for grey, green and blue. Rivers showed that this term *glas* was used also to denote both vigour and water, and further among the ancient Baltic employers of Celtic speech to describe amber as well, amber being regarded as a magic product of water. Hence *glas* was not only a colour but also water impregnated with a "life substance" (amber), which animated human beings. Thence it became the symbol of the Mother Goddess and her "life substance," which was held to be a "protector" of man. The same colour term could thus denote various concrete objects having different colours, such as water itself, amber, the boar son of the Mother Goddess, and woad-dye (blue) which was a "protector," and also such an abstraction as vigour, the result of animation by and the protection of the Mother Goddess. Therefore, in order to understand colour symbolism, it becomes necessary, in the words of Mr. Mackenzie, "to collect evidence regarding the colours of the deities of various cults in different lands and to make extracts from religious texts and folk-lore literature referring to various colours and the beliefs connected with them." (p. 138.)

Pursuing his subject on this principle, Mr. Mackenzie found that colour symbolism goes back as far as the earliest types of man that can be studied. "The symbolic use of colour was prevalent even before man began to record his ideas by means of pictorial or alphabetic signs. Egyptian colour symbolism was already old at the dawn of the Dynastic period." (p. 138.) Cave man, in his drawing and painting could work only with earth colours, and the cave artist was thus limited to "[reds], blacks, whites and yellows without reference to the symbolism of such colours, or to the actual colours of the animals whose forms he depicted." (p. 139.) Nevertheless, he clearly attached a symbolic value to some colours at any rate. "As Osborn has noted in his *Men of the Old Stone Age*, the so-called Venus figures on rock and in ivory bear traces of red coloration ; one of several Solutrean laurel-leaf

1 Published in the *Popular Scientific Monthly*, vol. LIX., No. 1, pp. 44–58, May 1901—D.A.M.

2 *Folklore*, vol. XXXIII, No. 2, "Colour Symbolism," 30 June 1922, pp. 136 ff.

lanees, which had been worked too finely to be used, and had been deposited probably as a religious offering, [or had been hoarded as wealth], similarly retains evidence that it had been coloured red; the bones of the Cro-Magnon dead, as in the Paviland cave, are frequently found to retain traces of the red earth that had been rubbed on the body before internment." (p. 139.)

The Abbé Breuil informed Mr. Mackenzie that "the imprints of hands on rock faces are oftenest red, but that white, black, and yellow hands are not uncommon." He was further informed by the Abbé "that small green stones were placed between the teeth of the Cro-Magnon dead, interred in the Grimaldi caves near Mentone" on the French Mediterranean Coast. (p. 139.) This latter custom is one of very special interest in connection with the study of colour symbolism, especially when we find that the ancient Egyptians attached a magico-religious value to green stones, that the Chinese placed jade in the mouths of their dead, and that certain of the pre-Columbian Americans placed green pebbles in graves and regarded them as "the principle of life."[3] In the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* a scarab of green stone with a rim of gold is addressed by the deceased as "my heart, my mother, my heart whereby I came into being."[4] Gold and green stones were in Egypt closely associated with water and with deities supposed to have had their origin in water. They thus link with amber. "Gold, like amber, had origin from the tears of the northern goddess Freyja." (pp. 139-140.)

The green symbolism of Egypt seems, like the primitive earth-colours symbolism of the caves, to have been due to the necessary material being forthcoming. "The earliest green paint was made from ground malachite mixed with fat or vegetable oil. After the introduction of metal-working, green and blue pigments were derived from copper. It would appear therefore that blue and green symbolism in religious art became widespread as a result of direct and indirect Egyptian influence." (p. 140.) We have here alighted on something intensely human, but it is possible to carry colour symbolism much further back in Egypt than this. "Before green and blue paints were manufactured in Ancient Egypt, the early people, as their funerary remains testify, entertained beliefs regarding coloured stones. The modern Sudani still believes (as Budge records),[5] 'that stones of certain colours possess magical qualities, especially when inscribed with certain symbols, of the meaning of which, however, he has no knowledge, but which are due, he says, to the presence of spirits in them.'" (p. 141.)

Mr. Mackenzie next shows that the "fundamental belief in the potency of colour, as an expression or revelation of divine influence, can be traced not only in Ancient Egypt from the earliest times, but in almost every part of the world. As the colours of stones indicated the virtues they possessed, so did the colours of deities reveal their particular attributes. A wealth of colour, or a definite colour scheme, was displayed by supernatural beings, and these displayed the colours chiefly because they *were* supernatural beings, the colours being in themselves operating influences." The following Chinese text is of importance in this connection: "A dragon in the water covers himself with five colours. *Therefore he is a god.*"[6]

[3] Brinton, *The Myths of the New World*, p. 294—D.A.M.

[4] Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. I. p. 355 *et seq.* Chapter XXX of the *Book of the Dead* has "O my heart (which I owe) to my mother: O my heart (who belongest), to my essence."—Erman, *Aeg. Rel.* 2162, quoted by Prof. H. W. Hogg, *Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society*, 1911, p. 79—D.A.M.

[5] *Gods of the Egyptians*, vol. I, p. 16—D.A.M.

[6] De Visser, *The Dragon in China and Japan*, p. 63, section 2—D.A.M.

After going in this fashion into evidence from other parts of the world, Mr. Mackenzie takes us to India, and it is this part of his article which is the cause of the present paper: the object of it being to rouse the Indian student to bring forward all the evidence possible from Indian literature and folklore, as only the Indian student can. This is not an attempt at original research and the aim is to stimulate research by Indians interested in elucidating the meaning of their sacred writings. So I have no hesitation in quoting here that part of Mr. Mackenzie's observations, which deals specifically with India at full length, together with his footnotes showing the sources of his information. Mr. Mackenzie writes (pp. 143, 144, 145) :—"The evidence afforded by India is particularly rich and significant. In the *Mahâbhârata*[7] we read of an ascetic, named Uktha, who performed a penance lasting many years with the view of making 'a pious son' equal to Brahma. In the end 'there arose a very bright energy (force) full of animating (creative) principle and of *five different colours*.' In the same ancient work it is stated: 'Six colours of living creatures are of principal importance, black, dusky, and blue which lies between them; then red is more tolerable, yellow is happiness and white is extreme happiness. White is perfect, being exempted from stain, sorrow and exhaustion; (possessed of it) a being going through (various births), arrives at perfection in a thousand forms . . . *Thus destination is caused by colour and colour is caused by time* . . . The destination of the black colour is bad. When it has produced results, it clings to hell.'[8]

"Destination being caused by colour and colour by time, the Creator assumes different colours in the different Yugas (World's Ages). The Creator says: 'My colour in the Krita Yuga is white, in the Treta Yuga yellow; when I reach the Dvâpara Yuga, it is red, and in the Kali Yuga black.'

"In the *Mahâbhârata* the Kali Age is referred to as 'the Black or Iron Age.' Hesiod's Ages (in his *Works and Days*) are metal ages, but are evidently also coloured ages, for almost everywhere gold is yellow, silver white, copper or bronze red and iron black. The Doctrine of the World's Ages obtained in more than one ancient land, the only differences being in the sequences of the colours or metals. Of special interest in this connection are the following examples:—

Colours of Mythical Ages.

Mexican	..	1.	White	..	2.	Yellow	..	3.	Red ..	..	4.	Black.[9]
Celtic	..	1.	White	..	2.	Red	..	3.	Yellow	..	4.	Black.[10]
Indian I	..	1.	White	..	2.	Red	..	3.	Yellow	..	4.	Black.[11]
,, II	..	1.	White	..	2.	Yellow	..	3.	Red ..	..	4.	Black.[12]
Greek	..	1.	Yellow	..	2.	White	..	3.	Red ..	..	4.	Black.[13]

"White is a lunar colour, that of the 'silvery' moon ('Śveta, white as the moon'),[14] yellow is a solar colour, that of the 'golden' sun. It may be therefore that the precedence

7 *Vana Parva*, section ccxx—D.A.M.

8 Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. I, p. 151—D.A.M.

9 Kingsborough's *Antiquities of Mexico*, vol. VI, pp. 171 *et seq.*; Brinton, *The Myths of the New World*, pp. 249 *et seq*, etc.—D.A.M.

10 H. D'Arbois De Jubainville, *The Irish Mythological Cycle* (trans.), pp. 5-7, 25, 26, 60, 70. The Milesians were the "Black race."—D.A.M.

11 *Vana Parva* of the *Mahâbhârata*, section cxlix. (Roy's trans., p. 447), etc.—D.A.M.

12 The *Vana Parva* of the *Mahâbhârata*, section clxxxix. (Roy's trans., p. 560)—D.A.M.

13 That is, the Greek "Golden," "Silver," "Bronze" and "Iron" Ages. The "Ages of Heroes" is evidently a late interpolation. Hesiod's *Works and Days*, 109-172—D.A.M.

14 *Mahâbhârata* (*Bhishma Parva*), section iii—D.A.M.

given to white in the Mexican, Celtic and Indian Ages has a lunar significance and had originally a connection with the lunar calendar. Both the Mexican and Celtic colour sequences are found in India.

"In India the castes were connected by some ancient sages with the Yugas or Mythical Ages, while others connected them with the various coloured moods of the Creator. In the *Mahâbhârata* it is stated: 'The Brahmans beautiful (or, dear to Soma) were formed from an imperishable (*akshara*), the Kshattriyas from a perishable (*kshara*) element, the Vaisyas from alteration, the Śûdras from a modification of smoke. While Vishṇu was thinking upon the castes (*varna*), Brahmans were formed with white, red, yellow and blue colours (*varnaih*). Hence in the world men have become divided into castes.' [15]

"Caste (*varna*) literally means 'colour,' but evidently not in the sense favoured by modern rationalists. The usual caste colours in India are: (1) Brahmans, white; (2) Kshattriyas, red; (3) Vaisyas, yellow; (4) Śûdras, black.[16] There are also sex colours. In one of the world's continents, according to ancient Hindu belief, the men are of the colour of gold and women fair as celestial nymphs; in another the men are black and the women of the colour of blue lotuses."[17]

A good deal of the colour symbolism of the world has no doubt been due to the difficulty that all human beings, primitive and civilised, as they grow to adolescence, experience in realising and mentally visualising abstractions. Many people of high civilisation and education mentally visualise numbers with the aid of colours: *e.g.*, through all life five will to such persons appear as though coloured say blue, seven as red, nine as green, and so on. And this physiological fact probably helped the transfer of the conventional colours for concrete objects to the abstractions connected with or arising out of them, which we have thus seen, and Mr. Mackenzie has shown in his article, to have been practically universal. The data which Mr. Mackenzie collected regarding the symbolic use of colours exhibits not only its extreme antiquity, but also its persistence to our own time, and they tended to show "that outside Egypt the colours most generally favoured in ancient times were these four: Black, White, Red and Yellow. All these were earth colours. Blue and green were, as I have indicated, colours of Egyptian origin manufactured from copper or copper ore. Vegetable blue and green dyes appear to have had a later origin as substitutes for metal colours." (p. 146.)

The four primitive earth-colours, Black, White, Red and Yellow, have been used by many peoples "to divide space and time, to distinguish the mountains, rivers and seas in the mythical world, to distinguish the races of mankind and, as in India, the various castes. The ancient habit of using these four colours in the manner indicated survives till our own day. We still have 'Black,' 'White,' 'Red,' and 'Yellow,' races; 'Black,' 'White,' 'Red,' and 'Yellow' castes, as in India; 'Black,' 'White,' 'Red' and 'Yellow' seas." (pp. 146, 147.)

15 Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, vol, I. p. 151. Brahmans were 'twice-born men' and therefore 'white'; Śûdras through cupidity became ignorant and therefore black, being in a condition of darkness, *ibid.*, pp. 140-1, notes 250-1—D.A.M.

16 Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. I, p. 140 and note 248, in which it is stated that in the *Kathaka Brâhmana* (xi, 6), a white colour is ascribed to the Vaisya and a dark hue to the Râjanya. The passage referred to indicates that caste (colour) had no relation to skin colours and is as follows: "Since the Vaisya offers an oblation of white (rice) to the Adityas, he is born as it were white; and as the Varuṇa oblation is of black (rice) the Râjanya is as it were dusky." The Râjaṇya were the nobles of royal blood in the Kshattriya caste [Râjpûts]—D.A.M.

17 Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 491—D.A.M.

The cardinal points have constantly been given colours, and "the habit of colouring these and the winds that blow from them obtained in the Old and New Worlds. It had undoubtedly a doctrinal significance" (p. 14), possibly as the result in the Old World of efforts of the early Oriental mind to grasp ideas so exclusively abstract, combined with an already familiar symbolism. "The colours of the cardinal points have similarly a deep significance in the Chinese Fung-Shui doctrine. De Groot shows in his great work, *The Religious System of China,* that colours are connected with the elements, the seasons, certain heavenly bodies and even with the internal organs. In Central America and Ancient Egypt the internal organs were similarly connected with the coloured cardinal points."

I need hardly point out to Indian scholars that this last consideration opens up a large and intensely interesting question in relation to the universally recognised philosophy that has led to the practice of Yoga—the doctrine of restraint of the body and its desires as a means of salvation for the soul. Fundamentally the human body is there regarded as a microcosm, of which the Universe is the Macrocosm, and any study which tends to show that this idea is also at the back of the religious conceptions of mankind outside India cannot but be of the greatest interest. Let Mr. Mackenzie speak for himself here once more (pp. 148-149); "The Maya (Central American) system yields the following arbitrary connections :[18]

Cardinal Point.	*Bacab.* [19]	*Days.*	*Colours.*	*Elements.*
South	Hobnil (the Belly)	Kan	Yellow	Air.
East	Canzicnal (Serpent Being).	Muluc	Red	Fire.
North	Zaczini (White Being)	Ix	White	Water.
West	Hozan ek (the Disembowelled Black one)	Cauac	Black	Earth.

The Chinese system yields :

East, the Blue Dragon ; Spring ; wood ; planet Jupiter ; liver and gall.

South, the Red Bird ; Summer ; fire ; the sun ; planet Mars ; heart and large intestines.

West, the White Tiger ; Autumn ; wind ; metal ; planet Venus ; lungs and small intestine.

North, the Black Tortoise ; Winter ; cold ; water ; planet Mercury ; kidneys and bladder."[20]

"The point of special interest is [according to Eliot Smith [21]] that the Egyptian custom of connecting the internal organs with the coloured cardinal points, which had a doctrinal significance connected with mummification, spread Eastward and reached China and America. The Maya custom, it will be noted, bears a closer resemblance to the Egyptian than does the Chinese. Black is in both cases the colour for the intestines and yellow for the stomach, while white is apparently the liver colour in America as in Egypt. The Canopic jars, which went out of fashion in Egypt, were continued in use by the Maya and placed under the protection of the Bacabs, their gods of the four coloured cardinal points." (p. 149.)

The rest of Mr. Mackenzie's article is devoted to the development of his subject in Egypt and in those parts of the world which the ancient civilisation of that country has chiefly affected, but I hope I have abstracted enough from it to show that it is well worth taking up solely from the Indian point of view.

18 Brinton, *Mayan Hieroglyphics,* p. 41—D.A.M.
19 God of a Cardinal Point.
20 De Groot, *op. cit.,* book I, vols. III, p. 983 and IV. 16—D.A.M.
21 *The Migration of Eastern Culture.* 1905.

SAMÂPA: OR THE ASOKAN KALINGA

BY G. RAMADAS, B.A.

IN the Kalinga edicts of Asoka, containing instructions to the officers entrusted with the control of the tribes on the borders, it is stated that these officers were located at a place called Samâpa, and the Provincials' Edict says that a viceroy was placed at Tosali. Thus the two chief towns of Kalinga are mentioned, but their location being undefined, they have not yet been identified, and the limits of Kalinga have become a matter for speculation.

The first of the speculators was W. W. Hunter, who in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* 1886, identified Coringa or Rajahmandry, in the Godavari district, with the old capital of Kalinga, thus taking the southern boundary of Kalinga beyond the Godavari. Vincent A. Smith asserts that Kalinga extended from the Mahânadi to the river Krishna in the south. He includes Amarâvati, Andhra or Warangal, and Kalinga proper or Rajahmandry in the three Kalingas.[1] The same view is held by the Superintendent of the Madras Archæological Department, who, to prove the antiquity of the caves and *stûpas* at Guntapalle, states, '[illegible] know from the recent inscription at [illegible] in the Ganjam district that Asoka conquered this part of the Madras Presidency in [illegible] 230.'[2]

Let us examine all these statements. Hunter's assumption has been disproved by F. E. Pargiter, who says that Kalinga 'does not appear to have reached as far as the Godâvari, because this river is never connected with Kalinga in any passage as far I am aware.'[3] Hunter was led to his belief by the similarity of Coringa in sound to Kalinga, but a careful study of place-names shows that Coringa is made up of Cor + inga. The first syllable has the same meaning—whatever it may be—as 'Cor' in Cor-lam, Cor-la-kota, Cor-la. It cannot be a modification of 'Kal' in 'Kalinga.' Next, Rajahmandry has been believed to be the capital of Kalinga, because it was thought to be another form of the Râjapura mentioned as the capital of Kalinga:—

कलिङ्गविषये राजन् राज्ञश्चित्राङ्गदस्य च ।
श्रीमद्राजपुरं नाम नगरं तत्र भारत ॥[4]

But Rajapura cannot be the name of the capital, as the term means only the royal residence. Even supposing it to have been the metropolis itself, it cannot be identified with Rajahmandry, as the latter town is reputed to have been built by Râjarâja, the Eastern Chalukyan king who had the *Mahâbhârata* translated into Telugu. And lastly, had three Kalingas existed in the time of Asoka, why does he speak of having conquered only Kalinga? Had the region inhabited by the Andhras been included in Kalinga, they would not have been separately stated by him to be a people 'in the king's dominions.'[5] Also, since the Andhras, like the Pitinikas and others, are mentioned by Asoka as living in the king's dominions, i.e., in the dominions that had been under the sway of the Mauryan Ruler before Kalinga was subdued, it would seem that they had never got into Kalinga before that time.

The Andhra inscriptions so far known fix Pittapur as the Northern limit of Andhra influence on the East Coast. The inscription at Kodavalu near Pittapur, the only Andhra inscription yet discovered in this part of the country, tells us that Sâmi Śrî Chanda Sata (Chandra Śrî Sâtakarni)[6] was the king of the Andhras about A.D. 208. These Andhras, originally inhabitants of the Vindhyas, marched down the Godâvari valley and occupied

[1] [illegible]

[2] *J. A. S. B.*, [illegible] XXV, p. [illegible]

[5] Edict XIII.

[3] [illegible] *J. R. A. S.*, 1916-17, p. 31.

[4] *Mahâbhârata*, Santi P., Canto 4.

[6] No. 29, Puranic list of V. A. Smith.

the region about the mouths of the river during the second century of our era.[7] Though an impassible barrier, such as a high range of mountains or a broad sea, did not divide the regions occupied respectively by the Andhras and the Kalingas, they remained separate and distinct, each maintaining its own civilization, religion and arts. The Kâlingâs were Jains, building Ârhats with very little art decoration, while the Andhras built in a fine architecture Buddhist *stûpas* decorated with beautiful sculptures. Had the Andhras spread themselves into Kalinga, such relics as have been found at Amarâvati and Guntapalle would have been seen in the country lying to the north of the Langulya.

Khâravela, who ruled over Kalinga about the period immediately after Aśoka, says in an inscription that the Andhra kingdom lay to the west of his own. "**द्वितीयंच वर्षे अभितात्राय शतकर्णिपाश्चिमदिशं हयगज नररथ बहुलं दण्डं प्रस्थापयति.**"[8] By west he may mean the districts of Godâvari and Krishna. Even in the present day, the people of the districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam call those of Godavari and Krishna, the men of the west; while the men of Godavari and Krishna understand by the eastern people the men of Vizagapatam and Ganjam districts. In the light of this fact, 'Andhras of the west' may mean the Andhras in the lower valleys of Godavari and Krishna rivers. The actual west of the country of Kalinga being mountainous, it would have been very difficult for Śâtakarni to send his presents across the mountains.

Whatever be the position of the Andhra country relative to Kalinga, it is certain that they were two distinct and independent kingdoms, and there is no reason to think that the Andhras were the people of Kalinga. It is now necessary to define the limits of the region called Kalinga under Aśoka.

In the Eastern Ghâṭs there are a number of passes that lead from the littoral over the Ghâṭs into the interior of India. The easiest of them all is the Kalingia Ghâṭ which goes from Russulkonda by Durgâprasâd. It is quite practicable for carts. At the top of the Ghâṭ there is a road on to the Boad frontier. "From Kalingia at the top of this Ghâṭ there is another road that leads to Balliguda".[9] 'Kalingia' in Oriya means 'belonging to Kalinga.' This pass was probably the chief means of intercourse over the hills between Central India and Kalinga.

The people called the Kâlingîs are found even now living to the north of the Nâgâvali or Langulya, which forms the boundary between the districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam. "Kâlingî (126, 546): A caste of temple priests and cultivators found mainly in Ganjam and Vizagapatam."[10] "The Kâlingîs are essentially Telugus and are found mainly on the borderland between the districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam. The same class of people are known as the Kâlinjîs in the country north of the Vamsadhara river."[11] In the Telugu parts they are called Kâlingîs and in the Oriya country they are known as Kâlinjîs. These Kâlingîs are not found south of Chipurupalle in the Vizagapatam district. These were the original people that gave their name to the region; most of them are now found confined to the south of Ganjam district, but some are found scattered all over the Oriya country along the coast.

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7 "Misconceptions about the Andhras," *ante*, vol. XLII, part DXXXVII, Nov. 1913.

8 *Actes du Sixième congrès Internationale de Orientalistes tenu en* 1883, *ā Ledo.* "Hatagumpha Caves."

9 *Ganjam District Manual.*

10 *Census Report*, 1901.

11 *Castes and Tribes of Southern India.*

The capital of Kalinga was always known as Kalinganagara. Khâravela is said to have strengthened his town of Kalinganagara in the first year of his reign. The major portion of the Udayagiri inscription of this king speaks of the embellishments made to the Ârhats on the hill. " Umbrellas and *kalaśâs* were placed in display, that faith for the Triratna might be inspired among minor and greater chiefs." After every victory he obtained over his enemies, the king Khâravêla made gifts of " an excellent wish-fulfilling tree with horses, elephants, chariots, with alms houses and rest houses " to the Ârhat.[12] An outside seat was made for the Ârhats on the Kumâri Hill, and an assemblage of the very learned and great sages of all quarters was held on the mountain peak near the site of the Ârhat. Such attentions to a seat of worship could be given by the ruling king only when such a religious house was close to the royal residence. The copper-plate grants of the Eastern Ganga kings speak of a Kalinganagara as the seat of the kings. This town is identified with Kalingapatam by some and with Mukhalingam by others. Whatever the truth may be, the capital of the Eastern Ganga kings cannot have been so far north as the Udayagiri Hills, near which existed the chief seat of the Jain king Khâravêla.

Kalinga is said to be a district in the country ruled over by Saktivarma, who had his chief seat of government at Pishtapura (Pitahpur).[13] On paleographical grounds, these plates may be assigned to a little before or after the conquest of Kalinga by Samudragupta. The king calls himself ' Vâsishtiputra ' and ' Mâgadhi '. It appears therefore that he was a descendant of Chandra Sâtâkarni who was also a Vâsishtiputra. He was consequently an Andhra king, who from his capital at Pitahpur ruled over the Kalinga country. In the same plates the village Râkaluva is mentioned as being in the Kalinga Vishaya. It has been identified with Râgôlu, a village on the road from the railway-station to Chicacole (83° 57′ 30″ N. and 18° 20′ 48″ E., *Indian Atlas*, No. 108), and lying to the north of the Nagâvali. This clearly proves that the country of Kalinga lay to the north of that river.

Samudragupta is said to have defeated Swamidatta, the king of Pishtapura and Mahendragiri Kottura.[14] The original line concerned with this point runs thus :— "कौसालक मन्तराज पिष्टपुरक महेन्द्रगिरि कौट्टूरक स्वामिदत्त". In the whole *praśasti*, as in this line, the name of the king is mentioned immediately after the name of his kingdom. So the translators were mistaken and said Mahendra was the king of the country belonging to Pishtapura ; and Swamidatta was the king of the country related to ' Kottura on the hill.' In the revised edition of his *Early History of India*, V. A. Smith says (p. 284) that " Samudragupta vanquished the chieftain who held Pishtapura, the ancient capital of Kalinga, now Pithapuram in the Godavari district, as well as the hill forts of Mahendragiri and Kottura." In a foot-note Kottura is identified with Kottoor of Indian Atlas No. 108, which lies twelve miles south-south-east from Mahendragiri. This interpretation is self-contradictory in two points. Kottûra is called "a hill fort;" but the village of Kottoor identified with it is on the sea coast and cannot be a hill fort. The compound 'Mahendragiri Kautturaka', is not a *dvandva*, because ' Mahendragiri ' is an adjective and 'Kauttura' is a noun. The termination of the compound does not show its dual nature. As a compound the term means ' of Kottura connected with Mahendragiri.' The mountain Mahendra was always the chief landmark for Kalinga. Therefore by ' Mahendragiri Kottura ' is meant Kalinga, and Kottura near Mahendragiri was its chief town. The whole line means "Swamidatta (the ruler) of the country which has Pishtapura (for its capital), and also of

12 *Op. Cit.*, Hatagumpha Caves.

13 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, No. 1.

14 Allahabad Posthumous Pillar Inscription : *Corpus*.

the country which has Kottura near Mahendragiri (for its capital)." So the two kingdoms Paishtapuraka and Kalinga were, at the time of Samudragupta's invasion, under one king. From this it appears that Ragolu plates of Saktivarma belonged to Samudragupta's times.

The conquests described in the *Raghuvamśa* seem to have had their source in the conquests of Samudragupta.

'सतीर्त्वा कपिशां सैन्यैर्बद्ध द्विरदसेतुभि : ।
उत्कलादर्शितपथः कलिङ्गाभिमुखो ययौ ॥ ३८ ॥
सप्रतापं महेन्द्रस्य मूर्ध्नि तीक्ष्णं न्यवेशयत् ।
अङ्कुशं द्विरदस्येव यन्ता गम्भीर वेदिनः ॥ ३९ ॥
प्रतिजग्राह कालिङ्ग स्तयस्त्रौ गजसाधन :।' [15]

"He crossed the river Kapiśa with his army on a bridge made of his elephants, and being shown the way by the princes of Utkala, bent his course towards Kalinga. He encamped with all the unbearable influence of his military glory, on the peak of the Mahendra mountain, like unto the elephant driver, who plunges deep his goading rod on the head of an elephant that does not mind the pain. The prince of Kalinga who came to fight with a large number of elephants received him with a shower of arrows."[16] The prince of Kalinga is said to have come and attacked king Raghu, who had already occupied the heights of Mahendra. If he had been residing at Kottura, the chief town of Kalinga, he would have been ready at Mahendra to receive the conqueror. He must have been far away at Pishtapura, his chief residence, when he heard of the approach of the invader, and would have come to fight him. Consider the difficulties of conveying an army composed of elephants and archers from Pitahpur to the Mahendra mountain in those early days, when there were no good roads. Even in *Kathâ Sârit Sâgar*, king Vatsa is said to have occupied Mahendra first and then subdued the Kalingas.[17] All these show that Kalinga was for some time in the fourth century of our era under the domination of the king of Pishtapura, but it was kept separate with its own metropolis and its own institutions. Before and after this period the kingdom of Kalinga was free and independent under its own native rulers.

There is evidence to prove that the Kalinga kingdom extended southward as far as Mahendra and Kottur during the century preceding the Christian era.

पटाल्के चेतके च वैडूर्यगर्भे सम्भन्प्रतिस्थापयति ॥[18] "made (erected) pillars in Paṭâlaka, Chêtaka and Vaiduryagarbha." Vaiduryagarbha and the others were thought to be parts of the caves. If this is right, then there was no need to erect pillars. Here स्तम्या. means triumphal pillars. So the above names are not those of caves, but of territories. Vaiduryagarbha is the modern Vidarbha. Chêtaka is the Śvêtaka of the grants of Prithivivarma Deva,[19] Samanta Varma,[20] and Indravarma,[21] which is spoken of as 'Śvêtakâdhishṭhana.' This 'Śvêtaka' by metathesis became 'Sikati' or 'Chîkati,' a small *zamindari* in the Ganjam district, extending as far as Bâruva to the south. The Kottur of Samudragupta's times lies very near Bâruva. There is no doubt therefore that the southern boundary of the Kalinga of Khâravêla extended as far as Bâruva.

It has already been pointed out that the chief centre of Khâravêla's administration was not far from the Udayagiri hills, on which his inscription exists. Kalinga, being conquered

15 *Raghuvamsâ*, Canto IV.
16 Bandharkar's translation.
17 *Kathâ Sârit Sâgar*, lambaka 3, taranga 5.
18 Udayagiri Ins., line 15.
19 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IV, No. 26.
20 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XV, No. 14.
21 *Ep. Report*, 1918, App. A, No. 9.

by Aśoka, was governed through a viceroy till only a few years before the accession of Khâravêla. The Viceregal seat of Kalinga must have been either at Kalinganagara itself, or in the near vicinity. Indeed it was strategically necessary for the conqueror to locate his government either in the capital or in its immediate neighbourhood. I shall reserve the identification of Tosali for a future occasion, and take up now the extent of Kalinga.

The three kingdoms of Anga, Vanga and Kalinga are said to have been founded by three princes of those names who were the sons of king Bali. Angas descended from Anga; from Vanga came the Vangas, and the Kâlingâs came from the prince Kalinga.[22] Anga is identified with Bhagalpore and Vanga with the modern Bengal. Kalinga must be south of Bengal, but where it begins in the north requires study. Let us look at the evidence.

King Raghu is said to have crossed the river Kapiśa after he had conquered the Vangas. Being shown the way by the Utkalas, he entered Kalinga and encamped on the Mahendra hill. Lassen identifies the river Kapiśa with Subarnarêkha, but Mr. Pargiter proves it to be the Kansi which flows through Midnapur.[23] King Vatsa is said to have defeated the Vangas and planted a triumphal pillar on the shores of the eastern sea. Then the Kalingas came and paid tribute to him when he had reached the Mahêndra mountain.[24]

In the *Mahâbhârata*, Yudhishtira is said to have reached the sea where the Ganges enters it with five mouths and thence to have proceeded to Kalinga along the coast.

ससागरं समासाद्य गङ्गाया स्सङ्ग मे नृप।
नदीनां पञ्चानां मध्ये चक्रे समाप्लवम् ॥
ततस्समुद्र तीरेण जगाम वसुधाधितः।
भ्रातृभि स्सहितो वीरः कलिङ्गान्प्रतिभारत ॥
लोमशाः॥ एते कलिङ्गाः कौन्तेय यत्र वैतरणी नदी।
यत्रायजत धर्मोपि देवान् शरणमेत्यवै ॥
वैशम्पायनः॥ ततो वैतरणिं सर्वे पाण्डवा द्रौपदी तथा।
अवतीर्य महाभागा स्तर्पयां चक्रिरे पितॄन् ॥[25]

The river Vaitarani is the Baitrani in the north of Orissa.

The Utkalâs mentioned in the *Raghuvamśa* are not spoken of in the edicts of Aśoka, nor in the inscriptions of Khâravela. Kalinga was then spoken of as one kingdom. But in times subsequent to those of Magadha supremacy, the country of Kalinga, owing either to racial differences or to the rise of the dormant tribes, must have been divided into Kaurâlaka, Mahâkântâraka and Mahendragiri,—the Kautturaka of the Allahabad Pillar inscription, or the Udra, Konyodha and Kalinga of Hiuen-Tsiang. Ut-kala is only a contraction of Uttara-Kalinga, which means northern Kalinga. When the northern part of Kalinga, which is adjacent to the kingdoms of Northern India, associated with the north, the indigent Dravidian tribes, such as the Kuis and the Savarâs, combined with the immigrant peoples from the south (Dramilâs) and associated the southern part with Southern India. So the northern peoples became known as the people of Northern Kalinga, or Uttara-Kalingas or Ut-Kalâs, while the southern inhabitants were called Kâlingâs. When this separation was brought about cannot be precisely stated, but it must have happened in the time that intervened between Khâravêla's time and Samudragupta's invasion—a period of oblivion in the history of the eastern part of the Gangetic valley. It is clear, however, that Kalinga lay immediately to the south of Bengal, which then formed a part of the kingdom of Aśoka.

(*To be continued.*)

22 *Mahâbhârata*, Âdi Parva, canto 143; *Machchi Purâṇa*, Adyâya 48; *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, by H. H. Wilson, pp. 144, Amsa 4, Adhyâya 23.

23 *JASB.*, vol. LXVI, part I, No. 2 (1897).

24 *Kathâ Sârit Sâgar*, supra.

25 *Mahâbhârata*, Vana Parva.

DECLENSION OF THE NOUN IN THE RÂMÂYAN OF TULSÎDÂS.

BY BABU RAM SAKSENA, M.A.

§ 1. NOUNS in Sanskrit have three genders, three numbers and eight cases, and the bases end either in consonants or in vowels. Case-relations are expressed by adding various terminations to the bases. The system of declension in Sanskrit, thus, was very rigid and complicated. A noun could express every thing about itself without invoking the aid of other words in a sentence or of word-order, *e.g.*, *putraḥ* is of masculine gender, singular number and nominative case.

Nouns in Modern Awadhî[1] have two genders, the neuter being lost, two numbers, the dual having disappeared, and only two cases, the direct and the oblique. The oblique is employed only for the plural number; so there is only one case—the direct—for the singular. Case-relations are expressed not by adding terminations to the bases but by using various post-positions after the two cases. The bases end either in consonants or in vowels. The system of declension, thus, in Modern Awadhî is very flexible and much simpler than that of the parent-language. For example : *pût* can be used both as a singular noun and a plural, and, with a post-position, to denote any case-relation.

Mediæval literature shows a stepping-stone to the modern language. The dual and the dative were dying out by the time of the literary Prakrits. The Apabhraṃśa stage created further confusion and case-relations could be distinguished only by minor vowel-modifications and the use of nasalisation.

§ 2. The new system was not completely established by the time of Tulsîdâs. The noun in the Râmâyan[2] has two cases : direct and oblique. The oblique has two forms—one for the singular and the other for the plural. Post-positions are not generally employed and the simple direct or oblique is used. This creates a certain confusion and difficulty in understanding the meaning. In the Araṇyakâṇḍa there are 831 such nouns as require post-positions after them according to the practice of Modern Awadhî, but of these, post-positions are employed only after 215 nouns, *i.e.*, with a little more than 25 per cent.

§ 3. Bases usually end in *a* (e.g., *mâhura, tana*), *â* (e.g., *dôhâ, batiyâ*), *i* (e.g., *hâri, rahani*), *î* (e.g., *baḍâî, kahânî*), *u* (e.g., *gharu, bâu*), or *û* (e.g., *nâû, baṭâû*). Of these the nouns in *û* are very few. A few nouns used in the Râmâyan end in *ô* but all these are probably borrowings from the Braj Bhâshâ, e.g., *hiyô* (Aw. *hiyâ*), *cêrô* (Aw. *cêrâ*).

Use of the Direct.

§ 4. In the singular the direct is used—

(a) without post-positions as—

(1) the subject, e.g., *jâḍa lâgâ* (I. 38*b*)[3], *bhûkha butâi* (I. 245*a*) ; *mukhiyâ câhiyê* (II. 315), *muruchâ gai* (II. 43) ; *girirâi âyê* (I. 102*a*), *kuãri rîjhai* (I. 131) ; *dohâî phirî* (I. 153) ; *kharabharu parâ* (I. 83*k*).

(2) inanimate direct object, e.g., *jô bakhâna karahî* (I. 14), *cẫsu cârâ lêi* (I. 302*b*), *bharata kahâuti kahî* (II. 295*d*), *râma bibâkî kînha* (I. 23*d*), *dhruva ṭhâũ pâeu* (I. 25*e*)

1 Vide *L.S.I.*, vol. VI and *Lakhimpurî—A Dialect of Modern Awadhî—JASB.*, XVIII (N. S.) No. 5.

2 This paper is based on a detailed study of the first two chapters, the Bâlakâṇḍa and the Ayôdhyâkâṇḍa of the *Râmâyan* and a more general study of the rest. The conclusions do not seem to be upset by the general study.

3 The references are to the *Râmacaritamânasa* edited by five members of the Nâgariprachâriṇî Sabhâ and published by the Indian Press, Allahabad, in 1915. It is decidedly the most authoritative edition of the *Râmâyan*, available. The Roman figure denotes the *Kâṇḍa*, *e.g.*, I. denotes *Bâlakâṇḍa*, the Arabic figure denotes the number of the *dôhâ* and the letters, *a, b, c*, &c., denote the number of the line after a *dôhâ*. Thus 38*b* denotes the second line after the 38th *dôhâ*.

Note.—If the direct case is used as an animate object it is generally followed by a post-position, e.g., *uparôhita kahã hari* (I. 168*d*), but also *mârasi gâi* (II. 35*h*).

(3) instrumental case, e.g., *bhâya nâma japata* (I. 27*a*), *sîpi samânâ* (I. 10*h*), *saha sâkhî* (I. 3*d*), *sarisa kapâsû* (I. 1*e*).

(4) genitive case, e.g., *mukutâ-chabi* (I. 10*a*), *tâla-rakhavârê* (I. 37*a*).

(5) locative case, e.g., *ura dhâma karau* (I. 3*s*), *nisi nĩda parî* (II. 36*h*), *baṭachâhĩ baiṭhî* (I. 51*h*).

(6) vocative case, e.g., *bhaiyâ* (I. 290*d*), *bhâî* (I. 7*m*).

(*b*) With post-positions, e.g., *uparôhita kahã hari* (I. 168*d*); *barâta lagana tẽ âî* (I. 308*g*); *bhagatanha hita lâgi* (I. 12*e*); *bhãga tẽ tulasî bhayê* (I. 26); *ghâya mahũ* (II. 34*c*), *ḍâra para* (I. 29).

§ **5**. In the plural the direct is used without post-positions as—

(1) the subject, e.g., *bâjana bâjẽ* (I. 90*h*), *lavâ lukânẽ* (I. 267*c*), *larikinî âĩ* (I. 354*h*), *nâû asîsahĩ* (I. 319).

(2) inanimate direct object, e.g., *tinha sîsa nâyê* (I. 92*e*), *tinha khambhâ biracê* (I. 286*h*), *bahu dhanuhî tôrĩ* (I. 270*g*).

Note.—The direct without any post-positions is sometimes, though rarely, used as an animate direct object also, e.g., *bharata sâhanî bolâyê* (I. 297*c*), *guhu pâharû bolâi* (II. 89*c*).

(3) instrumental case but rarely, e.g., *anêka bhãti gâyê* (I. 32*g*).

(4) genitive case but exceptionally, e.g., *kâmarûpa khala jinisa anêkâ* (I. 175*g*).

(5) locative case but exceptionally, e.g., *sôhata pura cahũ pâsa* (I. 212).

Use of the Oblique Singular.

§ **6**. The oblique singular is used—

(*a*) without post-positions as—

(1) animate direct object, e.g., *haṃsahĩ baka hãsahĩ* (I. 8*b*), *sakhahi nihâri* (I. 170*a*), *siṃha badhuhi jimi sasaka siyârâ* (II. 66*g*).

Note.—This case is sometimes, though rarely, used as an inanimate direct object also, e.g., *banahĩ gayê* (II. 165*e*), *cf.* Modern Awadhî *bajârai gayê ; sukhahi anubhavahĩ* (I. 21*b*).

(2) instrumental case, e.g., *maĩ carita sañchêpahi kahâ* (I. 102*j*), *ê âvahĩ ehi nâtê* (I. 221*h*), *citêrê citrita* (I. 212*e*).

(3) dative case, e.g., *ahêrê phirata* (I. 158*f*), *côrahĩ râti na bhâvâ* (II. 10*g*), *pitahi mata bhâvâ* (I. 72*b*), *jamunahĩ kĩnha pranâmâ* (II. 111*a*), *bhusuṇḍihi dînhâ* (I. 29*d*).

(4) genitive case, e.g., *nṛpahi bilapata* (II. 36*e*)

(5) locative case, e.g., *gunahi manu râtâ* (I. 6*a*), *babûrahĩ phala lâgahĩ* (I. 95*j*), *maikê sasurê sakala sukha* (II. 96), *duârê gayeu* (II. 38*d*); *cf.* the remains of the oblique in *ê* in some words of Modern Awadhî, *sapnê, mâthê, duârê, jâṛê,* etc.

(*b*) with post-positions, e.g., *nahâruhi lâgî* (II. 35*h*).

Use of the Oblique Plural.

§ **7**. The oblique plural is used—

(*a*) without post-positions as—

(1) the subject of past indicative verb (based on ancient perfect participle), e.g., *surana astuti kînhî* (I. 82*h*), *nayananhi nirakhê* (II. 209), *muninha kîrati gâî* (I. 12*j*), *dâsinha dîkhâ* (II. 147*c*); *cf.* the same use of the oblique in Modern Awadhî.

(2) animate direct object, e.g., *saṭhanhi râmasanmukha kô karata* (II. 325*l*), *bâghinî mṛginha citava* (II. 50*a*).

(3) instrumental case, e.g., *nija nija mukhani kahî nija hônî* (I. 2*c*).

(4) dative case, e.g., *nagara sêvakana saũpi* (II. 187), *kabinha karaũ paranâmâ* (I. 13*d*), *muni bhâinha asîsa dînhî* (I. 236*c*).

(5) genitive case, e.g., *bhagatanha hita lâgî* (I. 12*e*), *sacêtanha karanī* (I. 84*c*), *tarubaranha madhya* (II. 236*c*).

(6) locative case, e.g., *jhalakâ jhalakata pâyanha kaisê* (II. 203*a*), *janaka pîḍhana baiṭhârê* (I. 327*c*).

(*b*) with post-positions, e.g., *lôganha-pahī jâu* (I. 239*h*) *kandaranhi mahũ* (I. 83*j*), *aṭana para* (I. 346*d*).

Animate and Inanimate Object.

§ **8**. There is a tendency in the language of the Râmâyan to use the simple direct as the inanimate object and the oblique or the direct followed by a post-position as the animate object (*vide* examples of the direct object above). This tendency is found in Modern Awadhî also.

The reason of this tendency seems to be that an animate object may also generally be used as the subject which is put in the direct case, while an inanimate object cannot so generally be the subject. Hence the necessity of distinction in the former arises and, therefore, the object is distinguished from the subject by a change of case or by the use of post-positions after one of them.

Form of the Oblique Singular.

§ **9**. The oblique singular generally ends in *-hi* or *-hī*, e.g., *saraga : saragahi* or *saragahī*; *kathâ : kathahi* or *kathahī* ; *sandhi : sandhihi* or *sandhihī* ; *bhâī : bhâihi* or *bhâihī* ; *madhu : madhuhi* or *madhuhī* ; *badhû : badhuhi* or *badhuhī*.

Note.—The final long vowel (*e.g.*, in *kathâ, bhâî, badhû*) at the end of a base is shortened before the termination *-hi* or *-hī*.

An alternative oblique case for the masculine bases ending in *a* or *â* ends in *-ê*, the final vowel being dropped, e.g., **bûta : bûtê*, **sapana : sapanê*, **citêrâ : citêrê*, **pâlanâ : pâlanê*.

Form of the Oblique Plural.

§ **10**. The oblique plural generally ends in *-na*, *-nha*, *-nhã*, *-ni*, *-nhi* or *-nhī*, the final vowel of a base being shortened if it ends in a long vowel, e.g., *sura ; surana*, *lôga : lôganha*, *gana : gananhã*, *âsrama : âsramani*, *saṭha : saṭhanhi* or *saṭhanhī*, *khambhâ : khambhanha*, *savati : savatina*, *kubarî : kubarinha*, *badhû : badhunha*, *nâû : nâuna*.

Other Forms.

§ **11**. Nouns in *-a* and *-â* have a plural form in *-ê*, which is used either as a subject or object, e.g., *cêrâ : cêrê*, *pakavâna : pakavânê* ; as a subject, e.g., *pakavânê bharê* (I. 304*b*), *panavârê parana lagê* (I. 327*h*), *badhâyê hôna lagê* (I. 295*c*), *calahī na ghôrê* (II. 142*e*) ; as an object, e.g., *lakhi ghôrê* (II. 146*g*), *īsa karavarê ṭârê* (I. 356*a*), *nṛpa mãganê ṭêrê* (I. 339*a*).

Some nouns in *-a* which denote inanimate things form their plural by adding *-ī* to them, the resulting form being used either as a subject or an object, e.g., *asîsa : asîsaī*, *bhaũha : bhaũhaī*, *bâta : bâtaī*, *saũha : saũhaī* ; as a subject, e.g., *bhauhaī kuṭila bhaī* (I. 251*h*) ; as an object, e.g., *duhũ bhâî asîsaī pâî* (I. 307*f*).

Note.—Some purely Sanskrit forms are used in the Râmâyan, e.g., *sukhêna*. They are distinctly loan-words and have little to do with the general language of the Râmâyan.

History of the Forms.

The Direct.

§ **12**. By the time of the literary Prakrits all bases became vocalic owing to the falling off of final consonants. Then followed the loss in the quantity of final vowels. This combined with the loss of inter-vocalic consonants resulted in the ancient system being entirely

confused by the time of Tulsîdâs. In the Râmâyan we find only vocalic bases. The direct case is the result of the ancient nominative-accusative : *pûta* is the representative of *putraḥ: putram* or of *putrâḥ : putrân.*

Nouns in *-a*, *-i* and *-u* come from ancient bases in *-a, -â, -i, -î, -u, -û* and come about owing to the loss of final consonants and vowels, while nouns in *-â, -î* and *-û* come from the ancient bases in *-a, -i*, and *-u* enlarged by means of the suffix *ka* or *kâ* to *-aka, -ikâ, -uka*, etc., and result from the loss of inter-vocalic *k* and subsequent contraction of vowels.

§ **13.** The direct case in *-a* (*nêha, nĩda*) comes from two different sources—the ancient singular nominative-accusative and the ancient plural nominative-accusative. The various stages of *nêha* are *snêhô-snêham : nêhô-nêham : nêho-nêham : nêhu-nêhã : nêha* and *snêhâḥ-snêhân : nêhâ—nêhã : nêha.*

That the nouns in *-a* come from two different sources, singular and plural, is clearly shown by the fact that a large number of the masculine nouns in *-a* have an alternative form in *-u* (*râma* or *râmu, pûta* or *pûtu, nêha* or *nêhu*) which cannot be used in the plural. It is also clear from the fact that a very short *u* (ᵘ) is added sometimes to a consonantic base in Modern Awadhî if a singular thing is denoted, while a very short *a* (ə) if the plural, e.g., *ham êkᵘ phalᵘ khâyen* while *ham câri phalə khâyen.*

§ **14.** Bases in *-a* come from.

(1) ancient nouns in *-a*, e.g., *putra : pûta, kârya : kâja, pakṣa : pâkha, akṣara : âkhara, krôdha : kôha ;*

(2) ancient nouns in *-â* which are mostly feminine, e.g., *dûrvâ : dûba, varayâtrâ : barâta, nidrâ : nĩda*, or

(3) are borrowings (including *tatsamas*), e.g., *jahâja, sâhiba, bakhasîsa, saraga, kabitta.*

§ **15.** Bases in *-â* are generally masculine though a number of feminine bases (invariably loan-words) are also found. They come from—

(1) ancient *-a* bases enlarged to *-aka* (through *-aa : -â*), e.g., *kîṭaka : kîrã, *dôdhaka : dôhâ ;* or

(2) are borrowings (including tatsamas), e.g., *sĩvâ, muruchâ, bidhâtâ, argajâ, pirôjâ*

§ **16.** Bases in *-i* which are mostly feminine come from—

(1) ancient *-î* bases, e.g., *sarasvatî : sarasai, pattrî : pâti, kumârî : kuãri ;*

(2) Mâgadhî ending *-é*, e.g., *milani, rahani, ṭhavani* ; or

(3) are borrowings from Sanskrit and other languages, e.g., *lacchi, bhagati, cakkavai, upâi, sahâi, âi, khabari.*

§ **17.** Bases in *-î* which are generally feminine and seldom masculine come from—

(1) ancient *-ikâ* and *-ika* bases, e.g., *cakrikâ : câkî, śarikâ : sârî, -tâlikâ : -târî, râjñikâ : rânî, vṛścika : bîchî ; *guṇika : gunî, *mâlika : mâlî, *sâdhanika : sâhanî* ; or

(2) are borrowings, e.g., *bibâkî.*

§ **18.** Bases in *-u* are mostly masculine and

(1) represent the penultimate stage of ancient nouns in *-a*, e.g., *manu, dâhu, chôhu, lâhu*, or

(2) are borrowings from Sanskrit and other languages, e.g., *bâu, madhu, sôru, bâgu lagâmu, ṭôlu.*

§ **19.** Bases in *-û* are very few and are either ancient enlarged bases, e.g., *nâû* or are loan-words from Sanskrit and other languages, e.g., *badhû.*

§ 20. Bases which ended in short vowels in the language of the Râmâyan have become consonantic in Modern Awadhî owing to the loss of the final short vowel, e.g., *pûta* : *pût*, *phala* : *phal* ; *bipati* : *bipat*, *sôru* : *sôr*. When the pronunciation is slack, however, *e*, *i* and *u* are heard after the last consonant, which connect the forms with their parents. Bases in long vowels, however, seem to subsist intact, e.g , *dôhâ*. *kîrâ*, *châtî*, *chãhī*, *nâû*.

The Oblique Case.

§ 21. Cases which express concrete relations have a tendency to disappear in all Indo-European languages.[4] Use of alternative cases appears in Sanskrit literature as early as some of the earliest Brahmaṇas. At the Prakrit stage some cases and case-forms entirely die out and by the time of Apabhraṃśa case-relations become still more confused. By the time of Tulsîdâs there was established one general case—the oblique—which answered for all concrete or indirect cases. The direct case, with the aid of post-positions, also sometimes expressed these relations.

Oblique Singular.

§ 22. The oblique singular of the Râmâyan which ends in *-hi* or *hĩ* goes back to the instrumental plural and is based on the Apabhraṃśa termination *-hiṃ*, e.g., *puttahiṃ*.[5] Nasalisation is very unstable in Indian languages, *ṃ* becomes ˜ and finally disappears. This *-hiṃ* goes back to the Sanskrit termination *-bhis* of the instrumental plural.

The alternative oblique singular in *-ê* also seems to be based on the ancient instrumental plural, though on the alternative form in *-aiḥ* (*putraiḥ*). This alternative was mostly applied to bases in *-a*, the predecessors of the masculine bases of the Râmâyan in *-a* and *-â*.

The instrumental tends to be confounded very early with the dative,[6] the ablative,[7] the genitive,[8] and the locative.[9]

The post-positions *kêra*, *kêri*, *kêrê*, based on *kârya* or some such word[10] and *lâgi* (Sanskrit, *lagyatê*) which are generally used after the oblique, can be used both with the genitive and the instrumental.

§ 23. An objection which may be put forward against this derivation of the oblique singular, is that a plural form has been invoked for tracing the development of the singular. It should, however, be noted that by the time of the Râmâyan the whole ancient system was in pieces and quite a new system was evolved from the remains of the ancient. Moreover, the instrumental singular (*puttī*) was liable to be confused with the nominative (*puttu*) and the locative (*putti*), so recourse was had to some *-hi* form to make the general oblique.

§ 24. The development of the pronouns in Prakrit[11] generally leads to the same conclusion, e.g., *maĩ* < Prakrit *maê* ((instrumental singular), *tui* < Prakrit *tuê* (instrumental singular), *hamahi* < *amhêhiṃ* (instrumental plural), *tumhahi* < *tumhêhiṃ*, (instrumental plural), *tehi* (oblique singular) < *tēhiṃ* (instrumental plural). *tâhi* (oblique singular) < *tâhiṃ* (instrumental plural), *kehi* < *kehiṃ*, *kâhi* < *kâhiṃ*.

§ 25. The oblique singular may also be derived from Apabhraṃśa locative singular (*puttahĩ*), in which case there would be no need of having recourse to the plural, but the general development of the pronouns does not agree with this derivation.

4 *Vide* Dr. Bloch, *La Formation de la Langue Marathe*, 1920, (referred to in this paper simply as Dr. Bloch), p. 181, § 183.

5 *Vide* Woolner, *Introduction to Prakrit*, p. 67.

6 "*aśiṣṭavyavahârê dâṇaḥ prayôgê caturthyarthê tṛtiyâ*" —*The Vârtika Commentary on Pāṇini.*

7 Pâṇini's *Aṣṭâdhyâyî*, II. 3. 25, II. 3. 32, II. 3. 33, II. 3. 35.

8 *Ibid.*, II. 3. 27, II. 3. 69, II. 3. 71, II. 3. 72.

9 *Ibid.*, II. 3. 44, II. 3. 45.

10 *Vide* Woolner, *Introduction to Prakrit*, p. 28.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 38–40.

The alternative proposal[12] of Dr. Bloch of deriving this case from the dative singular does not suit the case in the Râmâyan, though it quite suits Marâṭhî; *dêvâya* becomes Marâṭhî *dêvâ* (through *dêvâa*), but could not become *dêvahi* or even *dêvai*.

§ **26**. Dr. Bloch thinks[13] that the *h* of the Apabhraṃśa was not a sound actually pronounced at the time but only inserted as a method of transcription. But from the frequency with which the aspiration between two vowels occurs in the Râmâyan it is hard to believe that it does not represent a true sound of the time. Besides, the survival of inter-vocalic *h* in some words of Modern Awadhî does not warrant Dr. Bloch's proposition.

§ **27**. Concrete case-relations are expressed in two different ways in the Râmâyan, at least as regards the singular, *viz.*:—

(*a*) by using post-positions after the direct case, and

(*b*) by using the oblique simple or followed by post-positions.

Modern Awadhî has generally adopted the first course and has mostly lost the singular oblique. Traces of it, however, are still found in such forms as *gharai, bajârai*; *mâthê, sapnê*.

Oblique Plural.

§ **28**. The oblique plural is based on the ancient genitive plural (Prakrit, *puttâṇam*). The genitive has been a very common alternative case for the dative, locative and instrumental, and is often confounded in form with the ablative since early Indo-Aryan times. It is at the basis of the oblique plural of all the Indo-Aryan languages.[14]

§ **29**. One objection to this derivation of the oblique plural is that the *n* of terminations survives in modern languages only as a simple nasalisation, *e.g.*, Marâṭhî *dêvâṃ* < Sanskrit *dêvânâm*, Hindustânî *ghôṛõ* < Sanskrit *ghôtakânâm*, Braj. *ghôṛaũ*, Râjasthânî *ghôrã* or *ghôḷã* < Sanskrit *ghôtakânâm*, and not as a full sound. But the full *n* sound does survive in the oblique of some Indo-Aryan languages, e.g., in Kâśmîrî[15] dative plural *tsûran, guren, mâlan*, in Sindhi[16], e.g., *ḍḍêhan*[e], and in Singhalese.

An alternative suggestion for the derivation of this case is that some such noun as *jana* might have been affixed to the nouns to form the plural, and the *-na* of the Râmâyan may be its remains (*cf.* Bengâlî *gâch-sakal*[17] where *sakal* is added to form the plural). But this derivation is not possible, since here we are seeking the derivation of an oblique case and the oblique of *jana* would never give *na* at the end (*cf.* Bhîlî,[18] *bâpânê*, plural dative, and *bâpânô*, plural genitive). If it were a direct case the derivation would be possible.

§ **30**. Besides *-na*, the oblique plural ends in *-nha*, *-ni* and *-nhi* also. *h* and *hi* seem to have been added to it on the model of the oblique singular.

§ **31**. Modern Awadhî, while it has lost the oblique singular, has retained the oblique plural. The aspiration which was added to it has been quite lost, so that the modern oblique plural ends in *-na* or *-ni* simply.

Other Forms.

§ **32**. The nominative-accusative plural in *-ê* (*cêrê, bandanavârê*) seems to go back to the Prakrit accusative ending *-ê*[19], which sometimes replaced the regular Sanskrit ending *-ân* (*puttê*). This form has been lost in most of the words of Modern Awadhî, being replaced by the direct.

§ **33**. The forms *asîsaĩ, bhauhaĩ*, etc., seem to have been based on the accusative plural termination *-âni* of the neuter: **vattâĩ* : *bâtaĩ*. These forms subsist in Modern Awadhî, though their nasalisation has been lost, e.g., *bâtaĩ* : *bâtai*; *kitâbai, bhaũhai*.

12 *Vide* Dr. Bloch, pp. 182-183.

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 31, 182.

14 *Ibid.*, pp. 181-82.

15 *Vide L.S.I.*, VIII, part II, p. 271.

16 *Ibid.*, VIII, part I, p. 25.

17 *Ibid.*, V, part I, p. 34.

18 *Ibid.*, IX, part III, p. 12.

19 *Vide* Woolner, *Introduction to Prakrit*, p. 32.

THE ORIGIN OF THE PALLAVAS.

BY MUDALIYAR C. RASANAYAGAM.

THE origin of the dynasty of the Pallavas and that of their name has been a subject of controversy for a long time, and the attempts made to throw light on it have not made the mystery less impenetrable. That the Pallavas became a great power in South India in the sixth and seventh centuries, and that they contributed a great deal to the growth first of Buddhism and then of Hinduism, and to South Indian architecture and sculpture, are well known. But we have still to find out who they were and whence they came.

Dr. Vincent A. Smith in the first edition of his *Early History of India*, said that the origin of the Pallava clan or tribe, which supplied royal families to Kâñchi, Vengi and Palakkada, was obscure, and that the name appeared to be another form of Pahlava. This was the name of a foreign clan or tribe frequently mentioned in inscriptions and Sanskrit literature, and Dr. Smith thought that it was derived ultimately from the name for the 'Parthians.' His supporters believed that this nomadic tribe of Parthians, Pahlavas, or Pallavas passed through India from the north to the south without leaving a trace of their long journey, just as if they had marched along a highway, and finally halted at Kâñchipuram, defeated the uncivilized tribes living there, built a great city and ruled over them. The improbability of this story, notwithstanding the attempt on the part of some to determine the date of the supposed Parthian invasion and the Pallava immigration to the south, appears to have been clearly proved by Dr. Fleet. In a note to the *Indian Antiquary*,[1] Mr. J. Burgess said that the Pallava theory of Dr. Vincent Smith could not be accepted and that Dr. Fleet had disposed of it by pointing out that it was based partly on a mistranslation. The Pallava mystery then became so much more mysterious that Dr. Vincent Smith in the second edition of the same work, published in 1908, changed his opinion and said that, though Dr. Fleet and other writers were disposed to favour the view that Pallavas and Pahlavas were identical, and that the Pallava dynasty of Kâñchi should be considered of Persian origin, yet recent research did not support this hypothesis, and that it seemed more likely that the Pallavas were a tribe, clan or caste, which was formed in the northern part of the Madras Presidency, possibly in the Vengi country. He also added, perhaps to throw a doubt on his own suggestion and to seek for the Pallava origin still further south, that the Veḷḷâḷas, Kaḷḷas and Paḷḷis of South India claimed to be connected with them.[2] For eleven more years no satisfactory explanations were offered, and in *The Oxford History of India* published in 1919, Dr. Smith was constrained to admit that the Pallavas constituted one of the mysteries of Indian history, and that there was every reason to believe that future historians would be able to give a fairly complete narrative of the doings of the Pallava kings and lay open the secret of their origin and their connections.

Mr. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, Professor of the Pondicherry College, whose knowledge of Indian antiquities and allied subjects is profound, and who has done most to work out a rational history of the Pallavas from the earliest times to the decline of their power, from the available data of inscriptions and copper plates, accepted the challenge thrown out by Dr. Smith. In his book on *The Ancient History of the Deccan*, published in 1920, he proceeds to give a plausible account of the origin of this elusive tribe. He takes the family tradition, given in the Vêlûrpâḷayam plates, that the first member of the family who became king 'acquired all the emblems of Royalty on marrying the daughter of the Lord of

[1] Vol. XXXIV, p. 196.

[2] See also *Numismata Orientalia*, p. 42.

Serpents—evidently a Nâga princess [3], as his basis, and tries to prove a Pahlava-Nâga alliance that enabled the Pallavas to inherit the Kâñchi throne. With painstaking care he first brings together the Śâtavâhanas, the Chuṭu Nâgas, the Western Kshatrapas, the Mahârathis, etc., under a chronological arrangement before turning to the matter of the Pallava-Nâga alliance. But although this throws a flood of light on the obscure history of the Deccan during that early period, it does not in any way satisfy the reader. It leaves him to surmise that a Pahlava minister of the Western Kshatrapas reigning at Âparânta married the daughter of Śiva-Skanda-Nâga-Śâtakarṇi and inherited the throne of Kâñchi. If the Pahlava minister or his son had made such an alliance and had, by some process not clearly explained, inherited the throne of Kâñchi, the statement in the Vêlûrpâḷayam plates would be verified. And as the Pahlavas were of Parthian origin, the older theory too would have been established. Thus the pious hope of Dr. Vincent Smith that the home of the Pallavas might be found somewhere further south still remains unfulfilled. The Nâga dynasty, of course, was easily found by M. Dubreuil in the contemporaneous Chuṭu Nâgas, who were fortunately succeeded by the Pallavas ; but he had still to show that one of their kings was the ruler of a larger tract of land than was under the authority of the Chuṭus. If an alliance of the Chuṭu Nâgas with the Sâtavâhanas could be established, a Śâtavâhana king would answer the purpose. Such a king in the person of Śiva-Skanda-Nâga-Śâtakarṇi, who belonged to a dynasty of Ândhra-*cum*-Chuṭu-*cum*-Mahârathi, and in whose veins ran Nâga blood for two generations, was ready to hand. As certain coins with the legend Śri Puḷumâyi were found near Cuddalore, Skanda Nâga is assumed to have been identical with Śri Puḷumâyi and to have occupied the country of which Kâñchi later became the capital. It is left to be inferred that this country was given as a dowry to his daughter, who married the Pahlava minister of the Western Kshatrapas or his son. Even supposing in the absence of any authorities, that the marriage did really take place, questions still arise whether the sovereignty of Śiva-Skanda-Nâga-Śâtakarṇi in the third century A.D., ever extended so far as to include Toṇḍaimandalam, and whether there was no king of any other dynasty reigning at Kâñchi at the time. There is no other authority than the finding of the coins ; and that of course, without other evidence to support it, does not prove anything, just as the finding of Greek and Roman coins in a place can never by itself prove that the place was under the sway of the Greeks or the Romans.

All this unsatisfactory groping in the dark was due to the ignorance of ancient Tamil literature under which Western scholars generally laboured, and partly also perhaps to their belief that no valuable historical information could be gathered from these works. But during the last decade or two there has been an awakening that has placed all the hidden treasures of ancient Tamil literature before the public. Among these is the *Maṇimêkalai*, a veritable mine of information to the antiquarian and the historian. From the *Maṇimêkalai* one is able to gather that one Kiḷḷi, who was also known as Vadivêṛkiḷḷi, Venvêṛkiḷḷi, Mâvenkiḷḷi, Neḍumudikiḷḷi and Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan, the son and successor of Karikâla the Great, was the Chôḷa king reigning at Puhâr or Kaveripûmpaṭṭinam, when that city was engulfed by the sea, and that he thereupon removed his capital to Uraiyûr.[4] According to the *Chilappatikâram*, or the Epic of the Anklet, a sister work to the *Maṇimêkalai*, the Chêra king Senguṭṭuvan built a temple for the worship of Pattini, and at the consecration of the temple there were present Gajabâhu of Lanka, Iḷam Cheḷiyan of Madura and Kiḷḷi of Uraiyûr, who also built temples for the same deity in their own countries.[5] Gajabâhu ruled in Ceylon from

[3] *Report of Epigraphy*, 1910-1911.

[4] *Maṇimêkalai*, Canto XXV, ll, 178—203.

[5] *Chilappatikâram*, Canto XXX, ll, 160—164.

113 to 135 A.D.[6] The destruction of Puhâr was therefore a little before this. It is also said in the *Maṇimêkalai* that while Kiḷḷi was reigning at Uraiyûr, his brother Iḷamkiḷḷi or Iḷamko was at Kâñchi, and after him Kiḷḷi's son by a Nâga princess, Toṇḍaimân Iḷantirayan, was installed at Kâñchi.[7] All these facts, taken from the Tamil Epics, were given by Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in a very valuable and instructive paper, published in the *Indian Antiquary*.[8] But if he had dived deeper, he would have found more information throwing a great deal of light on the origin of the Pallavas. Toṇḍaimân Iḷantirayan was the son of Kiḷḷi by Pîlivaḷai, the daughter of Vaḷaivânan, the Nâga king of Maṇi-pallavam. He was lost in a shipwreck on his way from Maṇi-pallavam to Puhâr, but was afterwards found washed ashore coiled up in a *toṇḍai* creeper, and he was therefore called Toṇḍaimân Iḷantirayan, Toṇḍaimân, and also Tirayan, because he was washed ashore by the sea.[9] The sovereignty of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, separated from Chôlamaṇḍalam, was assigned to him by his father, and he was the first king of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, which was so called after his name, with his capital at Kâñchi. Kiḷḷi is also alleged to have caused a grove and a tank to be made at Kâñchi in imitation of those in the island of Maṇi-pallavam.[10] This tank was perhaps the one referred to in the Kasâkuḍi plates as the tank of Tirayan.[11] Iḷantirayan was the first independent king who reigned at Kâñchi, and the dynasty started by him was called the Pallava dynasty. He must have come to the throne about the third quarter of the second century A.D. The destruction of Puhâr and the consequent removal of the capital to Uṛaiyûr before 150 A.D., is confirmed by Ptolemy, the Alexandrian geographer, who wrote his work about that time, as he calls Orthoura (Uṛantai or Uṛaiyûr) the capital of the Chôlas. As, perhaps, Iḷantirayan's Nâga mother was not considered equal in rank to his father, his dynasty was not called by the usual patronymic, but was designated by his mother's native place Maṇi-pallavam. Maṇi-pallavam has been identified as the Jaffna Peninsula, which was then an island; and to observers sailing up from India the island would have appeared just like a sprout or growth on the mainland of Lanka, and hence it was called '*pallavam*,' which in Tamil means 'a sprout' or 'the end of a bough.' The name Maṇi-pallavam occurs only in the *Maṇimêkalai*. The more ancient name of the island was Maṇipuram; and the Sinhalese called it Maṇi-Nâgadîpa, as it was populated by the Nâgas and governed by Nâga kings.[12] The prefix *Mani* appears to have been retained and the name *pallavam* added by the Tamils, as it appeared like a sprout springing from a mother tree. The later Pallavas called themselves by the *birudas* Buddhyankûra, Nayankûra, Tarunankûra and Lalitankûra, with the Sanskrit ending *ankûra* meaning 'a sprout.' The title Pôtharâyar, adopted by the Pallava kings, is also derived from the Tamil word *pôttu*, meaning 'a sprout' and synonymous with *pallavam*. These facts clearly show that they retained the memory of their origin and adopted titles bearing the same meaning as the Tamil word *pallavam*.[13]

In the Râyakôṭṭa plates,[14] a Pallava king Skânda Sîshya, supposed to have lived earlier than Vishṇugôpa (330 A.D.), claims descent from Asvaddhâman, the Brahman warrior of the *Mahâbhârata*, through a Nâga princess. The origin of Iḷantirayan was either forgotten by

[6] *Mahavaṇsa*, List of Kings, part I; but Mr. Geiger gives 171-193 A.D. for Gajabâhu.

[7] *Perumpâṇâṛṛupaḍai*, l. 37.

[8] *Ante.*, vol. XXXVII, Celebrities in Tamil Literature, p. 235.

[9] *Perumpâṇâṛṛupaḍai*, ll : 31—37.

[10] *Maṇimêkalai*, Canto XXVIII, ll. 201—207.

[11] *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. II, No. 73.

[12] *JCBRAS.*, vol. XXVI, Nâgadipa and Buddhist Remains in Jaffna.

[13] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VII, p. 145.

[14] *Ibid.*, vol. V, No. 8.

this time, or with the purpose of concealing the *liaison* of the Chôḷa king with the Nâga princess, this Puranic story was manufactured under Brahmanic influence and began to be believed. The legend of Iḷantirayan as the originator of the Pallava dynasty was, however, referred to by Dr. Hultzch in his notes on the Râyakôṭṭa plates.[15]

Thus it will be seen that the name Pallava had really its origin further south than imagined by Dr. Smith, and the name implied a ruling dynasty and not a tribe or clan. If the meaning of the word *pallava*, as represented later in the several titles adopted by the kings of that dynasty be admitted, the improbability of their connection with the Pahlavas or the Parthians is quite plain. It is impossible to say whether there are any Veḷḷâḷas or Kaḷḷas in South India who claim relationship with the Pallavas, but the Paḷḷis or the Paḷḷivilis claim to be the descendants of the last Pallava kings, who were defeated and degraded by the Chôḷas.

FLYING THROUGH THE AIR.

BY A. M. HOCART.

THE commonest miracle of Buddhist literature consists in flying through the air, so much so that the Pali title *arahant*, 'one who has attained the *summum bonum* of religious aspiration,'[1] 'a saint,' has given rise to the Sinhalese verb *rahatve*—which means 'to disappear,' 'to pass instantaneously from one point to another.'[2] In fact flying through the air has become the test of *arahatship*.

In Sanskrit literature standing in mid-air is a sign by which one can tell a god from a man. Sanskrit readers are familiar with that passage in the story of Nala (V. 22 pp.) where Damayanti, at a loss how to distinguish her lover from the four gods who have assumed his form, in her distress prays to them to reveal their divinity. They do so by appearing "sweatless, unwinking, crowned with fresh and dustless garlands." "*Asvedân stabdhalocanân hrṣitasragrajohonân sthithân asprśatah ksitim.*"

By the way this is but another instance of how saints have assumed the attributes of gods, or, rather, to be on the safe side, how both derive their attributes from a common source.

Why this insistence on the power to float in the air? Why is it made a test of divinity or sainthood? It has rather been taken for granted that, given supernatural beings, they must move in the regions of air instead of treading the earth. We are so used to the idea that we think it perfectly natural, and forget that it only seems natural because we are so used to it. When we come to think of it, there is no reason why they should not walk as we do, swim in the sea, or burrow in the earth. If we are to make a beginning of explaining customs and beliefs we must take nothing for granted, but must seek to explain everything, not by vague phrases such as "poetic fancy," "primitive thought," but by precise causes from which the custom or belief derives with logical, one might almost say mathematical, necessity.

The line of attack I propose is one which has already enabled us to win several minor advantages.[3] It may or may not be successful in this case, but I claim for it that at the least it is a serious attempt to penetrate into the region of myth, and that it conforms to the standard I have set.

15 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. V, p. 50.

1 The Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary*.

2 *Rahatvenavâ : mama dän metana innavânam me velävê Ingalantê inta puluvani.*

3 'Chieftainship in the Pacific', *Amer. Anthropologist*, 1915, p. 631. 'The Common Sense of Myth', *ibid*, 1916, p. 307. 'Polynesian Tombs,' *ibid.*, 1918, p. 456. 'Myths in the Making,' *Folk-Lore*, 1922, p. 57.

I use as my base the fact that over a large part of the old world kings are divine, they are impersonations of gods, and as such have all the attributes of godhead, so that what is true of the god is true of the king, and what is true of the king is true of the god. I have no hesitation in believing that all the varieties of this doctrine, wherever they occur, are derived from the same original source, since the area they cover is continuous from West Africa to Peru, and even, if it were not continuous, the doctrine itself is sufficiently strange and elaborate to warrant us in denying that it can ever have sprung up independently in various parts of the world.

Now, in countries where the kings or priest-kings are divine it sometimes happens that the king is never allowed to touch the ground. Instances are quoted by Sir James Frazer in his *Golden Bough*[4] from countries both East and West of India ; among the Zapotecs of Mexico, in Japan, Siam, Persia, Uganda. The case which gives us most support comes from Tahiti, and I will therefore quote in full Ellis' account in his *Polynesian Researches* (III, 101f, 108, 114) : " Whether, like the sovereigns of the Sandwich Islands, they were supposed to derive their origin by lineal descent from the gods, or not, their persons were regarded as scarcely less sacred than the personifications of the deities . . . The sovereign and his consort always appeared in public on men's shoulders, and travelled in this manner wherever they journeyed by land . . . On these occasions (changes of mounts) their majesties never suffered their feet to touch the ground . . . The inauguration ceremony, answering to coronation among other nations, consisted in girding the king with the *maro ura*, or sacred girdle, of red feathers which not only raised him to the highest earthly station, but identified him with the gods. This idea pervaded the terms used with reference to his whole establishment. His houses were called clouds of heaven, the glare of the torches in his dwelling was denominated lightning, and when the people saw them in the evening as they passed near his abode, instead of saying the torches were burning in the palace, they would observe that the lightning was flashing in the clouds of heaven. When he passed from one district to the other they always used the word *mahuti*, which signifies to fly, and hence they described his journey by saying that the king was flying from one district of the Island to another."

In Tahiti then it was literally true that gods were distinguished from ordinary men in that they never touched the ground, but that they flew where others walked. But the reason why the king-god did so was not the reason given by the people themselves ; they said that if he touched the ground that spot would have become sacred and could never more have been used for profane purposes. This may have been a very good reason for keeping up the practice, but the other observances I have quoted leave no doubt that its true origin is that the king of Tahiti, like the king of Egypt, of the Hittites,[5] of Ceylon,[6] of various parts of India,[7] of Japan, to name a few among many, was the sun-god himself or his son, and as such lived in clouds, flashed lightning, and moved above the earth. The king of Tahiti like other Polynesian kings was called Heaven, and "at death or transference of a king's temporal power it is said, 'The *Ra* (sun) has set,' the king being called 'the man who holds the sun,' or 'the Sun-Eater'."[8]

" You have produced evidence," some one will object, " from Mexico, from Tahiti, from Uganda, from everywhere except from India, from which the argument set out. You have not attempted to show us in existence in India the custom which is supposed to explain the

[4] 2nd ed., I, 234, 236 ; III, 202.

[5] Garstang : *The Land of the Hittites*, p. 340.

[6] Don M. de Z. Wickremasinghe : *Epigráphia Zeylanica*, vols. I, p. 26 ; II, pp. 162 & 189.

[7] Senart : *Essai sur la Légende du Bouddha.*

[8] Tregear : *Comparative Maori Dictionary*, s.v. *ra* and *rang*.

miracle of flying through the air." But if my suggestion is right, we ought not to find the custom practised in India at the time and in the place where the Nala episode or any writing containing the same belief was written; for as long as the gods are to be seen carried about so that their feet may not touch the ground, this mark of kingship, *viz.*, divinity, cannot be regarded in the light of a miracle. On the other hand when the custom has fallen into oblivion the perfectly true statement that gods used to move above the earth can only be interpreted in the sense of a supernatural manifestation.[9] In Sanskrit and Pali literature therefore we cannot expect to find more than echoes of this ancient custom,—indications that it once existed. We seem to have such an echo in the history of Sona as related by Spence Hardy in his *Manual of Buddhism* (p. 254). From his childhood Sona never put his foot on the ground, because he had a circle of red hairs under the sole of his foot. He had only to threaten to put his foot down to bring his servants to reason, as they dreaded that so much merit should thus get lost. Now this wheel on the sole has been shown by Senart to be originally an emblem of the Sun-god.[10] Others better read than I may find more traces of this very ancient custom. I would just like to make a suggestion for what it is worth. Both Egypt[11] and in Polynesia[12] have a story that heaven and earth were in close embrace until a hero came and parted them by lifting up the Heavens. May not the customs of not allowing the solar king to touch the earth have some connection with this myth?

Let us leave that aside however and return to the other attributes ascribed to gods by the *Mahâbhârata*: "sweatless, unwinking, crowned with fresh and dustless garlands." I confess these were long a stumbling block to me, for if we explain one attribute by the theory of divine kingship we must explain the others in the same way. Here I stuck until I chanced to read in the *Golden Bough* (I. 235) the following passage taken from Kaempfer's *History of Japan*: "In ancient times he (the Mikado) was obliged . . . to sit altogether like a statue, without stirring either hands or feet, head or eyes, nor indeed any part of his body, because, by this means, it was thought he could preserve peace and tranquility in his empire." I mentioned at the outset the parallellism that exists between kings and saints; we could hardly expect that it would extend even to the contemplative exercises of the Indian ascetics.

Our inquiry, then, has had results which bear out the opinion I have frequently expressed before, that myths and miracles are excellent and reliable history, not of events but of customs. No one will wonder at this who has busied himself with collecting oral tradition, and who knows how anxious the average man is to get his tradition faultlessly accurate. If he goes wrong it is not that he alters statements he has heard, but that he misconceives their meaning, because the custom which is the clue to that meaning is lost.

THE DATE OF KANISHKA.

BY PROF. G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL.

THE first volume of the *Cambridge History of India* is just out, and it is certain that all the *Journals* which are going to publish reviews of it will not allow themselves to do anything but praise it and congratulate the Editor, Prof. E. J. Rapson.

He is also himself the author of several of the chapters. As is well known, Prof. Rapson has specially studied Indian Numismatics, and no one is better qualified than he to write Chapters XXII and XXIII, which treat of the Greeks and Śakas of India, as the

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9 Cf. *Myths in the Making*, p. 64.

10 *Op. cit.*, pp. 88 ff., 139.

11 Erman; *Handbook of Egyptian Religion.*

12 Tregear; *op. cit. s.v.* Mani.—Arthur Grimble: *Myths from the Gilbert Islands, Folk-Lore*, 1922, p. 94. In Egypt the sky is a woman, the Earth a man; in Polynesia it is the reverse.

history of those dynasties is based solely on the study of their coins. Indeed, these two chapters are excellent, and the result of his great labours in this direction is important.

It is common knowledge that the chronology of the Śaka and Pahlava Dynasties has so far remained very uncertain, but the question seems now to be definitely settled. Indeed, Prof. Rapson says categorically (pages 576) : " In that portion of Pahlava history which comes after the Christian Era, the period of the reign of Gondopharnes may be regarded as almost definitely fixed . . . There can be little doubt that the Era (in the Takht-i-Bahi inscription) is the Vikrama-saṁvat, which began in 58 B.C., and that therefore Gondopharnes began to reign in 19 A.D., and was still reigning in 45 A.D."

The study of the history of the Kushâṇas is reserved for Volume II, and there again the question of dates presents formidable difficulties : " The chronology of this period has been one of the most perplexing problems in the whole of Indian history ; and the problem can scarcely be said to be solved positively even now (page 583)." As there is raised here a question of the highest importance to the history of India, I take the liberty of expressing the opinion that the problem may be taken to be practically settled by a careful study of the excavations of Sir John Marshall at Taxila.

Assuming that Gondopharnes was reigning in the region of Taxila in 45 A.D., his successor in Irân was Pacores. During the reign of Pacores the Governor of Taxila was Sasas, nephew of Aśpavarman. In the year 64 A.D. (Parjitâr inscription) the same country was occupied by the "Great King" Kushâṇa.

If I have rightly understood the reports of the excavations of Sir John Marshall at Taxila (*Excavations at Taxila, Arch. Survey Ind.*, 1912-13, pp. 1 ff ; and *A Guide to Taxila*, Calcutta, 1918), quite distinct stratifications have been discovered in that place, viz :— (*a*) Strata of Gondopharnes, Sasan, etc., (*b*) Strata of Kujûla-Kadphises and Hermœus ; (*c*) Strata of V'ima-Kadphises. The formation of the soil, during the period in which the coins of Kujûla-Kadphises and Hermœus were alone in circulation, in all probability involved a considerable number of years. And then there must have been a fairly long period, during which the coins of V'ima-Kadphises became numerous.

But this is not all, and it is necessary also to draw attention to a point of extreme importance. The town of Sirkap seems to have been abandoned all of a sudden after a certain number of years of the reign of V'ima-Kadphises. As a matter of fact, at Sirkap are found the coins of all the predecessors of V'ima, as well as those of V'ima Kadphises himself. But there has never been found a single coin of his successors at Sirkap.

Next, Sir John Marshall makes a remark which is of the first consequence :—" Not a single coin of Soter-Megas has been found at Sirkap." If, on this, we take into consideration that coins of Soter-Megas are very common in India, and that they date from a period before Kanishka, it becomes evident that between the date of the abandonment of Sirkap and the accession of Kanishka a great number of years must have passed. Moreover, in some other parts of Taxila, *e.g.*, at the Chir *stûpa*, coins of V'ima-Kadphises, Soter-Megas, Kanishka, etc., are found in abundance. In short, the Kushânas got possession of Taxila about 60 A.D., and from that date we must reckon the periods of the coins, (1) of Kujûla and Hermœus, (2) of V'ima Kadphises, (3) of Soter Megas, (4) of Kanishka. Each of these periods has undoubtedly covered a large number of years, and in such circumstances it becomes impossible to place the accession of Kanishka in 78 A.D., that is to say, only eighteen years after the immigration of the Kushâṇas into Northern India.

If we now take into consideration the style of some of the sculptures, we must hold that the art of Kanishka is a Græco-Buddhist art so degenerated that it is impossible to place it in the first century A.D., Indeed, Sir John Marshall has dubbed the style of Kanishka rococo (*The Cambridge History*, vol. I, p. 648).

The period of Kanishka is therefore the first half of the second century A.D.[1] and he certainly did not found the Śaka Era. Who then did found that Era ? The oldest inscriptions unquestionably belonging to this Era are dated in the reign of Rudradâman and in the Śaka year 52. The dynasty of Rudradâman was founded by his grandfather Chashṭana, and since Chashṭana's grandson was reigning in Śaka year 52, it is certain that the commencement of that Era took place in the time of Chashṭana.

The most natural supposition of all is to admit that Chashṭana was the founder of the dynasty and also the founder of the Era. Proceeding on this supposition, the history of India becomes quite clear. Thus, in the first half of the first century A.D. there existed a vast empire, that of Gondophares, which included, (1) the Pahlava kingdom of Eastern Irân, (2) the Yavana kingdom of Kâbul,[2] (3) the Śaka kingdom of the Punjab, Râjputâna and Mahârâshtra. This empire fell about 60 A.D., and whilst the Kushânas got possession of the Panjab, the king of the Deccan, Gautamîputra Śatakarṇi, destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas, and seized Mahârâshtra, Kâthiâwâr and Mâlwâ. This is exactly what the celebrated inscription of Nâsik tells us (Ins. No. 2, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VII, p. 61): " Gautamîputra destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas and became king of Surâshtra, Akaravantî, etc." The above conquests of Ujjain and Kâthiâwâr by the king of the Deccan could only have been temporary. In 78 A.D. Chashṭana became king of Mâlwâ and Surâshṭra, and founded a new dynasty and a new era—the Śaka Era.

BOOK-NOTICES.

ŚIKSHÂSAMUCCAYA, A COMPENDIUM OF BUDDHIST DOCTRINE. Compiled by Śântideva, chiefly from earlier Mahâyâna Sûtras. Translated by the late Professor Cecil Bendall and Dr. W. H. D. Rouse, both of Cambridge. London, John Murray for Government of India, Indian Text Series : 1922.

In considering any Indian philosophical subject I like to get at the root meaning of the title, in this case, *samuccaya*. *Samudcaya*, or *samuccaya*, indicates a heaping together, collection, combination : in philosophy a joint production of knowledge, faith (with works), and meditation. The title of Śântideva's work, *Śikshâsamuccaya*, would in effect be a summary or code of the Doctrine of Combination.

As a general doctrine *samuccaya* has played an important part in Indian philosophy of the early middle ages or late antiquity—7th and 8th centuries A.D. and onwards. It would obviously fascinate the contemplative mind of the larger section of philosophic Hindus. The Bhâgavatas, Mâdhvas and Vishṇusvâmis all upheld the doctrine generally, *viz.*, that to secure release—the Hindu form of salvation—it was necessary to combine religious duty with knowledge. In doing so they went beyond Śankara, who was satisfied with knowledge only, and their view had the full support of Râmânuja. All this shows how important the study of the Doctrine of Samuccaya is for a proper apprehension of modern philosophic Hinduism.

But the book before me takes it into Buddhism also. Śântideva was, with Candrakîrti, one of the two shining lights of the philosophic (Mâdhyamaka School) Mahâyâna Buddhism of the 7th century A.D. His *Śikshâsamuccaya* is an excellent manual of the teaching of his school, though in a bulky form. It sets forth the ideal life of a Bodhisattva according to the Mahâyâna philosophy : the ideal of self-sacrifice for the benefit of the world through self-enlightenment. It teaches the general Doctrine of Combination to the full : faith in the form of

1 The inscription of Aśvaghosha at Sârnâth (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. VIII, p. 171), which is dated in the year 40 has been specially studied by Mr. Arthur Venis. It would seem (*JRAS.*, 1912, p. 702) that the inscription may also be dated in the year 209. If one may suppose that one of these two dates is in the Vikrama Era and the other in the Era of Kanishka, the year 151 A.D. (Vikrama *Saṁvat* 209) will be the year 40 of the Era of Kanishka, and the date of Kanishka will be 111 A.D.

2 That he ruled also in the Kâbul valley, which was probably annexed before his reign (p. 574), appears to be shown by the large numbers of his coins which were found on its ancient site by Masson (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 577).

passionate devotion, charity and compassion: works in the form of full Mahâyâna ritual: sacrifice by self-discipline and martyrdom carried to any necessary extent of torture at one's own or other hands:—all for the benefit of others. Would that Mahâyânism could have been induced to stay where Śântideva carried it.

However, the importance of Śântideva's great work for the student of Buddhism is obvious, and we must congratulate ourselves that the translation thereof should have fallen into such competent hands, though it has been long in the preparation. It is more than thirty years ago since Professor Bendall got possession of the MS.: more than twenty-five since he edited it for the St. Petersburg *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, and almost that period since he and Professor Cowell started to translate it. Then Dr. Rouse took it up as a labour of duty at Professor Bendall's request on his deathbed, with the active assistance of Professor de la Vallée Poussin and Dr. F. W. Thomas. The mere enumeration of these names is enough to show the quality of the translation and that Cambridge has been fortunate in being able to claim them for teachers of Sanskrit.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT, 1921. Government Press, Bangalore.

Gazetteer work during 1921 has prevented Mr. R. Narasimhachar and his staff from reporting in such detail as usual, but they have succeeded nevertheless in putting together information of much interest and value, and the illustrations are excellent.

The points that strike one on perusing its pages are that Mr. Narasimhachâr has again reason to point to a stone with a Tamil Inscription of Kulôttuṅga Chôla, dated 1084 A.D., having been used for carving an image, this time of Hanumân. Here is one source of the disappearance of inscriptions. How fortunate are others, even of great value, in being accidentally preserved, the following outline of the story of one of them is a proof. A farmer, Kempananjappa of Kûdlûr, ploughed up two sets of copper-plate grants of the Gangas and then reburied them in a field of his in another village, Aldûr. There they remained six years, when he showed them to a friend, a banker, Nâganna of Mysore, who showed them to Pandit Sâmâchârya of the Mysore Oriental Library, for many years in the Archæological Department. Hence their publication in this Report. One of them is of great value, being the only grant of the Ganga king Mârasimha as yet unearthed. It is dated 963 A.D. and is a fine work of art. Not only that, it is a very long inscription of some 200 lines, and owing to its late date, it gives practically the entire Ganga genealogy. It is fortunate indeed that the farmer happened to show it to the right people.

In his long account of this precious find, Mr. Narasimhachâr is enabled to make many useful observations on the chronology of the Gangas and their contemporaries and to set much straight in the old controversy on the subject between Dr. Fleet and Mr. Rice.

A matter of another kind is the reading of the inscription on a typical Śaktic image of the Vajrayâna School of Mahâyâna Buddhism acquired by Monsieur Clemenceau during his Eastern tour, obviously in or from Nepal. It is dated 1517 A.D. and was handed over to the Department for examination by the Maharaja of Mysore.

Among the coins described are some gold Virarâya *pagoda*s, and with reference to them Mr. Narasimhachâr has a remark to make worth recording here: "Now with regard to the symbol on the reverse, I venture to make a new suggestion. Besides the twelve dots the reverse shows an animal, evidently a crocodile, moving to the left. In the Plates in my *Report* for 1911 and in Elliot's *Coins of South India*, the coins are figured upside down, showing the dots below and the animal above lying on its back. If they are figured the other way about, the crocodile can be clearly seen moving to the left with its bent tail, and bearing the twelve dots on its back. I think the animal represents Śiśumâra, or the heavenly porpoise supporting on its back the collection of the stars and planets."

Altogether this is an admirable *Report*, although the year has been largely taken up with other work.

R. C. TEMPLE.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE OTTOMAN CONQUEST OF EGYPT in A.H. 922, A.D. 1516: translated from volume III of the Arabic Chronicle of Muhammed Ibn Ahmed Ibn Ilyâs. By Lieut.-Colonel W. H. Salmon. With introduction by Professor D. S. Margoliouth. Royal Asiatic Society: Oriental Translation Fund; New Series: vol. XXV, pp. xii and 117.

This little volume deals with a very important period in the history of Egypt and is instructive withal, as it gives an account by an eye-witness of the manner of the passing of the Mamlûk rulers, or rather of the sudden extinction of the last of them. It is therefore well worth the while of the Royal Asiatic Society to print an authentic translation, though of course the subject has often been dealt with before.

It is for this reason, perhaps, that both Colonel Salmon and Professor Margoliouth have contented themselves respectively with a bare translation and an introduction assuming a considerable knowledge of Arabic literature and history. The book is in fact practically for students only and those well equipped for its apprehension. Given this qualification in the reader, the book is beyond reproach, well up to the standard of the Society's work and most useful.

In his short foreword Colonel Salmon seems to be impressed by the "appalling cruelties in the narratives." I am afraid that a very long course of study in Oriental, and I may say Occidental, history at all periods, obliges me to say that they are characteristic of armed conquest on the part of most races in all parts of the world. There is indeed not much to choose between the various accounts. War has always been, and the last Great War shows that it still is, a very horrible thing.

One very instructive point for study is brought out by Professor Margoliouth. The *Mamlûk* was a foreign slave and many of the class in all Oriental countries rose to high positions, when of sufficient capacity—not a few to be governors and even kings: hence the so-called Slave Dynasties in various parts of the Eastern world. But they could only hold sway by personal ability and prestige, which was not backed, as Professor Margoliouth says, by any popular enthusiasm or loyalty. Hence they usually went down at once before an organised nation when under a capable sovereign or commander. This was the characteristic fate of the Mamlûk ruler of Egypt.

I notice that Professor Margoliouth remarks on the death of M. Van Berchem during the publication of this book. I cordially agree that that great scholar will not be easily replaced.

The mention above of the Mamlûk rulers brings up once again what is to me the burning question of transliteration. In the book we have Mamlûk, Mameluke, Memlûk, Memlook for the same Oriental word. Where are we? Again we have *Zain al-dîn, aulâd al-nâs* and so on. *Pace* Professor Margoliouth, I see no justification. In Arabic script surely all the vowels are marked, if not written out as separate letters, as in Roman, and the above transcriptions show to me neither the sound nor the script. I know they are in the modern fashion, but is that justified?

More than 30 years ago Dr. Fleet and I drew up tables of transliteration for this Journal out of the custom then current, and all went well; *i.e.*, it was generally adhered to by all our contributors and we knew where we were, till there sat an international committee, which produced such abortions as Kṛṣṇa which "no fellah can pronounce," and such annoying upsetters of indexing as Çiva. This last after all is not much of an improvement on the Madras ***Manual of Administration***, which as late as 1893, just 100 years after Sir William Jones, produced Caushy for a very well-known town—the reader may be left to guess which. Since that Committee's day editors have never had peace, and really chaos is again threatening us: *experto crede.*

The truth is that "experts" in meeting never settle anything. The Government of India found this to be the case when it came to entering the names of Native Officers in the Army List. Knowledgeable Staff Officers had to settle the writing of Native names in Roman characters, and the index-writer had peace and so had the index-reader. I have myself seen the same Native name written Ali Bakhsh, Ally Bax, Ully Bux and Olly Buccus by Adjutants who were good soldiers but indifferent scholars. The effect on an alphabetical list is obvious!

The same thing happened in Burma. Burmese orthography is as erratic almost as English. Ingenious lesser officials made travelling allowances by road "pay" by the spelling of place-names in bills for travelling from say X to Hlaingdet *viâ* Longtet, to Hlontak and back, say 30 miles: the three names above being more or less legitimate spellings of one name and the actual distance travelled being say 10 miles. We who had to pass such bills about 1890 induced the Government to adopt and print an official spelling for every place name in the country. It paid to do so.

I have lately had to review several books the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* involving the transliteration of Indian, Persian, Turki and Arabic names. The chaotic state of "scholarly" rendering of Oriental names in European form has in consequence as prominently forced itself upon my mind as it did a generation ago. I do not therefore apologise for repeatedly bringing it to the notice of the Society and for suggesting the adoption of an *outside authority* which has knowledge to settle for general recognition the conflicting opinion of experts in meeting. I cannot see any other way out of the present *impasse.*

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

42. Sales in fortified places in Sumatra.

22 *March* 1693/4. *Nathaniel Higginson, President of Fort St. George, to the Raja of Syllabarr* [Sumatra]. I have received your Letter and understand the contents Concerning which I have written to Mr. Wilson whom I have appointed Govr. of York Fort [Bencoolen, Sumatra] and have ordered him to keep Contract friendship with you and to encourage your Port by making a Paggor[1] and Sending people there to buy Pepper; Mr. Wilson has given me an Account of your true friendship. I desire your acceptance of a Small token of my respect which he will deliver you. (*Letters from Fort St. George, vol.* 22.)

R. C. TEMPLE.

1 Malay *pagâr*, an enclosure; Can. *pâgâra*, a fortified village. The meaning (probably due to both vernacular words) appears to be making a 'strong enclosure' etc.

SAMAPA : OR THE ASOKAN KALINGA.

BY G. RAMDAS, B.A

(*Continued from p.* 70.)

When Aśoka ascended the throne of Magadha he found that Kalinga abutted on his Kingdom on the south. It was a powerful civilised neighbour of the Great Mauryan Ruler. " In such a country dwell Brahmans and ascetics, men of different sects and house-holders, who all practise obedience to elders, obedience to father and mother, proper treatment of friends, acquaintances, comrades, relatives, slaves, and servants with fidelity of devotion."

Difference in religion may have been the cause of the war that Aśoka waged against Kalinga. From the records of Khâravêla we learn that Jainism, which was contemporaneous with Buddhism, was followed in Kalinga, while Brahmanism was the state religion in Magadha. Aśoka himself admits that he acquired the Law of Piety " on seeing the atrocities committed when Kalinga was subdued by the force of arms."[26] " Aśoka was," by the preachings of a young ascetic, " constrained to abandon the Brahmanical faith of his father and to accept as a lay disciple the sacred law of Buddha.[27] The *Aśokâvadâna* says that on seeing the miracle shown by a holy ascetic named Bâlapandita, Aśoka embraced the true religion and forsook the paths of wickedness. The conversion of Aśoka seems to have happened after Kalinga had been conquered. It must have been the Brahmans, always opposed to Buddhism and Jainism, who advised Aśoka to subdue Kalinga and destroy the Anti-Brahman religion prevalent there. This fact is corroborated by the *Daladavamśa* :—" When the remains of Buddha were distributed amongst his disciples, the left canine tooth of the lower jaw fell to the lot of one of them. He brought it to Kalinga and built a small *stûpa* over it. Seeing the miracles worked by it, many people gathered round it and a big city named Dantapura rose round it. The Brahmans, envying the popularity of Buddhism, advised Guha-Śiva, the King of Kalinga, to destroy the *stûpa* and the city of Dantapura. But by the miracles shown by the tooth, Guha-Śiva embraced Buddhism. Then Aśoka, the overlord, was induced to punish Guha-Śiva and destroy Dantapura. But the tooth appeared to Aśoka in a dream and by means of its miracles converted him to Buddhism."

Kalinga was a powerful kingdom and an adverse religion was followed there. It became therefore necessary to subdue it, but when attempts to conquer it were made it showed a bold front. A great and bloody war ensued. " One hundred and fifty thousand persons were thence carried away captive ; one hundred thousand were slain and many times that number perished." Having thus conquered it, Aśoka found it necessary to establish two sets of governing bodies, one to carry on the provincial administration and the other to control the border tribes. The former was placed at Tôsali and the latter at Samâpa. The administrative genius exhibited here by the Mauryan Emperor is akin to that of the British administration of the North-Western Frontier Territory.

The need of a frontier administration proves the existence of uncivilised and troublesome forest tribes on the borders of Kalinga. Which border was it ? On the west there are the Eastern Ghâṭs, beyond which in aftertimes rose up the kingdom of South Kosala. These Ghâṭs, being difficult to cross, formed a safe protection on the west. On the south no such protection existed and the forest tribes also were very troublesome. Khâravêla speaks of having planted a pillar of victory in Châtaka (Chikati) which is even now inhabited by Savarâs and other forest tribes. " The Kingdom of Mahâkântara " is mentioned by Samudragupta. The name itself tells us that it was a great forest. The Konyodha spoken of by Hiuen-Tsiang suggests that it was a kingdom of Kondhs, of the class of " forest

[26] Edict xiii.

[27] The Ceylonese legend : *Aśoka* by V. A. Smith.

tribes." All these refer to one and the same tract of country lying on the southern border of Aśokan Kalinga. Raghu is said to have marched his armies through a forest after he had vanquished the king of Kalinga. King Vatsa also similarly led his invading army through a forest, after he had captured the Mahendra mountain.

Even in these days the country about this mountain forms the home of the Savarâs, the Kuis and other forest tribes. The Savarâs must have been partly civilised, for they were hospitable and Râma was hospitably received by a Savarâ lady. They have always been powerful and warlike, and they fought in the war of *Mahâbhârata.* Therefore it is no wonder that Aśoka tried to put a check upon them. A constant watch had to be put on them, for they distrusted Aśoka, as he was foreign to them. This is why he says :—" I desire them to trust me and to be assured that they will receive from me happiness, and not sorrow." So he instructs his border officers to " inspire this folk with trust, so that they may be convinced that the king is unto them even as a father, and that as he cares for himself, so he cares for them, who are as the king's children."[28] With these bits of good advice were however mingled threats to overawe them :—" Shun evil-doing that ye may escape destruction." It was only after the annexation of Kalinga that the monarch's heart became sensitive to pain and misery. He himself confesses it :—" The loss of even the hundredth or the thousandth part of the persons, who were then slain, carried away captive, or done to death in Kalinga, would now be a matter of deep regret to His Majesty." Toleration of religion, kindness to animals, and all such morals were adopted after the conquest of Kalinga. To preach these morals to and control the border tribes, officials were appointed and were placed in such a position that might freely mix with the borderers and give instructions :—" I expect to be well served by you in this business, because you are in a position enabling you to inspire these folk with trust and to secure their happiness." The officials were expected to " display persevering energy in inspiring trust in these borderers and guiding them in the path of Piety." These things could not have been done unless the responsible officials had lived in the midst of the forest tribes.

Aśoka, in his zeal to promulgate his Law of Piety and his pious works, had all his edicts set up in every place where he could find a favourable space to carve them upon. Among the places in which they were set up and still exist are Dhauli and Jaugada in Kalinga. Which of them was nearest the border ? It has already been pointed that the borderers were in the South of Kalinga, *i.e.*, in the tract about Mahendragiri. Moreover, the Borderers' Edict at Jaugada is in better preservation than its duplicate at Dhauli ; while the Provincials' Edict at Dhauli is better preserved than its duplicate at Jaugada. If the respective states of preservation had been due to the work of wind and rain, both the edicts in both the places would have been equally effected. This inequality of preservation cannot be due to the destructive ravages of the Muhammadan invaders, or of the Piṇḍârî and Thag hordes, for they would have tried to destroy the whole inscribed surface and not only particular parts of it. The phenomenon is probably due to the care of the border officers being specially bestowed only on the Edict which concerned them, to the neglect of the others. For this reason Jaugada must be held to be nearest the border, and that border to be the southern one, where there are troublesome border tribes.

It is now necessary to locate the head-quarters of the frontier control. Tôsali, the seat of the Viceroy of Kalinga, is mentioned by Ptolemy in his *Ancient India.* The vestiges of a large city have been discovered not far from the site of the monument at Dhauli.[29] The

28 Compare the *Instructions to the Provincials* with these lines.

29 McKrindle's *Ptolemy.*

position of Tôsali having been thus defined, we must seek for that of Samâpa. Although the Borderers' Edict is at Jaugada, there are those who presume that the southern border was far south, near Pulicat or Rajahmandry. Yet a study of the distribution of the Pillar and Rock Edicts of Aśoka shows that the material selected for carving the inscriptions was adapted to the physical nature of the country in which the edict was intended to be published. Thus in the Gangetic valley, where a stone as big as a pea cannot be obtained, big blocks of stone shaped into the form of pillars had to be brought from a distance and set up with the edicts already carved on them. In places like Sânchi, where suitable structures were already existing, a foot-step, or a railing, or a pillar of a railing would offer a surface for engraving, not a command or a moral doctrine, but a gift or an offering to the holy shrine. Rocks were selected to record the edicts where there were natural boulders. Now, these Aśokan Edicts approximately give us the limits of the Mauryan Empire, and had Kalinga run so far south as Rajahmandry, the Mauryan Emperor would not have been at a loss to find, near the banks of the Godavary, a boulder similar to the one at Jaugada. Had the caves and topes at Guntapalle flourished during the time of Dêvânampriya, a pillar or a railing would have offered a face to carve an edict or a gift upon, but they did not then exist. A comparative study of the characters in the Aśokan Edicts and those of the inscriptions discovered in the Guntapalle excavations will show that they quite disagree, and thus it is proved that they do not belong to the same period. Indeed, from the paleography of the inscriptions discovered in the Guntapalle caves, it may be safely asserted that the caves and other local specimens of architecture belong to a time later than that of Aśoka.

Thus it appears to be clear that Jaugada is near the southern frontier of Kalinga. Samâpa must be searched for near it. In fact Jaugada itself may have been Samâpa, for there is the rock with the edicts upon it, surrounded by a fort, the ruins of which are to be seen even now. The following is a description of the Jaugada rock and the fort, taken from Sewell's *Lists* :—" It is situated on the site of a large city, surrounded by a fort wall. The inscribed rock is one of a group inside the fort. It rises vertically and the inscribed surface faces the south-east. Numbers of copper coins have been found close by the Jaugada fort. Old pottery and tiles abound within the fort wall." The *Ganjam District Manual* gives the following account of the place :—" What the enclosure was it is not possible to say. It seems too large for a ' fort ' ; it is a long square, the opposite faces being 858 yards by 814 yards respectively. The bank, an earthen one, even now, in places is 18 feet high and 148½ ft. across at the base and it has two entrances on each side. Inside are found old tiles and dêbris of houses, and coins after rain and in ploughing ; but for the most part the coins are copper ones. . . . . ."

The Aśokan Edicts do not say anything of a fort having been built there by Aśoka. Moreover, a monarch, who entirely trusted to the efficacy of his Law of Piety for good government, had very little need of forts and strongholds. Aśoka depended entirely upon the moral co-operation of his subjects for the defence of his dominions. The foreign princes, whose kingdoms bordered on that of Aśoka were held in the pious bond of the Law of Piety and were prevented from territorial aggression. Thus enjoying internal peace and having no fear of attack from outside, Devânâmpriya had full tranquillity of mind when visiting the holy places and building *stûpas* and erecting votive pillars and monuments.

" Jaugada " means the " Lac Fort." Its name of ' Lac ' is from a tradition that it was made of ' Lac ' and was therefore impregnable, for no enemy could scale the walls because they were too smooth and slippery ; but its impregnability was destroyed by a spy who let

the adversary into the secret that fire would melt the stuff." [30] The fort however appears to have been built in times subsequent to Aśoka's.

The rocks here are geologically connected with the Eastern Ghâṭs, and the place is now surrounded by Peddakemidi, Chinna Kemidi, and other parts of Ganjam District, where malaria and other kinds of forest diseases are rife. In those ancient days, however, the region may have been even more unhealthy. A benign sovereign, who treated his people as his own children, would not expose his officers to this unhealthy region. At the present day the officers for the administration of the Agency tracts of the three northernmost districts of the Madras Presidency have their head-quarters at Vizagapatam, a healthy town on the sea coast, and the Kalinga rulers of old are also said to have greatly appreciated life on the coast. The palace of the King of Kalinga was on the seashore :—

यमात्मनः सद्मनि संनिकृष्टो मन्द्रध्वनित्याजितयामतूर्यः ।
प्रासादवातायन दृश्यवीचिः प्रबोधयत्यर्णव एव सुप्तम्॥[31]

" The ocean itself, the waves of which are seen from the windows of his palace, and the deep resounding roars of which surpass the sound of the watch drum, being close at hand, awakes him as it were, when asleep in his palace-room."

At the approach of the spring, the King of Kalinga retired to the shore with his family and subjects to celebrate the vernal festivities.

दर्दुरगिरितट चन्दनश्लेष शीतलानिलाचार्य दत्तनानालतानृत्त
लीले काले, कलिङ्गराज स्सहाङ्गनाजनेन सह च तनयया
सकलेन च नगरजनेन दश त्रीणि च दिनानि दिनकर
किरण जाला लङ्घनीये रणदलितसङ्घलङ्घितनतलताग्रकिस–
–लयालीढसैकततटे तरलतरङ्गशीकरासारसङ्गशीतले सागर–
–कानने, क्रीडारस जाला सक्ति रासीत्"[32]

" In that season, when the various creepers dance according to the instruction given by their tutor, the cool breeze that is embraced by the sandal-wood trees on the slopes of the Dardura hill, the King of Kalinga, accompanied by his women folk, his daughter and his townsmen, became engaged in sport for thirteen days in the pleasure garden on the sea-shore, which is impenetrable to the rays of the sun, where the sand-banks are swept by the tendrils of the creepers that are bent by the perching of the humming bees, and which is cooled by the spray of the waves that play constantly."

Communications with other countries was mostly by sea. The Andhra king comes over the sea and carries away the King of Kalinga and his family.[33] Great and constant was the intercourse with Ceylon (Īramandalam). The people of Ceylon established colonies. Hiramandalam, Hîrapuram in the Parlakimidy Taluk, Hira Khandi in Dhârakota Zamindari, Hirapalli in Gumsur Taluk, Hirapalli in Attagada Zamindari of the Ganjam District, are all remnants of Ceylonese colonisation in Kalinga. Kalingapura, the modern Polannâruwa in Ceylon, reminds us of the great friendship that existed between that Island and Kalinga. The left canine tooth of the lower jaw of Buddha, which was found in the Ceylon *stûpas* and is now deposited in the British Museum, was taken to Ceylon from Kalinga after the destruction of Dantapura.

30 *Ganjam District Gazette.*

31 *Raghu Vamsa*, Canto 6.

32 *Dasakumâra Charitra*, Canto 7.

33 *Ganjam District Manual.*

For such maritime intercourse there must be a port convenient for anchorage and safe from storms. Bâruva at the mouth of the Mahendratanaya is mentioned by Pliny as the point from which the ships coming from the south turned to cross to Chryse. " Bâruva, being only 16 miles from Mahendragiri, is the nearest port and can be seen from the bungalow on the hill.[34] Even now native passengers from Burmah are frequently landed at Bâruva. There are two temples there, reputed to have been built by the Pândavâs, and it is near by that the Kottura of Samudraguptâ must be placed.

It is in this region near the southern border of Kalinga, and almost in the vicinity of the Savarâ region, and having a good sea-port, that the situation of Samâpa must be sought.

The word Samâpa is formed of *Sama* (even or level) and *âpa* (water). The name signifies that it is a town built in the region of level water, *i.e.*, a level country. In old days towns and villages were given names signifying the natural condition of the country in which they were built. To make this name more significant ' ṭa ' (earth) was added as an affix in subsequent times. ' *Samâpata* ' [35] in the days when the people from the south came and settled in Kalinga, became ' Samâpêtâ,' then ' Sampêta,' which easily became ' Sompêtâ.' ' Drâmilas,' the modern ' Drâvidas,' were defeated by Râja Raja, the father of Anantavarma Choda Ganga.[36] Dimila in Vizagapatam District and Dimilas in Ganjam District remind us of the settlement of the country by the people from the south.

' Sompêta ' is the head-quarters of a Deputy Tahsildar and native Magistrate. The village is situated partly in the Talatampara *mutah* of the Chikati estate, and partly in that of Jalantara, The country around is level and fertile. Uddânam is a fertile tract adjoining Sompêta, where there are flourishing gardens of fruit trees. Plantains, jack-fruit, oranges and other kinds of fruit are so plentifully grown that they are supplied not only to the whole of Ganjam District but to the adjacent parts of Vizagapatam. Talatampara, which means ' a low marsh ' is only two miles from Sompêta and reminds us of the original level nature of the land. Some old coins also are reported to exist here.[37] Kottura, the modern Kotturu, lies only two miles north-east of Sompêta.

Kanchili, two miles by road from Sompêta, contains images and temples of great antiquity. An old temple, said to date from the time of the Pândavâs, exists at Pottangi, which is 6 miles south-west of Sompêta. Inscriptions also are said to exist in this village. Patâsapuram, which is only one mile from Sompêta, contains inscriptions in unknown characters. Mahendragiri, the most important land-mark of Kalinga, is 15 miles west of Sompêta.

Its nearness to the capital of the Kalinga of Samudragupta's times, and its closeness to the port of Bâruva mentioned by Ptolemy, clearly prove that Sompêta was the Samâpa of Aśoka ; and it is the nearest to the habitat of the Savarâs, the powerful tribes for whose control the great and pious Mauryan Emperor issued Edicts of advice.

SOME DISCURSIVE COMMENTS ON BARBOSA.

As edited by the late M. LONGWORTH DAMES.[1]

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

IT fell to me to review the two volumes of Barbosa, edited by my old friend and colleague in Indian research for many years, for the Royal Asiatic and Royal Geographical Societies,[2] and while I was concluding the review of his second volume came the news of his death

34 *Ganjam District Manual.*

35 Sampa-ti-puram in Anakapalli Taluk of Vizagapatam District, appears to have got its name from Samâpa. ' *Ti* ' is an evidence of ' *ta* ', being added to make the sense more clear.

36 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVIII, June 1889, No. 179.

37 Sewell's *Lists.*

1 The Book of Duarte Barbosa, Translated from the Portuguese text, first published in 1812 Edited and annotated by M. L. Dames, vol. I, 1918 : vol. II, 1921. London : Hakluyt Society.

2 *JRAS.*, July 1919, March and October 1922 : *Geographical Journal*, April 1922.

in January 1922. And so I have made up my mind to put together here a somewhat enlarged edition of what I then wrote, as a memorial to one who first collaborated with me so long ago as 1883, and right up to his death was still a stand-by when certain questions of detail in research came up. Dames was a true scholar, never thinking of himself or his "reputation," content to forward knowledge at any and every opportunity and to take the help he could render others as the only reward of his erudition. Thus his notes, reviews and letters were very many and his books few. Fortunately he was induced, as I well recollect, to edit Barbosa for the Hakluyt Society and thus to leave behind him a monument to his Oriental acquirements that will last as long as the original text will be studied.

The book was published in two volumes of differing interest, and it will be convenient to divide the present comments thereon accordingly into those on vol. I and on vol. II.

Volume I.

I will commence my comments by saying that Dames' new edition of Barbosa is thoroughly justified by the accuracy of the translation and the great value of the numerous notes which illuminate the text in an extraordinary degree. The Oriental scholarship, the historical, geographical, and numismatic knowledge displayed by him, taken with his power of patient research, make his work of the greatest value to all students of the doings of Europeans in India and the Nearer East in the earlier days of their excursions into Eastern lands. As a brother editor for the Hakluyt Society of records of the country following that in which Barbosa lived, I have some experience of the puzzles of all kinds that are before anyone who undertakes to edit the writings of the old travellers, if he would really elucidate the text before him, and I cannot help expressing my admiration of the manner in which Dames has faced and overcome those that confronted him in this work. When we consider that Barbosa wrote early in the sixteenth century, almost at the commencement of Portuguese enterprise in the East, that his book begins with a description of the east coast of Africa from the Cape to Suez, and proceeds down the Arabian side of the Red Sea, round to the Persian Gulf, up the Gulf and down again, and then round to the Indies, and thence onwards down the west coast of India to Mangalor in this first volume, one can grasp something of the variety of language, history, and geography that had to be encountered, and the vast range of the research necessary to explain properly the statements in the text with anything like scholarly, and therefore useful, accuracy. Dames has met all his difficulties in a way that has been of the highest service to myself at all events, and it is a matter of much regret to me that my own volume III, published in 1919, of Peter Mundy's travels in the early seventeenth century, covering a little of Barbosa's ground, was too far advanced in the press to enable me to utilize his notes.

From a very careful reading of the first volume from end to end, the first thing that strikes me is the closeness of comparison between Barbosa, the Portuguese traveller of the sixteenth century, and Peter Mundy, the English traveller of the seventeenth century. They had both the same spirit of travel, the same capacity for observation, the same command of the Oriental languages they met with. the same interest in the places they visited and the people among whom they were thrown, the same determination to record only what they saw and knew fairly, the same aloofness in their writings from current squabbles (and these were always in those days incessant and insistent), the same caution as to vouching for what they only heard, and, considering the times in which they lived and the people for whom they wrote, the same breadth of view. Both were, in fact, products of that spirit of enquiry into man and his ways that has produced the modern anthropologist. The result

is they have preserved records of value for all time. And if I may say so, their remarks present to their editors much the same kind of puzzles for solution.

Dames has brought out the special geographical and ethnographical value of Barbosa's work in a careful introduction, in the course of which he draws attention to a point that is worth general notice. How did the Portuguese and their followers in the East manage to communicate so easily with the natives of India and of the East generally? The explanation is the presence about the Indian and Eastern coasts in their days of a large number of *mamlûks,* "captives from the races subdued or raided by the Muhammadans, some of them Europeans," who followed their original masters as slaves, when these found their way across the seas to India and the East as adventurers. Many of the *mughrabîs* or Western captives spoke Spanish, and many Spaniards and Portuguese at that period could talk Arabic, and hence from the outset there was ease of communication between the first of the Portuguese travellers with the Indian peoples through such interpreters. Barbosa, who was for years on the west coast of Southern India, knew Malayâlam well, and others learnt other vernaculars at least colloquially. By Mundy's time Portuguese and *mestiosç* (half-castes) were the ordinary interpreters in practically all the languages the English came across. Mundy himself knew Spanish and soon learnt Portuguese too. He had an extraordinarily accurate ear, and made determined attempts, more or less successful, at every language he met with. One of his merchant companions to the Far East, Thomas Robinson, was an accomplished interpreter in Portuguese. It was in this way that the early wanderers managed to learn so much with considerable accuracy of the people they were thrown with, and to conduct their commercial affairs with the skill they so constantly exhibited.

It was this linguistic knowledge also, this ability to understand clearly what was said to him, that enabled a man like Barbosa to distinguish between races, to know the difference between Turks, Mamlûks, Arabs, Persians, Khurâsânîs, and Turkomâns; to distinguish between Arabic, Turkish, and Gujarati as spoken on the Indian western coast, and to recognize the existence of the Navâyats, the Indo-Arab *mestiços* or half-castes of the coast. His capacity to converse familiarly with the natives in the South enabled him to learn about the different kingdoms and rulers on the coast and inland, and to learn much about the Hindus and their customs, and to differentiate between sects of them in some instances. Perhaps the most interesting point in this respect is that the first Portuguese knowledge of the Delhi Sultanate of Barbosa's time was through the distorted reports of wandering Hindu *jogîs* driven from the North to the South by the Muhammadan usurpers of the Northern kingdoms.

The geographical and historical notes given with lavish hand in this volume are valuable beyond measure and are too numerous to notice except here and there. Among the very many places he mentions in them I venture to suggest that such variations of name as Benemetapa, Benomotapa, Monomotapa, for the same place on the East African coast, may be due to the inflection of the root in the indigenous premutative languages taking place at the commencement of their words, and that accordingly it is in the last syllables thereof that the true sense of form is to be sought. The remarks on the Island of Sam Lourenço (St. Lawrence of the early English sailors) or Madagascar, are most interesting and go partly to account for the culture found among the modern Malagasy. For the benefit of further students of that island and its history, I would refer them to the volumes of the *Antananarivo Annual,* an excellent publication.

Among many other valuable suggestions, Dames has one that the name Guardafui for the well-known cape at the African end of the Red Sea may be of Persian and not Arab origin, and may mean Gard-i-Hâfun, the turn or bend of Hâfun. which is worth consideration.

After following the coast beyond Guardafui to Suez and down again to Aden, Barbosa and contemporary writers and map-makers get much confused as to the order in which the ports and the prominent features of the coast occur, and some of them are guilty of duplicating the same name under allied forms. It is here that they are difficult to follow, and the elucidation of their statements requires much patience and skill.

As a hint to those engaged in research as to these coasts, such terms in Portuguese as Mafamede for Muhammad, Rosalgate for Râsa'l-ḥadd, Coquiar for Sohar, should keep one always on the look out for the forms that Arabic ج and ح may assume in transference to Portuguese and Spanish, and hence to other European tongues. The Portuguese *c* for *s* in Sohar represents ç, the cedilla being often left out in MSS. This habit has led to many mistakes, and the student should always be wary. Barbosa's Coracones (Coraçones) for Khurâsânîs is a good instance, as it induced Ramusio to write Coracanis, an impossible form of the Persian original. The Portuguese *x* for the sound of English *sh* gives Oriental names and words a curious appearance to English eyes (*e.g.*, Xeques = Shekhs), but it need never mislead them.

When the traveller gets into the region of Ormuz, identifications, both within and without the Persian Gulf, become very difficult and uncertain. Much closer knowledge than we at present possess is necessary here, and may now, in some degree, become possible as a by-product of the Great War. The geographical difficulties met with are well explained by Dames, and so are some of the historical puzzles. To Barbosa and the Portuguese of his day the great Shâh Isma'îl of Persia, the overlord of all the neighbourhood of the Gulf, was known as Xeque (Shekh) Ismael, in allusion to the then recent origin of the family. Dames speaks of him as Isma'îl Shâh, but, as I understand, he and all his successors in the Safavî Dynasty were known as Shâh Isma'îl, Shâh Tahmasp (the "Great Sophy" of Elizabeth's time), Shâh 'Abbâs, and so on, in contradistinction to the Aga Muhammad Shâh, Fatteh 'Alî Shâh, and so on, of the latest and present Qâjâr Dynasty of Persia. Dames rightly points out that Shâh Isma'îl was of no mean descent, as his opponents made out. His father was the great Shî'a saint (Shekh Saifu'ddīn Isḥâk of Ardabîl), and his grandfather the still greater Shekh Haidar Sûfî, lineal descendant of the seventh Imâm, Mûsâ al-Kâzim, the outcome of whose teaching was a division of Muhammadanism vitally momentous to the world of Islâm. His mother was Martha, the daughter of the then recent and important Turkomân ruler, as I understand, of the Akkuyunlu (White Sheep Standard) Tribes, and not of the Kârakuyunlu (Black Sheep Standard), as Dames has it, known as Uzûn Hasan (Long Hasan) among many other names, by Despoina, the Christian daughter of the Emperor John Comneus (Calo Johannes) of Trebizond in Asia Minor. Isma'îl was thus a Shî'a, a Sûfî, and a Persian of high descent, and it was this fact, coupled with his personal qualities and his championship of the Shî'a faith, that made him so popular a candidate for the Persian throne. It says much for Barbosa's accuracy of information that he correctly states that Shāh Isma'îl was almost uniformly successful in his wars, though he was defeated at the great battle of Khôi (1514) by the Sunnî Sultân of Constantinople, Selîm I, through the latter's then novel use of artillery.

Leaving Ormuz, Barbosa takes us to India proper at Diul or Diul Cinde, as the Portuguese called the port of Deval in Sindh (the Arabic Daybul), on the then western branch of the Indus Delta. On this Dames has a good note. He then passes on to Gujarât, or

kingdom of Guzarate as he calls it. This is remarkable, as it was then usual to call it Cambaya or Cambay, through Arabic Kambâyat, from its principal seaport, but Barbosa knew that the kingdom of Cambaya belonged to the king of Guzerate, once again showing accuracy of information. He describes its people as Resbutos or Râjpûts, thus commencing a series of corruptions of that much abused name : Baneanes (Baniâns, Baniâs) or traders, meaning thereby Jain traders from his description of them ; and Bramenes or Brâhmans. He thus got the main divisions of the Hindus fairly accurately, and the order in which he places them is interesting, as showing how they appeared to rank in the eyes of the earliest European visitors to the country. The lower classes he calls Pateles, from the title *patel*, assumed by certain low castes for their sub-divisions. Dames remarks that "it is probable that some men of these castes acted as messengers for the Brâhmans in Barbosa's time." Barbosa's description of the Muhammadan and cosmopolitan side of the population of Cambay is equally discriminating.

Of inland cities there is a description of Châmpânêr (Barbosa's Champanel), then an important mint town of the Muhammadan kings of Gujarât, and of Ahmadâbâd, under the name of Andava.

A large port called Pateney is then reached, which Dames conjectures to be Somnath. The name is somewhat of a puzzle. This is followed soon afterwards by a description of Dio (Diu) and its relations with the Portuguese, and of Barbasy, apparently the modern Bhaunagar. Then comes Guindarim in the land of dangerous tides, which is most interesting, as it represents Ghandhâr, the Kandâhâr of many a North Indian legend, unless indeed by the Kandahâr of the northern bards is really meant the old land of Gandhâra about Peshâwar. After a short account of the "fair city of Cambaya" and its luxury, follow two notices, with important notes attached, of Limadura and Reynel. The first is the place where the carnelians of commerce came from, and Dames identifies it with Limodra on the banks of the Narbadâ near Ratanpur in the Râjpîpla State. The second is the town known to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as Reynel, Ravel, Reiner, Reniel, Raneile, Ro Neal, and so on, on the Tâptî, near Surat. This, as I think correctly, Dames shows to be the old town of Randêr. It was the home of wealthy Indo-Arab half-breeds called Momins, Navâyatâs, Nâyatâs, Naiteas, and Naites, whose luxurious ways Barbosa notices.

Surat is briefly noticed as Çurate, while the neighbouring province of Sorath is called Çuriate, and then follow short accounts of Dinuy (Dâmân) and Baxay (Vasâî, Baçaim, Bassein), and Tana-Majambu, an odd name for Thâna, as to which Dames has an interesting conjecture. By the way, many years ago I wrote an article in this *Journal,* vol. XXII, pp. 18-21, showing that there are now three postal towns in India and Burma, all called Bassein by us, none of which is so known to the natives of the neighbourhood. Bassein in Bombay is Vasâî ; Bassein in Berar is Bâsim or Wâsim ; Bassein in Burma is known to the Burmans as Pathêng and to the Talaings of the neighbourhood as Pasêm or Pasîm. I was moved thereto by my letters, when at Bassein in Burma in 1875, being constantly and unnecessarily sent elsewhere.

Barbosa's next description is of the "Daquem Kingdom," the Deccan, where the Bahmanîs of Kulbarga and Bîdar still ruled in name and the 'Adilshâhî Dynasty of Bîjapûr was the virtual power on the coast. After noticing several ports along the coast, he comes to "the River of Betele and the towns thereon," which last Dames identifies with Vijaydrug, "one of the best harbours on the west coast of India," on the Vâghotân River, in the Ratnagiri District. Here is given an accurate description of "betel" (*pân-supâri*) both as

to its nature and its use. Vengorla is noticed under the name of Bamda, which takes our traveller to the Portuguese province of Bardes and Goa.

Goa naturally yields a long description and some excellent annotations, especially that upon the Sindâbûr of the Arab geographers, which Dames shows to be more applicable to the neighbouring Cintacora of Barbosa on the river Liga or Kâlinadî than to Goa, as Yule supposed. Another valuable note shows how the founder of the 'Adilshâhî Dynasty, the Kurd *mamlûk*, Yûsuf 'Adil Khân (Ydalcam of the Portuguese) came to be known as the Sabayo. Very interesting also is Barbosa's description of the tongues spoken at Goa in his time, "Arabic Persian and Daqanim, which is the native tongue of the land." Daqanim stands here for "Dakhanî, the language of the Deccan, that is, Marâthi." Nowadays it stands for a variety of Urdu, the first form of that *lingua franca* which the present writer learnt to his much trouble afterwards.

Barbosa then enters "the Kingdom of Narsingua," that is, of Vijayanagar, so named by the Portuguese after Narsingha, the name of its ruler when they first arrived. Its capital was Bisnagua, Vijayanagar, through the popular form Bîjanagar. He describes it as of "five vast provinces," with Tolinate (Tulunâda) the land of the Tuluvas along the coast. He shows that he could distinguish between the Telugu, Canarese, and Tamil languages, and calls the Eastern province Charamandel, which is nearer to the native Cholamandalam than our own Coromandel. Passing by Honor (Honâwar, *Anglice* Onore), he notes on the pirates of his day and then reaches Baticala (Bhatkal), where a century later Courteen's Expedition attempted to start an English factory, as is described at length by Peter Mundy. The space given by Barbosa to Bhatkal is much larger than usual, and there is a remarkable description of rice planting in its neighbourhood. A statement in the text also leads to a useful note on the use of the term "India" by the Portuguese to describe only Goa and their first settlements. With Bracalor, which, with the restoration of the cedilla, can be shown to be the Canarese Basarûru. Arabicized into Abu Sarûr by Ibn Batûta, and a description of Mangalor, taken from Ramusio's text, the itinerary ends.

The volume ends with, for the time, an extraordinarily accurate description of the Vijayanagar Empire and its capital and of the manners of its people, due no doubt to Barbosa's knowledge of Malayâlam and possible bowing acquaintance with Canarese and Tamil. He must have seen both the kingdom and the capital at their best, as they were then under the greatest of their rulers, Krishna Deva Raya. Especially valuable is the account of the Lingâyats and their customs, the description of *sati* by burning and burial alive, of hook-swinging, and of the King's method of collecting an army and going to war with enormous impedimenta.

Finally, there are two short notices from hearsay of Orissa and Delhi, in which Barbosa discloses that his information came from wandering *jôgis*, jogues or Çoamerques (*swâmirikhi*) as he calls them. These he describes at length, obviously from personal acquaintance. This description gives Dames an opportunity for a fine note on the bezoar-stone carried by the "jogues," as the wind-up of this very valuable work.

Incidentally, many matters of great interest to the student of things Oriental are to be found in Dames's notes. For instance, his remarks on the early mistake of the Portuguese that the Hindus were some kind of Christians, from a very cursory observation of their religious observances; and his frequent remarks on the persistent and successful attempts of the Portuguese to stop the Indian trade with the West *viâ* the Red Sea, with the object of diverting it into their own hands by the long sea route. Their advent must indeed have

been a crushing blow to the prosperity of the Arabian seaboard, and its effect on the peoples thereon is evidenced by the serious, though ineffectual, attempts of the Mamlûk Sultan of Egypt on his own behalf to drive out the Portuguese by an expedition to the Indian sea-coast itself. Indeed, the situation created by European aggression in regard to the ancient Indo-Arabian trade is quite pathetic.

A most interesting survival of the Portuguese days in India is pointed out in the use of the term "Canarim" (Canarin or Canarese) for "Eurasian," resulting in the well-known Anglo-Indian metathesized expression Karânî, degenerating in many places into a vernacular term for any kind of native or Eurasian clerk.

Occasionally Dames passes over Indian expressions without comment, *e.g.*, Gingelly oil, and on p. 90 he has no explanation of what is referred to by the fish at Basra, "which the more they are boiled or roasted, the more they bleed." Nor does he explain what kind of a shore boat is meant by the term "terada" beyond a reference on p. 97 to the *Commentaries*; and as he has a note on the Turkish composite bow and says it is still made on the Indian frontiers, it is a pity he does not explain what kind of a bow it is.

The vagueness of the term "India" as used by the Portuguese comes out clearly when among the imports into Diul (in Sindh) are mentioned "certain canes which are found in India and are of the thickness of a man's leg." The reference is, of course, to the Giant Bamboo, and "India" must be the Malabar Coast, or Burma or the Malay Archipelago. On the "rhubarb of Babylonia" Dames has an illuminating note (pp. 93-4). "Scarlet-in-grain" is a term which Dames uses several times, meaning thereby cloth dyed scarlet, and of this he gives an admirable explanation in his second volume, p. 77, note 1. On p. 10 there is an interesting statement as to the "Heathen whom the Moors name Cafres," meaning the inhabitants of South Africa (Zulus and Bantus), and showing the origin of the term Kâfir as applied to any "Heathen" and of the spelling "Cafre."

Dames is always valuable when dealing with numismatics, and I personally am grateful for his remarks on "cruzado" (p. 65), on "pardao" (p. 191), and on the coinage of Ormus (pp. 99-100), and for his note on weights and measures on p. 157, and on "fardo, farden," meaning a bundle (p. 194).

The bulk of Dames' miscellaneous notes are naturally in explanation of the Portuguese forms of Oriental terms found in the text; in fact, of Hobson-Jobsons. Many of these are very valuable to the student, and some are new to myself. I would note a few here. The term *almadia* (p. 14) for a canoe was carried to the Indian coast, as was noted by Mandelslo. The origin of *assegai* is explained as the Port. *azagaia* for Berber *zaghaya.* There are, too, a series of notes on *alequequa* and *babagoure* for carnelian and chalcedony, and on the chalcedony mines of Limodra in the Rajpipla State (pp. 137 and 144). And further, there is a neat note explaining how the Indian term Deccan (Dakhim, Dakhan), the Kingdom on the right hand, *i.e.*, the Southern Kingdom, became to the Portuguese Daquem, D'aquem, the Kingdom on this side, *i.e.*, the Hither Kingdom, by pure folk-etymology. Attention is also drawn to the *r* in "lacquer" (lac) and in *almiscar* (musk), which is absent in the original vernacular (p. 56).

One could go on almost indefinitely on the etymological notes, but I will content myself with expressing gratitude for those on "camlet" (woollen) and "cambolim" and "cameline" (cotton) cloths (pp. 63, 93, 120), though I doubt if *tafeta* ever meant anything but a silk cloth, and I should like to see proof that it was at any time a mixture of camlet and silk (p. 93). Especially am I grateful for an explanation of *Sênîzi* brocades and *Jannâbiya* cloth (p. 79);

and on p. 124 there is a note worth quoting: "The word *grão* (*gram* in the old spelling) is almost always used in the sense of the red dye (not really a grain). The use of the word *gram* (pronounced as an English word) to denote the chick-pea (*Cicer aretinus*) is modern. For this Barbosa employed the word *chicharo* (*chicharro* in modern spelling), the correct Portuguese name for this pea." Incidentally, a note on p. 131 points out that a very early, if not the earliest, use of *casta* in Portuguese for the modern term "caste" is in Correa, I. p. 746: "Melequiaz [Malik Ayyaz] was a foreigner, a Moor, a Jao [Javanese] by caste." On p. 206 there is a valuable note on "umbrella" and the various terms in European languages therefor, and on p. 218 another on *tambarane*, the portable *lingam* worn by Lingâyats.

This volume closes with a long note by Barbosa on *Jogues*, or, as the copyist has it, *Jones*! And here I propose to leave him, with gratitude to Dames for his version and his annotations. Would that he were still alive to give us more.

(*To be continued.*)

A CHINESE EXPEDITION ACROSS THE PAMIRS AND HINDUKUSH, A.D. 747.[1]

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.

AT the beginning of my second Central Asian journey (1906—08), and again at that of the third (1913—16), I had the good fortune to visit ground in the high snowy range of the Hindukush which, however inaccessible and remote it may seem from the scenes of the great historical dramas of Asia, was yet in the eighth century A.D. destined to witness events closely bound up with a struggle of momentous bearing for vast areas of the continent. I mean the glacier pass of the Darkot (15,400 feet above sea-level) and the high valleys to the north and south of it, through which leads an ancient route connecting the Pamirs and the uppermost headwaters of the Oxus with the Dard territories on the Indus, and thus with the north-west marches of India.[2]

The events referred to arose from the prolonged conflict with the Arabs in the west and the rising power of the Tibetans in the south, into which the Chinese empire under the T'ang dynasty was brought by its policy of Central Asian expansion. Our knowledge of the memorable expedition of which I propose to treat here, and of the historical developments leading up to it, is derived wholly from the official Chinese records contained in the Annals of the T'ang dynasty. They were first rendered generally accessible by the extracts which M. Chavannes, the lamented great Sinologue, published in his invaluable 'Documents sur les Turcs occidentaux.'[3]

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1 Reprinted from the *Geographical Journal* for February, 1922.

2 The accompanying sketch-map 1 is intended to illustrate the general features of the mountain territories between the western T'ien-shan and the Indus which were affected by the political developments and military operations discussed in this paper.

Sketch-map 2 reproduces essential topographical details of that portion of the ground between the uppermost Oxus and Gilgit river valleys which witnessed the chief exploits of the Chinese expedition of A.D. 747 into the Hindukush region. It has been prepared from Northern Transfrontier Sheet No. 2 S. W. of the Survey of India, scale 4 miles to 1 inch.

For convenient reference regarding the general topography of this mountain region may be recommended also sheet No. 42 of the 1 : 1,000,000 map of Asia published by the Survey of India (Calcutta, 1919).

3 *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, recueillis et commentés par Edouard Chavannes, Membre de l'Institut, etc., published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, 1903, see in particular pp. 149-154.

MOUNTAIN TERRITORIES

BETWEEN THE WESTERN T'IEN SHAN AND THE INDUS.

Sketch Map No. 1. *Indian Antiquary.*



In order to understand fully the details of the remarkable exploit, which brought a Chinese army right across the high inhospitable plateaux of the Pamirs to the uppermost Oxus valley, and thence across the ice-covered Darkot down to the valleys of Yasin and Gilgit draining into the Indus, it is necessary to pay the closest regard to the topography of that difficult ground. Modern developments arising from the Central Asian interests of two great Asiatic powers, the British and Russian empires, have since the eighties of the last century helped greatly to add to our knowledge of the regions comprised in, or adjacent to, the great mountain massif in the centre of Asia, which classical geography designated by the vague but convenient name of Imaos. But much of the detailed topographical information is not as yet generally accessible to students. Even more than elsewhere, personal familiarity with the ground in its topographical and antiquarian aspects seems here needed for a full comprehension of historical details.

This local knowledge I was privileged to acquire in the course of the two Central Asian expeditions already referred to, and accordingly I have taken occasion to elucidate the facts connected with that memorable Chinese exploit in *Serindia*, the detailed report on my second journey, soon to be issued from the Oxford University Press.[4] The bulk and largely archæological contents of this work may prevent that account from attracting the attention of the geographical student. Hence, with the kind permission of the Delegates of the Oxford University Press, I avail myself of the opportunity to present here [*Geographical Journal*] the main results of my researches.

Some preliminary remarks seem needed to make clear the political and military situation which prevailed in Central Asia during the first half of the eighth century A.D., and which accounted for the enterprise to be discussed here.[5] After a long and difficult struggle the Chinese under the great T'ang emperors T'ai-tsung (A.D. 627–650) and Kao-tsung (A.D. 650–684) succeeded in vanquishing, first the Northern Turks (A.D. 630), and after a short interval also the Western Turks. They were the principal branches of that great Turkish nation which since its victory over the Juan-juan (Avars) and the Hoa, or Hephthalites, about the middle of the seventh century, had made itself master of inner Asia. By A.D. 659 the Chinese had regained political predominance, and for the most part also military control, over the great Central Asian territories roughly corresponding to what is now known as Chinese Turkestan, after having lost them for about four centuries.[6]

This renewed effort at Central Asian expansion, like that first made by the great Han emperor Wu-ti (140-86 B.C.), had for its object partly the protection of north-western China from nomadic inroads and partly the control of the great Central Asian trade route passing through the Tarim basin. Stretching from east to west between the great mountain ranges of the T'ien-shan in the north and the K'un-lun in the south, the Tarim basin is filled for the most part by huge drift-sand deserts. Yet it was destined by nature to serve as the main overland line for the trade intercourse between the Far East and Western Asia, and recent archæological explorations have abundantly proved its great importance generally for the interchange of civilizations between China, India, Iran, and the classical West.

During Han times, when China's great export trade of silk had first begun about 110 B.C. to find its way westwards through the strings of oases scattered along the foot of

4 The work has appeared since the above was written.

5 For a masterly exposition from Chinese and Western sources of all historical facts here briefly summed up, see M. Chavannes' *Essai sur l'histoire des Tou-kiue occidentaux*, forming the concluding portion of his *Documents sur les Turcs occidentaux*, pp. 217-303.

6 *Cf.* Chavannes, *Turcs occidentaux*, pp. 266 *sqq.*

the T'ien-shan and K'un-lun, the Chinese hold upon the "Western Kingdoms" with their settled and highly civilized populations had been threatened mainly by inroads of the Huns and other nomadic tribes from the north. After the reconquest under the Emperor Kao-tsung the situation was essentially different. The danger from the nomadic north had lessened. Troubles with the medley of Turkish tribes left in possession of the wide grazing areas beyond the T'ien-shan never ceased. Yet the Chinese administration by a well-organized system of garrisons, and still more by diplomatic skill, was well able to hold them in check. But additional and greater dangers had soon to be faced from other sides. The claim to the succession of the whole vast dominion of the Western Turks was drawing the administration of the Chinese protectorate, established in the Tarim basin and known as the "Four Garrisons," into constant attempts to assert effective authority also to the west of the great meridional range, the ancient Imaos, in the regions comprising what is now Russian and Afghan Turkestan.[7]

Considering the vast distances separating these regions from China proper and the formidable difficulties offered by the intervening great deserts and mountain ranges, Chinese control over them was from the outset bound to be far more precarious than that over the Tarim basin. But the dangers besetting Chinese dominion in Central Asia increased greatly with the appearance of two new forces upon the scene. Already in the last quarter of the seventh century the newly rising power of the Tibetans seriously threatened and for a time effaced the Chinese hold upon the Tarim basin.[8] Even after its recovery by the Chinese in A.D. 692 the struggle never quite ceased.

Another and almost equally great threat to China's Central Asian dominion arose in the west through the advance of Arab conquest to the Oxus and beyond. About A.D. 670 it had already made itself felt in Tokharistan, the important territory on the middle Oxus comprising the greater part of the present Afghan Turkestan. Between A.D. 705 and 715 the campaigns of the famous Arab general Qotaïba had carried the Muhammadan arms triumphantly into Sogdiana, between Oxus and Yaxartes, and even further.[9] By taking advantage of internal troubles among the Arabs and by giving support to all the principalities between the Yaxartes and the Hindukush which the Arabs threatened with extinction, the Chinese managed for a time to stem this wave of Muhammadan aggression. But the danger continued from this side, and the Chinese position in Central Asia became even more seriously jeopardized when the Tibetans soon after A.D. 741 advanced to the Oxus valley and succeeded in joining hands with the Arabs, their natural allies.

Baulked for the time in their attempts to secure the Tarim basin, the Tibetans had only one line open to effect this junction. It led first down the Indus from Ladak through Baltistan (the "Great P'o-lü" of the Chinese Annals) to the Hindukush territories of Gilgit and Yasin, both comprised in the "Little P'o-lü" of the Chinese records.[10] Thence the passes of the Darkot and the Baroghil—the latter a saddle in the range separating the Oxus from the Chitral river headwaters—would give the Tibetans access to Wakhan; through this open portion of the upper Oxus valley and through fertile Badakhshan the Arabs

[7] For very interesting notices of the administrative organization, which the Chinese attempted soon after A.D. 659 to impose upon the territories from the Yaxartes to the Oxus and even south of the Hindukush, see Chavannes, *Turcs occidentaux*, pp. 268 *sqq.*

[8] *Cf.* Chavannes, *Turcs occidentaux*, pp. 280 *sqq.*

[9] See Chavannes, *ibid*, pp. 288 *sqq.*

[10] *Cf.* for this identification Chavannes, *ibid.* p. 150, and *Notes supplementaries*; also my *Ancient Khotan*, i. pp. 6 *sqq.*

established on the middle Oxus might be reached with comparative ease. But an advance along the previous portions of this route was beset with very serious difficulties, not merely on account of the great height of the passes to be traversed and of the extremely confined nature of the gorges met with on the Indus and the Gilgit river, but quite as much through the practical absence of local resources sufficient to feed an invading force anywhere between Ladak and Badakhshan.

Nevertheless the persistent advance of the Tibetans along this most difficult line is clearly traceable in the Chinese records. "Great P'o-lü," *i.e.*, Baltistan, had already become subject to them before A.D. 722. About that time they attacked "Little P'o-lü," declaring, as the T'ang Annals tell us, to Mo-chin-mang its king: "It is not your kingdom which we covet, but we wish to use your route in order to attack the Four Garrisons (*i.e.*, the Chinese in the Tarim basin)."[11] In A.D. 722 timely military aid rendered by the Chinese enabled this king to defeat the Tibetan design. But after three changes of reign the Tibetans won over his successor Su-shih-li-chih, and inducing him to marry a Tibetan princess secured a footing in "Little P'o-lü." "Thereupon," in the words of the *T'ang shu*, "more than twenty kingdoms to the north-west became all subject to the Tibetans."[12] These events occurred shortly after A.D. 741.[13]

The danger thus created by the junction between Tibetans and Arabs forced the Chinese to special efforts to recover their hold upon Yasin and Gilgit. Three successive expeditions despatched by the "Protector of the Four Garrisons," the Chinese Governor-General, had failed, when a special decree of the Emperor Hsüan-tsang in A.D. 747 entrusted the Deputy Protector Kao Hsien-chih, a general of Korean extraction commanding the military forces in the Tarim basin, with the enterprise to be traced here. We owe our detailed kowledge of it to the official biography of Kao Hsien-chih preserved in the T'ang Annals and translated by M. Chavannes. To that truly great scholar, through whose premature death in 1918 all branches of historical research concerning the Far East and Central Asia have suffered an irreparable loss, belongs full credit for having recognized that Kao Hsien-chih's remarkable expedition led him and his force across the Pamirs and over the Baroghil and Darkot passes. But he did not attempt to trace in detail the actual routes followed by Kao Hsien-chih on this hazardous enterprise or to localize the scenes of all its striking events. To do this in the light of personal acquaintance with the topography of these regions, their physical conditions, and their scanty ancient remains, is my object in the following pages.

With a force of 10,000 cavalry and infantry Kao Hsien-chih started in the spring of A.D. 747 from An-hsi, then the headquarters of the Chinese administration in the Tarim basin and corresponding to the present town and oasis of Kucha.[14] In thirty-five days he reached Su-lê, or Kashgar, through Ak-su and by the great caravan road leading along the foot of the T'ien-shan. Twenty days more brought his force to the military post of the

11 See Chavannes, *Turcs occidentaux*, p 150.

12 *Cf.* Chavannes, *ibid.*, p. 151. By the twenty kingdoms are obviously meant petty hill principalities on the Upper Oxus from Wakhan downwards, and probably also others in the valleys south of Hindukush, such as Mastuj and Chitral.

13 *Cf.* Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, i. p. 7. A.D. 741 is the date borne by the Imperial edict investing Su-shih-li-chih's immediate predecessor; its text is still extant in the records extracted by M. Chavannes, *Turcs occidentaux*, pp. 211 *sqq*.

14 For these and all other details taken from M Chavannes' translation of Kao Hsien-chih's biography in the *T'ang shu*, see *Turcs occidentaux*, pp. 152 *sqq*.

T'sung-ling mountains, established in the position of the present Tashkurghan in Sarikol.[15] Thence by a march of twenty days the "valley of Po-mi," or the Pamirs, was gained, and after another twenty days Kao Hsien-chih arrived in "the kingdom of the five Shih-ni," *i.e.*, the present Shighnan on the Oxus.

The marching distance here indicated agrees well with the time which large caravans of men and transport animals would at present need to cover the same ground. But how the Chinese general managed to feed so large a force, after once it had entered the tortuous gorges and barren high valleys beyond the outlying oases of the present Kashgar and Yangi-hissar districts, is a problem which might look formidable, indeed, to any modern commander. The biography in the Annals particularly notes that "at that time the foot soldiers all kept horses (*i.e.*, ponies) on their own account." Such a provision of transport must have considerably increased the mobility of the Chinese troops. But it also implied greatly increased difficulties on the passage through ranges which, with the exception of certain portions of the Pamirs, do not afford sufficient grazing to keep animals alive without liberal provision of fodder.

It was probably as a strategic measure, meant to reduce the difficulties of supply in this inhospitable Pamir region, that Kao Hsien-chih divided his forces into three columns before starting his attack upon the position held by the Tibetans at Lien-yün. M. Chavannes has shown good reason for assuming that by the river P'o-lê (or So-lê), which is described as flowing in front of Lien-yün, is meant the Ab-i-Panja branch of the Oxus, and that Lien-yün itself occupied a position corresponding to the present village of Sarhad, but on the opposite, or southern, side of the river, where the route from the Baroghil pass debouches on the Ab-i-Panja. We shall return to this identification in detail hereafter. Here it will suffice to show that this location is also clearly indicated by the details recorded of the concentration of Kao Hsien-chih's forces upon Lien-yün.

Of the three columns which were to operate from different directions and to effect a simultaneous junction before Lien-yün on the thirteenth day of the seventh month (about the middle of August), the main force, under Kao Hsien-chih himself and the Imperial Commissioner Pien Ling-ch'êng, passed through the kingdom of Hu-mi, or Wakhan, ascending the main Oxus valley from the west. Another column which is said to have moved upon Lien-yün by the route of Ch'ih-fo-t'ang, "the shrine of the red Buddha,"[16] may be assumed, in view of a subsequent mention of this route below, to have operated from the opposite direction down the headwaters of the Ab-i-Panja. These could be reached without serious difficulty from the Sarikol base either over the Tagh-dumbash Pamir and the Wakhjir pass

15 Ts'ung-ling, or "the Onion Mountains," is the ancient Chinese designation for the great snowy range which connects the T'ien-shan in the north with the K'un-lun and Hindukush in the south, and forms the mighty eastern rim of the Pamirs The Chinese term is sometimes extended to the high valleys and plateaus of the latter also. The range culminates near its centre in the great ice-clad peak of Muztagh-ata and those to the north of it, rising to over 25,000 feet above sea-level. It is to this great mountain chain, through which all routes from the Oxus to the Tarim basin pass, that the term Imaos is clearly applied in Ptolemy's 'Geography.'

The great valley of Sarikol, situated over 10,000 feet above sea-level, yet largely cultivated in ancient times, forms the natural base for any military operations across the Pamirs; for early accounts of it in Chinese historical texts and in the records of old travellers from the East and West, *cf.* my *Ancient Khotan*, i. pp. 27 *sqq.* Descriptions of the present Sarikol and of the two main routes which connect it with Kashgar, through the Gez valley to the north of Muztagh-ata and across the Chichiklik pass in the south, are given in my *Ruins of Khotan*, pp. 67 *sqq.*, and *Desert Cathay*, i. pp. 89 *sqq.*

16 The term *fo-t'ang*, which M. Chavannes translates "la salle du Bouddha . . .," designates, according to Dr. Giles's *Chinese-English Dictionary*, p. 1330, "a family shrine or oratory for the worship of Buddha." Considering the location, the rendering of *t'ang* by "shrine" seems here appropriate.

BETWEEN THE UPPER OXUS AND THE GILGIT RIVERS.

Sketch Map No. 2. *Indian Antiqua*

Scale 1 700 000 or 1 Inch = 11 Miles

5 0 5 10 15

- - - - *Routes assumed to have been used by the Chinese expeditionary force A D 747.*

Indicates approximately the extent of permanent snow.

G gr   l al Journal

(16,200 feet)[17] or by way of the Naiza-tash pass and the Little Pamir. Finally, a third column, composed of 3,000 horsemen, which was to make its way to Lien-yün by Pei-ku, or "the northern gorge," may be supposed to have descended from the side of the Great Pamir. For such a move from the north, either one of the several passes could be used which lead across the Nicholas range, south-east of Victoria lake, or possibly a glacier track, as yet unexplored, leading from the latter into one of the gorges which debouch east of Sarhad.[18] In any case it is clear that by thus bringing up his forces on convergent but wholly distinct lines, and by securing for himself a fresh base in distant Shighnan, the Chinese general effectively guarded against those difficulties of supplies and transport which, then as now, would make the united move of so large a body of men across the Pamirs a physical impossibility.

The crossing of the Pamirs by a force, which in its total strength amounted to ten thousand men, is so remarkable a military achievement that the measures which alone probably made it possible deserve some closer examination, however succinct the Chinese record is upon which we have to base it. So much appears to me clear, that the march was not effected in one body, but in three columns moving up from Kashgar in successive stages by routes of which Tash-kurghan, "the post of the Ts'ung-ling mountains," was the advanced base or *point d'appui*. If Kao Hsien-chih moved ahead with the first column or detachment to Shighnan and was followed at intervals by the other two detachments, the advantage gained as regards supplies and transport must have been very great. His own column would have reached a fresh base of supplies in Shighnan while the second was moving across the main Pamirs and the third arriving in Sarikol from the plains. Thus the great strain of having to feed simultaneously the whole force on ground absolutely without local resources was avoided. It must be remembered that, once established on the Oxus, the Chinese Commissariat could easily draw upon the abundant produce of Badakhshan, and that for the column left on the Pamirs the comparatively easy route across the Alai would be available for drawing supplies from the rich plains of Farghana, then still under Chinese control.

(To be continued.)

REGARDING THE CHRISTIANS OF ST. THOMAS IN SOUTH INDIA.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

A LITTLE pamphlet of 70 pages has come into my hands,[1] which purports to be "an investigation into the latest researches in connection with the time-honoured tradition regarding the martyrdom of St. Thomas in Southern India." It is a Catholic production with an introduction by Mgr. Teixeira, Vicar General of the Diocese of Mylapore (San Thomé de Meliapur), and has been written by a "retired Superintendent, General Records, Government Secretariat, Madras," who is also Editor of the *Catholic Register*. It is, however, far from being a sectarian issue, and the pros and cons of long-disputed points relating to the alleged mission of St. Thomas to India and its termination in South India are fairly set out in a manner worth the serious attention of students. There is also a painstaking bibliography at the end of the pamphlet.

The author's position is well explained by Mgr. Teixeira, who writes :—"(1) That even if the evidence so far available is not such as to compel belief, it nevertheless argues very strongly in favour of the tradition which places the martyrdom of St. Thomas in Southern

17 For descriptions of this route, *cf.* my *Ruins of Khotan*, pp. 60 *sqq.*, and *Desert Cathay*, i. pp. 83 *sqq*.

18 Regarding the existence of this track, *cf.* the information obtained in the course of my third Central Asian journey, *Geographical Journal*, 48, (1916), p. 216.

1 *St. Thomas the Apostle in India*, by F. A. D'Cruz. Madras: Hoe and Co., 1922.

India ; and (2) that the writers who have tried to discredit and disprove it have failed to do so." As Editor of this *Journal* I have perforce had to make myself acquainted at times with the story of St. Thomas as regards India, and speaking personally, my impression is that there is nothing against the possibility or even probability of the Apostle's visit to South India, in addition to his attendance at the Court of so great a monarch as Gondophares (Guduphara), must have been in Northern India and Afghanistan in the middle half of the first century of the Christian era. Such a theory involves the supposition, easily defensible, of a journey southward by sea to Muziris (Cranganore), then the most famous port on the Malabar Coast, and onwards either overland *viâ* Argaru (Urgapura = Âlavāy = Madura), or by sea to the country of the Aioi (Âay = Pândya), or of the Toringai (= Soringoi = Chola), where there were then several ports well known to Yavana (Western foreigners) seamen, merchants and traders.

Mr. D'Cruz does not carry his account of the tradition of St. Thomas in India beyond the arrival of the Portuguese, and it will help the further investigation thereof to state here what Duarte Barbosa, who may be regarded as the Father of Portuguese Indian story, has to say on the subject, quoting from the late Mr. Dames' edition of 1921.

In vol. II, p. 88, Barbosa has a note on Chatua, *i.e.*, Chetwai or Chettuvayi, locally the traditional landing-place of St. Thomas on the Malabar Coast, and then passes on to Cranganore, at that time (*c.* 1500–1520) under the ruler of Cochin. Of this place he says (p. 89) :—

> " In these places [Chatua and Cranganor] dwell many Moors, Christians and Heathen Indians. The Christians follow the doctrines of the Blessed Saint Thomas, and they hold there a Church dedicated to him, and another to Our Lady. They are very devout Christians, lacking nothing but true doctrine whereof I will speak further on, for many of them dwell from here as far as Charamandel, whom the blessed Saint Thomas left established here when he died in these regions."

Then on p. 93, in reference to Cochin itself, Barbosa remarks :

> " This Kingdom possesses a very large and excellent river [Cochin River, really an outlet of the Cochin lagoon], which here comes forth to the sea by which come in great ships of Moors and Christians, who trade with this Kingdom [meaning, I take it, Muhammadan and European traders]......At the mouth of the river the King our Lord [of Portugal] possesses a very fine fortress, which is a large settlement of Portuguese and Christians, natives of the land, who became Christians after the establishment of our fortress. And every day also other Christian Indians who have remained from the teaching of the Blessed Saint Thomas come there also from Coilam and other places."

From this it will be seen that the early Portuguese settlers clearly distinguished between their own Christian converts and the Syrian " Christians of St. Thomas."

On pp. 96–97 Barbosa remarks that " Passing this place [Cochin], we come at once to another, the first in this kingdom of Coilam which they call Cale Coilam [Fort (Qil'a) Coilam, and also Caymcolan, *i.e.*, Kayankallam], whither come numbers of Moors, Heathens and Christians of the doctrine of the Blessed Saint Thomas and many of them also dwell in the inland country." On this Mr. Dames notes (p. 96) that " it was a centre of the Syrian Christians from an early period, a church having been built there in A.D. 829." He also gives (p. 97) references to Marco Polo, Fr. Jordanus, Marignolli and *Hobson-Jobson*, which are very useful here.

As regards Quilon itself, after stating (p. 97) that it was "a very great city with a right good haven," Barbosa says that "Hither come Moors, Heathen and Christians in great numbers." And he then proceeds to remark (pp. 97 ff.) that "At a certain point where the land projects into the sea is a very great church, miraculously built by the Apostle Our Lord Saint Thomas." Then follows a variant of the well-known story of the great log at full length, but it is told of Quilon and not here of Mailapur: "The Christians of Saint Thomas asserted to me that they had found this written in their book which they preserve with extreme reverence." With the log, "The Apostle then, whom they call Matoma [= Syrian, Mar Thoma]," miraculously built his Church.

Barbosa then makes some statements as to these Christians which are worth excerpting (pp. 100-101):

> Beholding these miracles and many others, which Our Lord daily worked through him, many became Christians from Cochin to the great Kingdom of Coilam, which extends to the Coast facing towards Ceilam, in which there may be well twelve thousand [variously 2,000 and 7,000] households of Christians scattered among the Heathen, and there also some churches in the inland country. The more part of these lack both doctrine and baptism, having only the name of Christians, for St. Thomas in his time baptised all who desired baptism, and as the King of Coilam perceived that so many people were receiving his doctrine he took heed of it, saying that they would take possession of the land. So he began to shun them, and on this Saint Thomas departed thence, persecuted by them and by the Heathen, towards the land of Charamandel and came to a great town named Mailapur, where he received martyrdom and where he lies buried, of which I will speak more fully in its place further on. Thus from that time the Christians remained in this Kingdom of Coilam with that church, and levied duties on pepper, of which it possesses somewhat, and also other duties. These Christians, thus continuing without instructions and with no priest to baptise them, were for long Christians in nothing but name only. Then they gathered together and took counsel one with another, and determined to send forth some from among them into the world where the Sacrament of Baptism was known. With this intent five men set forth into the world at great cost, and came to stay in the land of Armenia [Syria] where they found many Christians and a Patriarch who ruled them, who, understanding their object, sent with them a Bishop and five or six clerks to baptise them and say mass and instruct them, which Bishop tarried with them for five or six years, and when he went back there came another, who stayed with them for as many years. Thus for a long time they continued to improve.
>
> These Armenians are white men; they speak Arabic and Chaldee. They have the church law and recite their prayers perpetually. Yet I know not whether they recite the whole office as do our Friars. They wear their tonsures reversed, hair in the place of the tonsure, and the head around it shaven. They wear white shirts, and turbans on their heads; they go barefoot, and wear long beards. They are extremely devout and say mass at the altar as we do here, with a cross facing them. He who says it walks between two men, who help him, one on each side. They communicate with salted bread insead of the host, and consecrate thereof sufficient for all who are present in the church; they distribute the whole of this as if it were blessed bread, and every man comes to the foot of the altar to receive it from the priest's hand. And the wine is in this wise. As at that time there was no wine in India they take raisins brought from Mecca and Ormuz, and leave them for the night to soak; the next day when

they go to say mass they press out the juice, and say the mass with that. These men baptised for money, and when they returned from Malabar to their own country they had great riches, and thus for lack of money many went unbaptised."

Barbosa's next reference (pp. 102-103) to the earlier South Indian Christians may, if further followed up, turn out to be important : " At this Cape Comory [Kumâri, Comorin] there is an ancient Church of Christians which was founded by the Armenians [Syrians], who still direct it, and perform in it the Divine Service of Christians, and have crosses on the altars. All mariners [again after a common Indian custom] pay it a tribute and the Portuguese celebrate mass there when they pass. There are there many tombs, amongst which there is one which has written on it a Latin epitaph : 'Hic jacet Catuldus Gulli filius qui obiit anno——." On this, however, Mr. Dames remarks : " As this passage appears, according to Lord Stanley's note, neither in the Barcelona MS. nor in the Munich MS. No. 570, and is not found in the Portuguese text nor in Ramusio, it depends only on the Munich MS. No. 571. It would seem, therefore, to be a rather late interpolation." I am not, however, quite satisfied thus to dismiss this very precise statement, and it would be quite worth while to examine the jungle about the Cape or neighbourhood for possible remains.

Doubling the Cape and passing by Ceylon and the Pearl Fisheries, Barbosa arrived at Mailapur, now usually spelt Mylapore, in the neighbourhood of San Thomé, or St. Thomas's Mount, and he describes again at length on pp. 126-129 a variant of the legend of St. Thomas, which is characteristically Indian.

" Here lies buried the body of the Blessed Saint Thomas in a little church near the sea. The Christians of Coulam say that when Saint Thomas departed thence, being persecuted by the Heathen, he came with certain of his fellows to the city of Mailapur, which in those days was a city of ten or twelve leagues in length, and far removed from the sea which afterwards ate away the land and advanced well into the city.[2] At first Saint Thomas began to preach the faith of Christ, and converted certain men thereto, wherefore the others went about to slay him, and he for this reason dwelt apart from the people, wandering ofttimes in the wilderness."

This is followed by a story of the accidental killing of a peacock on the wing by a hunter, which turned out to be St. Thomas himself, whereon the people buried him as a Saint. " Thus he lies very modestly in the church which his disciples and fellows built for him (p. 129)."

The story of the slaying of the peacock reminds Mr. Dames of the Buddhist *Nachcha Jâtaka* (*Hañsa Jâtaka*), and he suggests that it is really an old Buddhist tale fastened on to St. Thomas after a manner well known to students of folktales. The use made by Hindu and Muhammadan ascetics of the Christian tomb is also thoroughly Indian (p. 129) :

"The Moors and Heathen used to burn lights on it, each one claiming it as his own. The church is arranged in our fashion with crosses on the altar and on the summit of the vault, and a wooden grating, and peacocks as devices , but it is now very ruinous and all around it covered with brushwood, and a poor Moor holds charge of it and begs alms for it, from which a lamp is kept burning at night, and on what is left they live. Some Indian Christians go there on pilgrimage and carry away many relics, little earthen balls from the same tomb of the Blessed Saint Thomas, and also give alms to the aforesaid Moor, telling him to repair the said house."

[2] This is really a confused reference to the story of the connection of St. Thomas with Pulicat, 18 miles distant, current among the early Portuguese. See below next point in connection with St. Thomas.

Finally Mr. Dames (pp. 127–129) shows that San Thomé was founded by Nuna da Cunha in 1533, no doubt in memory of this tale, and that Mailapur became confused by European travellers and writers with Pulicat, then the nearest seaport. On pp. 130–131 he quotes Correa, who in 1521 was a member of a Committee of investigation into the story about St. Thomas' burial, set up apparently in 1517, the year before Barbosa left India, under Lopes de Sequeira and his successor, Duarte de Meneses. Correa's statement is remarkable (pp. 130-131) :—

> "I, Gaspar Correa, who write this story, went in the company of Pero Lopes de Sampayo to visit this holy house. And the Captain Pero Lopes left the ship at Pale-acate, and twelve or fifteen men landed with him on a pilgrimage to the holy house which is seven leagues away (*i.e.*, at Mailapur), all on foot, singing and rejoicing, with plenty of food and drink. On coming in sight of the holy house we were all overcome by a devout sadness, so that we sang no more nor spoke one to the other with a new devotion in our hearts, remembering our sins. Each man recited his prayers with so great a trembling that his legs and arms weakened and shook, for we seemed to be planting our feet on holy ground. And outside the door of the holy house we fell on our knees, and shed so many tears that I know not whence they came. There we all confessed and the Father said mass (having brought with him all that was needful therefor), and we all took the holy sacrament. And this was the first mass that was said in the holy house, being the day of Corpus Christi of the year 1521."

Then he goes on to describe repairs done to the church, and the discovery of some of the bones of the king who had been converted by Saint Thomas, who was reported by the country-folk to have been called Tanimudolyar, interpreted as "Thomas, the servant of God." But I take it that this name or rather title is merely "Tani Mudaliyâr, Thomas the Great."

We have, however, not yet got to the bottom of the story of St. Thomas, for Mr. D'Cruz notes that Father Hosten, S.J., "has started publishing in the *Catholic Herald of India*, beginning with the issue of 27th July 1921, tentative articles on his findings" during a visit to San Thomé in the beginning of 1921. And also measures are being taken to have translated into English a volume on St. Thomas and the Malabar tradition by the Rev. Fr. Bernard of St. Thomas, T.O.C.D. This work was published in Malayalam in 1917, filling about 500 pages.

EARLY HISTORY OF INDIAN FAMINES.[1]

By P. N. RAMASWAMI, B.A.

(*With an Additional Note by* L. M. ANSTEY.)

Introduction.

"THE idols of the market-place"—to adopt the picturesque language of Bacon—"are the most troublesome of all—those, namely which have entwined themselves round the understanding from the associations of words and names. For men imagine that their reason governs words, whilst, in fact, words react upon the understanding ; and this has rendered

[1] In the publication of these papers I have received very great help from my gifted and beloved master, Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar. The Nestor of South Indian Historians spared no pains to make these papers as comprehensive as possible. Several eminent scholars—especially Pandit Srinvasai Achariar and Fr. Steenkiste—have liberally helped me with facts, suggestions, etc. I thank them all. I also take this opportunity to thank the St. Joseph's College Library Staff for their kindly services during the preparation of these papers; and have much pleasure in thankfully acknowledging their unfailing courtesy, promptand intelligent help.—P.N.R.

philosophy and science sophistical and inactive." And in Political Economy, above all sciences, we may expect the idols of the market-place to abound. Indian Economics is full of stubborn fallacies which would at once have been loosened by a Socratic Induction, and altogether dispelled by a scientific analysis. The early history of Indian famines is an instance in point. It is only the deceptive familiarity of common discourse which fosters the prevailing general impression that famines at the present day are the direct consequence of English administration, and that in times of the predominance of the Hindus and Muhammadans they were less extended in area and less tragic in their effects.[2] But a review of the early famines in India, of which History makes mention, shows 'that such an assertion proceeds from sheer ignorance; there is not a tittle of historical evidence to support it' (Theodore Morison, *Economic Transition in India*). Famines of long duration and extent, and causing very considerable destruction, have been frequently recorded from the very dawn of Indian History. In the language of the *Imperial Gazetteer* (vol. III, chapter X, page 475) 'famines were very frequent under native rule and frightful.'

But the prevailing general impression is, as we have already said, that famines are far more frequent and destructive now than in former times. The reason for the wide prevalence of this interesting assumption, based upon insufficient data, is not far to seek. The early history of Indian famines lies scattered in scores of volumes which are mostly inaccessible to the general reader; while handy books of reference like Balfour's *Cyclopaedia of India*, innumerable Gazetteers, Famine Commission Reports and special treatises like R. C. Dutt's *Indian Famines*, give adequate and ample information about famines in the British Period. It is the dearth of information in the former, and its plenteousness in the latter case, that is mainly responsible, it is submitted, for this widespread fallacy. The following series of papers are a pioneer attempt to sketch the early history of Indian Famines. They make no pretension whatsoever either to erudition or completeness. If this slight sketch of mine should be so fortunate as to induce competent men to undertake the early history of Indian famines on an adequate scale, it will have achieved its object.

Ancient Hindu Period to the Death of Harsha in 650 A.D.

The Vedic Period.

The early history of Indian famines must be traced back to a time much anterior to the Vedic period (before 3000 B.C.). "The one great danger that must have constantly threatened primitive man, was famine. Man in the savage state when living [even] in our luxurious country was often brought to the verge of starvation, in spite of his having implements and weapons which his ruder ancestors had no idea of." 'Consider the condition of savages,' says Bentham (*Theory of Legislation*, chapter vii, page 109), 'they strive incessantly against famine which cuts off entire tribes. Rivalry for subsistence produces among them the most cruel wars and, like beasts of prey, men pursue men as means of sustenance. The fear of this terrible calamity silences the softest sentiments of nature; pity unites with insensibility in putting to death the old men who can hunt no longer.'

"It is obvious that famine and its hideous consequence, cannibalism, could only be prevented by the *storage of food*, which doubtless took at this early stage the form of the confinement or in other words the domestication of such animals as formed the spoils of the chase

[2] In support of this theory, *cf.* Digby. *Prosperous British India*; Naoroji. *Poverty and Un British Rule in India*. For the other side, *cf.* Morison, Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar, and others. "The severity of famines is mitigated even in such a country as India."—Marshall, *Principles* (Bk. IV, chapter iv, page 187).

and the chief food-supply of men " (R. A. Nelson, *Law of Property*, p. 26). Thus, frequent famines led to the transition from the *hunting* to the *pastoral* stage of civilisation (E. Jenks, *History of Politics*, ch. iv, p. 24). Dr. Schrader (*Pre-historic Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, ch. v, p. 286) has admirably shown how famines again caused the transition from the *pastoral* to the *agricultural* life.

To labour and to store.—the fundamental laws of man's existence on earth,—are the offspring, so to speak, of their parents, Hunger and Famine.

Vedic Period. 2000 B.C.—1400 B.C.

The transition from the pastoral to the agricultural life of the Indian man lands us in the Vedic period of Indian History (2000—1400 B.C.). The four Vedas constitute the chief sources of information for this period. " The ends of Vedic Hymns were practical. The Vedic Hymns were designed to persuade the gods to deal generously with men :

As birds extend their sheltering wings,
Spread your protection over us." (*Rig Veda.*)[3]

Therefore we find in the Rig Veda, the most ancient of our records, the first famine cry :

" The waters of the upper sea in Heaven were prisoned by the gods,
But the wise priest released them all (removed the drought and wet the sods),
He, praying the magic verse ; the rain compelling voice had he,
God ! free us from the hunger-ill ; and give the magic word to me.
Let loose for us on earth the rain—the waters of yon heavenly sea ! "

But this is only one of the many voices raised in the Rig Veda in supplication to the gods who are over and over again besought to drive away the plague of hunger caused by frequent droughts :

" O ! Indra (Rain-god) give food and strength to us who are hungry,
Help us with thy help, powerful god, save us from this present plague, hunger and wretchedness,
Indra, do thou keep drought and hunger from our pasture ;
So well-known for thy might, O ever beneficent showerer,
Set open thou, unfretting towards us, this moving cloud."

Compare also the significant remark :—

The gods did not give hunger as the only death.

A measure of the frequency of droughts (and, consequentially, famines) in the Vedic period, can be had from the rain-hymns (to invent a word) in the Rig Veda :

' O Mitra and Varuna, bedew with showers of heavenly fluid the pasture where our kine graze ; and bedew our realms with honey, O gods of the noblest deeds. Through their help alone we shall earn, and be able to lay by ; and still there will be over-abundance.

' I invoke Mitra of holy might and Varuna the exterminator of the wicked, both cherishing a desire to pour down rains.

' Thy benevolence, O Agni, O god, which like the downpour of a rain-cloud, is undefiled and wondrous and promotes our advancement.

' O Mitra and Varuna, the rain is giving out surprisingly loud thunders foreboding plenty and puissance ; the Maruts (too) have clad themselves in cloud. Induce, therefore, by your clever words the reddish but stainless heaven to pour down showers.

' O Maruts, cry out from the ocean. O showerers, pour down showers (of rain).

[3] A. Coomaraswami, *The Dance of Siva, etc.*, ch. I. (p. 18).

'Showerers of vital vigour, I am glad to view your chariots like the subtle lustre accompanying the showers.

'The mortal—be he a sage or a king—whom the showers of rain conduct by the right path, never sustains defeat nor death. He never succumbs ; he is never distressed ; he never fails. His riches never abate, nor do his succours cease.'

So great in fact was the importance of rain that the word drought '*amiva*,' as used above, became synonymous with the word '*anavana*.'

During the Vedic period famines resulting from drought, as Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar in his masterly study of the *Age of the Mantras* has shown, were of frequent occurrence, when the starving poor desirous of food courted the man with the store of sustenance ; 'the lean beggar craving for food ate even poisonous plants after washing off the poison with water and people died of starvation in multitudes during famines. *Ṛṇa* debts, frequently mentioned in the Rig Veda and onwards, were probably contracted during these "times of distress."[4]

The bulk of the people, the agriculturists, were very poor, and borrowed at usurious rates of interest and repaid their debts in 16 or 18 instalments. The payment of 'debt from debt,' *i.e.*, compounding of old debts with new ones, so common to-day among professional money-lenders, was equally so in 2000 B.C. There are two hymns in the Atharva Veda for securing release from debts. These things which we learn from Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar's *Age of the Mantras*, show that nothing is more natural, but nothing is more dangerous, than to cast a halo over the past and to make of it a golden age. The idyllic pictures of the Vedic period as a truly golden Age, before the pressure of famine had been felt, are beautiful but entirely devoid of historical truth. In the vigorous language of Wilks (*Historical Sketches of South India*, vol. I, p. 2), "the Golden Age of India, like that of other regions, belongs exclusively to the poet. In the sober investigation of facts, this imaginary era recedes farther and farther at every stage of inquiry; and all that we find is still the empty praise of the ages which have passed."

Epic Period, 1400 B.C.—800 B.C.

And beginning from this remote Vedic Age (2000 B.C. to 1400 B.C.) we can trace the frequent occurrence of famines along the centuries past the Atharvan poet, who prays that the sun may not ruin his crops, to the Epic period (1400 B.C.—800 B.C.) 'when we observe that the gods were no longer trusted overmuch' (Hopkins, *India, Old and New*, p. 235). For the good Kings of the Epics, far from trusting too much in the gods, built canals and reservoirs as their first duty and irrigated the country as best they could. In chapter V of the *Sabha Parva* (the Kaçchit chapter), Narada asks Yudhistira, 'Are the tanks large and full, located in suitable places in your kingdom, so that agriculture may not depend solely on rains from the heavens ? Does not the seed and the maintenance of the man who tills go unrealised ?' And the sage advises the king not to leave agriculture to the mercy of the rain, but to assist it by the construction of tanks suitably situated in different parts of the kingdom. But in spite of these precautionary measures taken by the Epic kings, droughts, and consequently famines, of long duration and extent, occurred in the Epic period of Indian history.

We find repeated allusions in the Great Epics, to "droughts that lasted for many years, *bâhuvarṣikî*, and again more specially : "now at this time there was a great twelve-year drought, etc." The *Râmâyaṇa* mentions (Balakanda, Adhyaya IX, *slokas* 8 and 9) that in the time of the great king Romapada, in consequence of some default on his part, a terrible and

[4] Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, vol. I.

dreadful drought, capable of striking terror into all, occurred. And it is said that when Ṛshya-çringa, the twice-born one, Kaçyapa's son, entered the kingdom, Indra poured forth plenty of showers enlivening the hearts of all men. In the Uttara Kanda (Adhyâya 86, *slôkas* 4 and 5) of the *Râmâyaṇa*, it is mentioned that after the disappearance of Indra a great drought prevailed. In consequence the world became unproductive, devoid of all juice, the forests rotted, pools, tanks, lakes, etc., dried up, and all living beings withered and decayed. The Vana Parva (Adhyâya 193, *slôka* 17, and following) in the *Mahâbhârata*, contains another striking reference. Vaiçampayana says : 'O Janamejaya ! for two years owing to absence of rain everything got parched up ; on the surface of the earth there was no water ; wells, ponds, lakes, etc., became dried up.' It is also predicted in the Vana Parva that unseasonal rainfall will frequently harrow mankind in the Kaliyuga.

The Epic poets also intimate that droughts came every twelve years. These droughts were the parents of famines, for whenever a drought is mentioned, the next thing noticed is the famine that followed it. Thus in one account : 'Now at this time came a twelve-year drought. The store of food was exhausted and there was no food.' The descriptions of such famines are sufficiently vivid to make it certain that the scenes were drawn from life In the Santi Parva of the *Mahâbhârata* (Adhyâya 141, *slôka* 13 and following) a terrible famine on account of a twelve-years ' drought is mentioned. There is a remarkable sentence bearing on this subject in the same Parva, detailing the Viswamitra-chandala episode in which Viswamitra pressed by hunger during this famine entered the house of a Chandala and took away by stealth the leg of a dead dog to eat ! In the *Chhandogya Upanishad* a similarly amusing story of a famine-stricken couple is related. The Ramayana alludes to famines in pre-Rama days. These were presumably caused by droughts.

But it would only be a half-truth to say that famines at this time were due in all cases to droughts ; they were sometimes caused by disafforestation and robbery (the work of dacoits and tax-gatherers). For, in spite of the minatory warnings of the Brahmans 'that the king who devours his people by unjust taxation goes to hell,' and the sage advice 'that taxes are to be realised in the fashion of the weaver of the garland and not the coal-merchant', there were bad Epic Kings who crushed their subjects by unjust taxation. The heavy indebtedness of the agricultural classes accentuated these evils. Though the Sacred Laws provided that the State had to see that the money-lenders were never awarded interest exceeding 12%, widespread usury was eating into the very vitals of the ryot class (*cf.* C. V. Vaidya, *Epic India*, p. 219). Famines also resulted at times, not from drought, but from too much water. This is referred to in a proverb which deprecates 'too much' : 'Through too great coal the wood is burnt ; through too much rain famine comes ; too much is ever bad.'

An examination of other allied forms of Sanskrit Literature, sheds much light upon the frequency and widespread character of ancient Indian famines. The Ritualistic Literature contains several references to 'droughts.' Every pious Hindu, in making his *Sandhya* performance, prays daily that the god Surya shall avert drought with its hideous consequences. Similar references are found in the Sraddh, Upanayana and other ceremonies. The Dramatic Literature is replete with references of this kind. One among the innumerable instances is found in the V Anga of *Sakuntala*. Prose literature like *Panchatantraka*, *Kathâ-Saritsâgara*, *Brihat-Kathâmañjarî* contain interesting allusions to famines and droughts. The astronomical and the astrological literature constantly alludes to famines 'as in the nature of indications imported by specific astronomical phenomena or configurations' (Dr. V. V. Ramanan). Abundant information of ancient Indian famines is also found in the *Stôtra* Literature. In the

Âditya-hṛdaya and *Sûrya-kavacha*, the Sun who is hailed as the Varita 'sender of clouds,' is aptly referred to as the averter of calamities like famine, etc. The *Subramania Sahaśra Nâmâvali* calls the god Subramania the rain-giver, "*Kshamavargita*" (famine averter). In the *Praises to the Nine Planets* there is a story that Saturn being once offended caused a famine extending over twelve years to devastate the kingdom of Daçarata. *The Lalita Sahaśranamâvali*, *Vishnu Sahaṣrânâmavali*, *Siva-Sahaṣranâmâvali* contain similar references.

A study of the *Bhagavatam* reveals a similar state of affairs. In the Third Skandam and the Seventh Skandam there are references to famines. At the conclusion of the *Bhâgavatam* the sage Sukra predicts that famines will frequently figure in the annals of the Kaliyuga. The *Śrî Dêvi Bhâgavatam* also metions several famines. 'O bright-eyed lady! say how you were able to pass those terrible years of famine. By whom were these children supported in the absence of food-stuffs? Listen, O best of sages! how this cruel famine-time was tided over by me, etc.' (Skanda VII, Adhyâya 13, *slôkas* 7 and 30.)

"Famines lasting 10, 5, and 9 years visited the land as a result of the *Karma* of the inhabitants. Owing to the prevalence of a terrible drought, there arose famine causing untold havoc. The people were emaciated. The heavy toll of lives in every house made it scarcely possible to count the number of corpses. (S. 12 A. 9, s. 1 and 2.)

"Owing to the absence of rain every thing was parched up; on the surface of the earth there was no water, etc. This drought O king, lasted for 100 years." (S. 7, A. 28, c. 21 and 22.)

The *Purâṇas*, when properly studied, will yield abundant information on ancient Indian famines. I shall confine myself entirely to the *Vishnu Purâṇa*, which has been excellently translated by H. H. Wilson. In chapter IX, page 231, the importance of rain is emphasized: 'The water which the clouds shed upon earth is in truth the *ambrosia* of living beings, for it gives fertility to the plants which are the support of their existence. By this all vegetables grow and are nurtured and become the means of maintaining life. With them, again, those men who take the law for their light, perform the daily sacrifices. and through them give nourishment to the gods; and thus sacrifices, the Vedas, the Four castes with the Brahmanas at their head, all the residences of the gods, all the tribes of animals, the whole world, all are supported by the rains by which food is produced.'

The *Vishnu Purâṇa* contains several references to famines. According to the *Vishnu Purâṇa* even the Indra-lôka was not immune from famine; for it is said in the Durvasas-Indra episode (ch. IX, page 71) that 'all vegetable products, plants. and herbs in the Indra-lôka were withered and died; and India was divested of prosperity and energy.' It is related in ch. XIII, page 102, that on the death of King Vena, who was deposed by the Brahmans, famine and anarchy raged throughout the land. "His subjects approached Pṛthu (Vena's successor), suffering from the famine by which they were afflicted, as all the edible plants had perished during the season of anarchy. In reply to his question as to the cause of their coming, they told him that in the interval in which the earth was without a king, all vegetable plants had died, and consequently the people had perished. 'Thou,' said they, 'art the bestower of sustenance on us; thou art appointed by the Creator the protector of the people; grant us vegetables, the support of the lives of the subjects who are perishing with hunger.'" Similarly on the death of Kaçyapa, anarchy ensued and famine raged throughout the land. Elsewhere, ch. xiii, p. 431, it is related that from the moment of Akrura's departure from Dwaraka 'various calamities, portents, snakes, famine, plague and the like made their appearance.' On this Andhaka, one of the elders of the Yadu race, thus spoke:

Wherever Swaphalka the father of Akrura dwelt, there famine, plague, death and other visitations were unknown. Once when there was want of rain in the kingdom of Kasiraja, Swaphalka was brought there, and immediately there fell rain from the heavens. It is elsewhere said in laudation of Sri Krishna, and as a proof of his extraordinary good fortune, "that in his reign there was no famine!" [5]

At the conclusion of the *Vishnu-Purana*, Parasara predicts, among other things, "that the people of the Kaliyuga will always be in dread of famine; they will all live like hermits upon leaves, roots and fruits, and put a period to their lives through fear of want."

The Epic Kings, when a famine occurred, took strong remedial measures to mitigate its horrors. The relief of the famished people was looked upon at this period as a sacred duty devolving upon kings, as was also the adoption of measures for protecting the people from fire, serpents, tigers, and epidemic diseases. "In fact," says C. V. Vaidya (*Epic India*, p. 221) "in almost every matter where modern civilised Governments think it their duty to come to the relief of the people, the people of Epic days looked upon it as the sacred duty of Government."

Age of Laws and Philosophy (800—320 B.C.)

We have now come to the Age of Laws and Philosophy (800—320 B.C.) For the earlier period of this age the *Dharma-Sastras* are the best sources of information. They make frequent mention of famines and devote separate chapters to the modifications considered necessary in the social and economic structure during those "times of distress." Gautama (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. II, ch. 7, p. 211) and Manu (*ibid*, vol. 25, ch. X, p. 421, c. 97 and foll.) elaborately discuss how in times of famine the inferior callings may be pursued by the higher orders. The caste rules concerning food, etc., were relaxed. Manu says: "He who when in danger of losing his life through hunger accepts food from any person whatsoever, is no more tainted by sin than the sky is by mud."

Manu gives some instructive examples of the length to which our Brahman forbears were driven by hunger and famine:

"Ajigarta (vide *Aitareya Brahmana* VII c. 13-16) who suffered hunger, approached in order *to slay his own son* and was not tainted by sin, since he (only) sought a remedy against starvation. Vamadeva who well knew right and wrong did not sully himself when, tormented (by hunger), he desired to eat the flesh of a dog in order to save his life.

Bharadvaga, a performer of great austerities, accepted many cows from the carpenter Bribu, when he was starving together with his sons in a lonely place.

Visvamitra, who well knew what is right or wrong, when he was tormented by hunger, consented to eat the haunch of a dog receiving it from the hands of a Chandala.

In another place (p. 435, ch. I, s. 29) the Visvadevas, the Sadhyas, the great sages of the Brahmana caste, are said to have been afraid of perishing in times of distress.

(To be continued.)

RITUAL MURDER AS A MEANS OF PROCURING CHILDREN.

By SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

CONCRETE instances of this well-known custom in Northern India were recorded by myself while Superintendent of the Penal Settlement, Port Blair, and are published here as

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5 Similarly during the reign of Rama in Ayodhya and Dharmaputra in Hastinapur "the clouds yielding showers *seasonably* caused the crops to grow abundantly. During the periods of [their] rule, food, was always abundant." etc. *Regularity of rain was clearly looked upon as unusual.*

of general interest to students of folk-customs. The first of these instances is almost exactly the same as one published *ante*, vol. XXVII, p. 336 (1898).

Instances.

1. Life-convict No. 14114, Musst. Begî, was received in the Penal Settlement of Port Blair on the 2nd December 1895 and died there on the 14th June 1897. She was convicted of murder on 5th May 1893 by the Sessions Court of Jalandhar, Panjab. She is described as aged about 40 years and as the wife of Shâdî Shâh Faqîr of Dabolî. With her was charged Musst. Amîrî, wife of Dallû Shâh Faqîr of Dabolî, who was her daughter.

The mother and daughter were convicted of murdering a *female* child named Begam, age about 3, on March 2nd, 1893. The conviction was based on the confession of both the women corroborated by other evidence. The point of the confession for the present purpose is this. Musst. Begî had been told by a faqîr that if she killed the eldest son or daughter of some one and bathed herself over the body she would have a male child and it would live. Accordingly one day, as the child Begam was playing near Begî's house with Begî's own little daughter Mâmon, Begî and her elder daughter Amîrî took the child to Begî's house and cut her throat with a knife. The body was then hidden behind an earthen *koṭhî* (hut) and next day it was buried in a corner of the house. On the day following the body was taken by Amîrî to a barley field near the village pond, and Begî, who had accompanied Amîrî, bathed herself over the body and then threw it into the pond. But it would not sink and so it was taken out and left in the field where it was found.

2. Life-convicts No. 16663, Musst. Kurî. and No. 16664, Musst. Pâro *alias* Dhâpo, were received in the Penal Settlement on 15th November 1897. They were convicted of murder on 27th February 1897 by the Sessions Court of Saharanpur, N.-W. P. Musst. Kurî is described as aged about 40 and as the wife of Nabiâ Shekh, by caste a weaver, of the village Mâlâ, in the Muzaffarnagar District, and by occupation a midwife and Musalmân beggar. Musst. Pâro *alias* Dhâpo is described as aged about 28 and as the wife of Hushnak, a Hindu Jat, of the same village and by occupation a cultivator. In this case four persons were tried: two men Jaidyâl, Jat, aged 36, and Gordhan, Baniyâ, aged 32, and the two women above mentioned: *i.e.*, 3 Hindus and 1 Musalmân. They were charged with the murder of a Jat *boy* named Qabûl, aged 6½ years, in their village.

The evidence showed that the boy had been strangled in Jaidyâl's house. In the sequel Jaidyâl and Gordhan were hanged and the two women were sent to Port Blair for life. Musst. Kurî died on 23rd December 1898.

The motive for the murder, which was alleged to have been instigated by a sorcerer, was to preserve Musst. Dhâpo's male child. She had lost several children, and her only living children at the time of the murder were a girl and a boy about 10 days old. An objection to its being a ritual murder was raised during the trial on the ground that, had it been one, the *syânâ*, or sorcerer, would have been present and certain ceremonies would have been gone through with needles and sandal-wood, etc. The *syânâ* on this occasion, who belonged to the Mâlî caste "which supplies sorcerers largely," was arrested.

3. Life-convict No. 16414, Musst. Joi, was received in the Penal Settlement on 23rd October 1897. She was convicted of mischief by fire on 4th May 1896 by the Sessions Court of Saharanpur, N.-W. P. She is described as aged about 30 and as the wife of a Chamâr (leather-worker) in the village of Sâmplâ and by occupation a labourer.

She was caught in the act of setting fire to the thatched hut of another Chamâr named Shiyâm. Before the flames could be got under, two men sleeping in the hut were burnt to

death. She made a full confession, and her story was that she had set fire to the hut by the advice of a sorcerer in order to get children. She had been married over twelve years and had had two children, who had died in infancy, and was thereafter childless.

Mr. Muir, the Sessions Judge, remarked on this :—" Her story is not impossible. It is said such cases are not uncommon."

THE WORK OF THE ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME-ORIENT.

BY S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

THE French School or Institute of the Far East was founded in 1898 and commenced publishing a scientific journal or bulletin two years later. The issue[1] which lies before us contains a historical sketch of the School's foundation, and a brilliant *résumé* of its studies in Indo-Chinese archæology and ethnography, with particular reference to Annam, Champa or Southern Annam, Cambodia, Laos, Siam, the Malay Peninsula, Burma, India, Tibet, China and Japan. It is a very remarkable record, which is here for the first time unfolded,—one which does infinite credit to the genius and perseverance of our Allies. The idea of establishing a school of Eastern studies had first commended itself to Messrs. Barth, Breal, and Émile Senart, the pioneers of Indian research in France, who dreamed of creating at Chandernagore an institution comparable with the flourishing French schools at Athens and Rome and with the well-known archæological institute at Cairo. But while the project was yet incomplete and the question of financial support for the moment prevented further progress, a magician appeared in the person of Paul Doumer, the Governor-General of Indo-China, who transformed the dream of an Eastern school into a permanent Archæological Mission of Indo-China, charged with the duty of investigating the antiquities, history, languages and civilisation of the Indo-Chinese peninsula and neighbouring countries.

The first director of the School was M. Louis Finot and work commenced in 1899 in Cambodia. In 1900 M. Pelliot was dispatched to China to collect a nucleus of books for a Library ; but his labours had barely commenced before the Boxer rebellion broke out, in the course of which the building, occupied by the student-interpreters of the French Legation at Pekin, in which M. Pelliot had temporarily stored his collection, was burned to the ground with all its contents. Unable for the moment to pursue his quest, M. Pelliot offered his services to the French naval authorities and played an active part in the struggle to save the Legations. In consequence of the outbreak, many valuable documents and works of art were thrown upon the market ; and M. Pelliot was able to return to Saigon in 1901 with a fine collection of paintings and artistic exhibits, of which some were sent to the Louvre and others were placed in the newly-founded Museum of the Far-Eastern School. Both the Museum and the Library were finally organized on a permanent basis by M. Foucher who succeeded M. Finot in 1901. Meanwhile steady spade-work was being carried on in Champa, Cambodia, Tonkin and other places by expert archæologists and philologists, their task being temporarily interrupted by the Hanoi Exhibition of 1902 and by the first Congress of Students of the Far East held at the close of the same year, and in 1903 by the sudden outburst of the disastrous typhoon, which destroyed the fine collection of paintings, the porcelains from China, the figures of the Annamite pantheon, and a collection of Burmese and Corean exhibits which had been carefully arranged in the Museum. The School

1 Bulletin De L'Ecole Française D'Extrême-Orient. L'Ecole Française d'Extrême [illegible] depuis son origine jusqu'en 1920. Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, 1922.

also suffered a severe loss by the deplorable death of M. Odend'hal, who commenced an archæological survey of the Laos country in 1904 and was treacherously murdered by savages in April of that year.

Despite these misfortunes and obstacles, the work of the School steadily progressed. Those who devoted themselves to the archæological side of the programme were struck by the spontaneous character of the Indian architecture of the Far East. In Champa and Cambodia, even more clearly than in Java and India, the monuments appear all at once of so finished and perfect a type that they must either have been borrowed directly from another civilization, or have been gradually developed in the country itself throughout a long period of years. This phenomenon is observable twice in Cambodia, in the 6th and the 9th centuries. Thus also appear, almost at the same moment, pre-Ankoric art and Champa art, and a little later Indo-Javanese art. All these types have analogous features which must be due to a common ancestry : at the same time they differ so distinctly that they must have been separated from the parent stock at various and widely separated epochs. The original source was probably Indian ; this much religious tradition in the different countries indicates ; but no definite assertion is at the same time possible in the absence of a single relic of the primordial type. The Pallava architecture of Southern India belongs obviously to the same order as the early forms of Cham, Khmer and Indo-Javanese art, yet it exhibits no closer affinity with any one of these types than that which forms the general link between them all. Even the remains of the earlier Gupta architecture and art afford no clearer connexion between India and the schools of Indo-China and Java.

The archæologists of the French Far-Eastern School have met with other difficulties, resulting from the dual nature of the creeds borrowed from India. The reaction of these religions, one upon another, are very little understood, particularly outside their country of origin. Consequently the identity of images is easily confused, and it is frequently difficult to distinguish the figure of a Bodhisattva from a Brahmanic deity who possesses similar characteristics. The most curious oscillations from the one iconography to the other have been discovered in the course of archæological exploration in the Far East. It is quite exceptional, also, for images to bear any inscription ; and in cases where they do so, the name of the deity is usually a local or special appellation, which often raises an entirely fresh problem. As a general rule, identification has to depend on outward characteristics, attitude, or some particular attribute. Several pages of the Bulletin are devoted to a clear and interesting account of the work of conservation and the obstacles which the School has encountered and overcome in this direction, and a complete list is included of the various archæological tours or journeys undertaken under the auspices of the School. Among these may be mentioned M. Parmentier's inventory of Cham antiquities, compiled from 1900 to 1904 ; the mission of MM. Dufour and Carpeaux to the Bayon of Ankhor-Thom in 1901 and 1904 ; the mission of M. Pelliot to Chinese Turkestan in 1906-08 ; and the missions to China of Chavannes, Maspero and Aurousseau.

Apparently Indo-China, so far as is at present known, possesses no relics of periods earlier than the age of polished stone, and this is true of the Far East generally, with the single exception of Japan, which has a remarkable collection of chipped flints. The French School, however, has managed to collect a fine set of neolithic relics, some of which were discovered at Samron Sen in Cambodia and others at Tortoise Island in Cochin China.

The Laos country and Annam are also represented. The Tortoise Island collection appears to have been the remains of a very ancient workshop, in which were fabricated implements with squared sides and curved edges, reminding one of a certain type of spade used by the Annamites of to-day when working in the rice-swamps. The collection includes also various kinds of hatchets and long chisels, beautifully made in rather soft stone. The Samron Sen remains on the other hand consist of masses of shells, which mark the site of an important lake-village and were probably used by lime-burners installed here at some very early date. and also of stone implements of various kinds, chisels and gouges and bone fishing-tackle. Some of the larger shells, which attain an immense size, have been carved into ornaments and gewgaws, and these are found side by side with terra-cotta disks, intended for insertion in the lobe of the ear. An important set of arms and of bronze ornaments was recovered by M. d'Argence from the riverside in Annam. The beauty of their forms, the excellence of the work and the curious style of ornamentation on several pieces, point to an advanced type of civilization, while the narrowness of the stone bracelets and the puny dimensions of the handles of the bronze arms indicate that they must have been used by a race of small, slight people, comparable in this respect with the modern Annamites.

The labours of the School have also lifted the veil which shrouded the ancient art of the Laos country. At the end of the nineteenth century Laotian art was only known in the form of a few great monuments on the banks of the Mekong, and the only known examples of sculpture were innumerable bronze figures of Buddha. To M. Parmentier belongs the credit of a prolonged scientific examination into all existing remains, whereby it becomes clear for the first time that the art of Laos is quite distinct from Siamese art and on the other hand has very few affinities with the art of Cambodia. It is not, as one might at first suppose a purely local art. In the continuous reconstruction rendered necessary by the perishable character of the material employed, it appears to have preserved certain very ancient forms, which the application of old traditions has carried unscathed down succeeding centuries It is on this account that, alone among the various arts of Indo-China, it has preserved wholly unaltered the curious type of structure widening from base to summit, which General de Beylié once described as "the kneading-trough." This type appears nowhere else, if we except a few rare examples in Burma, albeit it was known to the older art of Champa. Its origin must be sought in a practicable method of light construction evolved by the savage tribes of the Malay archipelago.

Several pages of the Bulletin are devoted to the valuable researches into ancient Cham civilization carried out by MM. Finot and Lajonquière, M. Parmentier and other enthusiastic workers. It is now certain that Cham architecture, which appeared in perfection in the 7th century A.D. in the splendid edifices of Mi-son, was preceded by a system of light construction, which attained a high degree of artistic merit and of which the later brick-construction was a faithful copy. Side by side with this perfected type of Cham architecture, dating from the 7th century, there exists a primitive architecture,—a series of brick-built edifices of massive appearance, apparently allied to the brick structures of Cambodia which are assigned to primitive or pre-Ankoric Khmer art. To this primitive Cham art belong the most remarkable sculptures, among them being some very fine busts of Siva discovered by Dr. Sallet. Primitive Khmer art, which at one time was supposed to be represented almost entirely in the stupendous antiquities and ruins of An-kor, has now been proved to be far older than the art which has bequeathed to us the sandstone images of that ancient city. The art of An-Kor, in fact, never

passed beyond the lower basin of the Mekong : but the older Khmer art, as the researches of the French School have shown, spread itself all along the rivers and their affluents, in a more or less south-westerly direction, until it embraced the greater portion, if not the whole, of the Malay peninsula. The statues belonging to this older art are usually distinguishable by having the hair arranged in the form of a cylindrical mitre, and the majority of the antiquarian relics of Cochin China belong to this ancient type. The architecture of primitive Khmer origin is remarkable for two distinct but equally common types of construction, which must have been contemporaneous, but descended from different stocks. One, rich in decoration, has only one storey of appreciable height above the main building ; the other, with the simplest ornamentation, is composed of a multiplicity of tiny storeys crowned by a heavy gabled vaulted roof. The latter type approximates in character to certain well-known Indian monuments, such as the *raths* of Mavalipuram, the *Teli Ka Mandir* at Gwalior and the colossal *gopuras* of the South Indian shrines. Historically it is still difficult to attribute this double form of art to any particular ethnic group or to fix precisely the date of its appearance. It disappears suddenly in the troubled period of the 8th century A.D. and seems to have left no trace whatever, either in the obviously different type, which we see in the Bayon of Yashovarman, or in the system of isolated sanctuaries which are the salient feature of the architecture of Indravarman.

Space does not permit of our referring at any length to the full and admirable description of classical Khmer art, as embodied in the famous monuments and ruins of Ankor. But it is interesting to learn from the exploration carried out at the temple of Ankor Vat that the shrine was in the first instance consecrated to the cult of Vishnu, and was subsequently converted into a Buddhist temple ; that two images representing the *Narsinh* and *Varaha avatars* of Vishnu were discovered among the dèbris of the temple-court ; and that to the south of Ankor Vat numerous metal plates bearing an image of Buddha have been found, as well as a pillar bearing an Arabic inscription. The description of the enclosure of Ankor-Thom is a striking example of the meticulous care with which every portion of these extraordinary ruins has been surveyed, scrutinized and where possible restored. The religious centre of the ancient town was the famous Bayon, in respect of which the French School corrects a misapprehension reiterated by several of those who have published books and papers on the subject. They all speak of a third enclosure of laterite provided with an eastern and a western gate. The complete disappearance of this enclosure is surprising, but is explained by the assumption that the wall, which would be an anomaly in Khmer architecture, was really a laterite curtain, devoid of detail, which must have been hurriedly erected as a defence work at the time of the struggle with the Siamese. Built without foundations and masking the base of the exterior galleries of the citadel, the wall or curtain was demolished in the course of the excavations and much of the material composing it was used in metalling the high road in its vicinity. The description of the Phimanakas and the Royal Palace surrounding it is likewise a veritable mine of detail and must be carefully studied to be appreciated. Broadly speaking, the achievement of the French Far Eastern School during its first twenty years of active life, has been the orderly presentation of all problems concerning the archæology of Indo-China and the satisfactory solution of several of them. Practically unknown arts, like the art of Champa, primitive Khmer, Laotian art and early Annamite art, have been brought to light and subjected to close scrutiny by experts. The preservation of ancient monuments and of exhibits suitable for inclusion in museums has been secured, so far as the staff and means available would permit. Much, it is admitted, [illegible] remains

to be done: but the School is established on a firm basis and looks forward to more rapid work in the immediate future.

Indo-Chinese ethnography has occupied a large share of the School's attention, and the Bulletin describes in detail the researches carried out among the Moi, *i.e.*, the savage peoples inhabiting the mountainous regions of Annam, and the northern tribes, including the Thai, Muong, Man, Miao-tsen and Lolo. Here we meet instances of tribal kings regarded as divinities, of exogamy allied with totemism, of spirit-belief as the basis of custom. Among the Thai occur festivals, marked by sexual license, which undoubtedly were meant to glorify "la reprise des travaux des champs interdits depuis la recolte,"—in brief the Indo-Chinese equivalent of the festival of the vernal equinox. Side by side with its purely ethnographical work, the School has studied the historical and political geography of Annam, and has compiled through the researches of its leading experts and collaborators a tolerably complete political history of the country. The conclusions now arrived at may need modification or revision when the work of epigraphy is more advanced. At the moment little has been done in this direction except to collect 12,000 facsimiles of inscriptions from the provinces of Tonkin, which still await expert elucidation. A linguistic and literary survey, at present incomplete, constitutes another important branch of the work of the School in Tonkin, Annam and Cochin China.

The chapter on the researches carried out among the Chams contains some curious information. Degraded though their present religion is, it still preserves fragments of Hindu ritual in the form of corrupt and unintelligible expressions and formulæ. The prayers used at the great festivals contain whole pages of corrupt Sanskrit, of which the original meaning has been irretrievably lost. In these Siva is usually invoked, as also the joint Siva-Uma under the title of *Sivome*. M. Durand has made a special study of the corrupt Muhammadan faith embraced by some of the Chams, and has decided that they belonged originally to the Shia sect. This, coupled with the fact that their cosmogony is embodied in a treatise bearing the name of *Anouchirwan*, leads him to infer that the Chams first received the Muhammadan faith from Persia. It was probably brought by Persian seamen and navigators. On the other hand, the fact that Brahmanic Hinduism was the original basis of Cham religion is proved by survivals of the *abhishek* ritual and by the discovery of a statue of a female bearing an inscription, which shows that it is the statue of Queen Suchih, who refused to become a *sati* with her royal spouse. In consequence of this refusal, her statue was excluded from the principal tower of the temple of Po Romé, and that of the second Queen Sansan, who mounted the pyre with the dead king, was placed there instead.

The later portion of this most interesting publication contains much information about Cambodia, Laos, Siam, the Malay Peninsula, Java, India, China and Japan, to all of which countries the French Far Eastern School has sent scientific missions. As regards Burma, Mr. Duroiselle, the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, has himself been a corresponding member of the French School since 1905, and has furnished the School with copies of some of the inscriptions found in that country. M. Finot has edited some of the Burmese texts and has dealt exhaustively with the origin and evolution of Buddhism in Burma. His view is briefly, that from the 6th century A.D. Prome and Pegu were the two centres in which southern Buddhism and Pali culture flourished and that the writing in use at that date was a South Indian script. "Cette région côtière professait donc le Theravada six à sept siècles avant qu'il ne fit son apparition sur les bords du Mékhong." It is quite possible that Siam borrowed the creed from Pegu to hand it on to her eastern neighbours, and that therefore the inscriptions of Maunggun and Hmawza are indirectly the

earliest title-deeds of the modern Buddhism of Cambodia. In the chapter on India there is an interesting reference to the statue of a warrior, belonging to the Gandhara school, which is now preserved in the Lahore Museum. The figure is seated on a throne and holds a spear in the right hand. Beautifully carved, the statue is also remarkable for the imperious, almost brutal, expression of the features, which contrasts strikingly with the serene placidity of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas which surround it. The late Dr. Vincent Smith believed the statue to be a portrait of one of the Indo-Scythian kings. M. Vogel of the French School, however, by an ingenious comparison of the statue with a piece of sculpture in the British Museum and with another example of the same type preserved in the mess-room of the Corps of Guides at Mardan, has decided that the statue is that of the Hindu god Kuvera. His theory is to some extent corroborated by a bas-relief representing Kuvera and Hariti, discovered at Shahr-i-Bahlol. The identification of M. Vogel is, however, not wholly free from doubt.

In conclusion, it remains to draw attention to the excellent photographs and plates which embellish this important publication. The French School of the Far East is to be congratulated, not only upon its record of work during the first twenty years of this century, but also upon the attractive form in which that record is now presented to the public.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES IV.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S. (*Retired.*)

(*Continued from page* 59)

Bhat : (lit. 'boiled rice,' for Bhatt, P. D., 131)—chingâna, an observance at weddings in Churâh. The bride's sister seats her by the boy and his future brother-in-law brings some boiled rice (*bhat*) in a vessel which he and the boy's brother scatter over it : Ch. 153.

Bhâti : a mother's (non-uterine ?) brother ; fr. *bhât*, 'a wedding gift' : Gloss., I, p. 900.

Bhatta : a sum of money paid to compensate for a bride's inferiority of status : SS. Bashahr, 13 ; pl.-e, tomatoes, *ib.*, 49.

Bhâṭṭî jhalkâ : lit. 'hearth' (? and ?) 'flare' ; a rite at weddings : Gloss., I, p. 825.

Bhatungru : an official who keeps a register of attendance : Mandi, 51.

Bhed : a cess, one pice per *jûn* of cultivated land : SS. Kunhiâr, 10.

Bhekal : *Principia utilis* : Simla S. R. xliii. Cf. Bhekhal in III.

Bhenṭ : offerings made to *samâdhs* and taken by *faqîrs* : Gloss., I, p. 392.

Bheṭ : a scapegoat ; Simla Hills : Gloss., I, p. 364.

Bhet : a contribution levied for a feast to all subjects at the Diwâli, doubtless = Bhed : SS. Kuthâr, 8.

Bhet sair : a cess payable at the Sair festival : SS. Bilâspur, 22.

Bhewal : a tree, *Grewia laevigata* : Sirmûr, App. IV, iii.

Bhikon : a tree or shrub, = *chhânbar* : Sirmûr, 26 and 43.

Bhilar : dry, poor soil, not improved even by manure ; = *bhankhar* : Sirmûr, App. I.

Bhilawa : *Semecarpus anacardium* : Sirmûr, App. IV, iv.

Bhirappi : fictitious brotherhood, in Multân : Gloss., I, p. 903.

Bhillaura : *Thewia nudiflora* : Sirmûr, App. IV, vii.

Bhiresa : a kind of millet, *Fagopyrum emarginatum* : Mandi, 42.

Bhitarke 'in-door,' high castes as opposed to Bâharke : Mandi, 30.

Bhiṭṭal : a person afflicted by *bhiṭṭ* : B. 197. Cf. P. D., 138.

Bhondri : a fee of Re. 1 paid to the State on the marriage of a Kanet girl : SS. Kunhiâr, 6.

Bhokri : the 2nd form of marriage, but rarely used : SS. Kumhârsain, 8.

Bhor : an upper storey ; — dâr, a two-storied house, a house with a slanting roof : Ch., 119.

Bhor : the minister of a god ; Simla Hills : Gloss., I, p. 337 ff.

Bhora, Bahore, a rite at weddings ; cf. P. D. 550 *s. v.* Kanji. Syns. Rît and **Sawâni** : Gloss., I, p. 735.

Bhrâyî : Bhrayâî, land cultivated in Autumn but not in Spring : Mandi, pp. 42 and 65. Syn. Ṣarâî. Cf. also Brayâh.

Bhûâ : father's sister (cf. P. D. 141) said to be used in villages, whereas *phûphî* is used in towns. But villagers also use the latter term in explaining relationships between themselves, *e.g.*, *mâmâ, phûphî kâ bhâî.*

Bhud : a sandy soil, mixed with small stones : Sirmûr, App. 1.

Bhugla : coriander seed = *dhania* ; Simla S. R., xxxix.

Bhûm bhâî : lit. 'earth brother'; a brother by mutual adoption, made joint owner of land : Karnâl Gr., p. 138, and Gloss., I, p. 176.

Bhunda : a sacrifice formerly held every 12 years : SS. Kumhârsain 8. Cf. Bashahr, 38.

Bhur : a watchman : SS. Kumhârsain, 19.

Bhur : a distribution of money among Brahmans at a wedding : Gloss., I, p. 798.

Biâhor : a marriage according to the *Shâstras* : Mandi, 23.

Bialu : supper : Sirmûr, 58.

Bibi : =*nand*, 'father's sister.'

Bichu-rog : an affection of the liver in sheep and goats : SS. Bashahr, 53.

Bida honâ : to take leave of ; Gloss., I, p. 897. (Add to III). — âigî, return ; a sum of money returned by the boy's father to clinch a betrothal : Gloss., I, p. 892, Cf. Wadâigî.

Bidṛi : apparently a diminutive of *bidd*, a bundle of shawls, *v.* P. D. *s. v.*; or of *bidh*, a word used in Gujrât :—

Bidh : a bundle ; Gloss., I, pp. 816, 812 and 831.

Bigir bachha : a birth custom ; in Delhi ; lit., 'take the child,' which is passed through a loaf, etc., Gloss., I, p. 773.

Biha Bhat : sweets given on the second day of a wedding, as Khurli or Miṭha Bhat and Danda are given on the 1st and 3rd days respectively : Gloss., I, p. 801.

Bihâg : sunrise : Suket, 27.

Bihûl : *Grewia oppositifolia* : Sirmûr, 69 and 66.

Bijandrî : lit., 'not growing,' *i.e.*, failure of a portion of the crop on a field : Sirmûr, 55.

Bijû : a bird = *lerwâ, lerwa nivicola* : Ch., 36.

Bikârî : an office-holder in a temple who prepares food : Suket, 26.

Bil-teri : an offering of some kind made to Mahâdeo : Suket, 24.

Bîmbarû : a kind of tobacco : Ch., 225.

Bindi : a child by marriage among Bairâgîs, as opposed to Nadi, *q. v.* : Comp., 226.

Birbat = *chunḍabaṭ.*

Biswâj : a gown : SS. Bashahr, 42.

Bithângna : commutation for *corvèe* : Mandi, 61.

Biṭhâwin : a dance, performed sitting : Gloss., I, p. 920.

Bithû : a kind of millet : Mandi, 42.

Biyâhi : a ball of cowdung containing valuables and worshipped at births : Gloss., I, p. 750-1.

Biyal : 'a meal,' especially the evening meal ; hence *biyali*, 3 hours after sunset and *bethi biyali*, 6 hours after sunset : Mandi, 31-2.

Bobo : sister, among Paṭhâns and Shaikhs.

Bohni : a measure of capacity made of thin wood or sticks (reeds ?) 3¼ in. in diameter and 2 in. deep; used in the Bakot *ilâqa* ; = *chothâî.*

Bohokhal : Bohotl : (?), unirrigated land, generally sloping, sometimes terraced : Suket, 29.

Bola : marriage by exchange, in Chamba : Gloss., I, p. 788.

Bolcha : a thong ; = *pharîr* : Simla, S. R., xlv.

Bora : a camel load : Dera Ismâîl Khân.

Borto : a rope (?) ; Bashahr : Gloss., I, p. 347.

Bothal : a 'widow who has remarried '; a woman who has had a son by a Râjpût but is not subsequently married by his brother : Gloss., III, p. 67. Cf. Chhatrora and Dhuâl.

Bowâra : a system of mobilizing labour for harvest work : SS. Bashahr, 50.

Brayâh : a plot of land kept fallow in Autumn : Ch., 224.

Bres : a grain, *Fagopyrum esculentum,* grown on the higher uplands. It is ground into meal : Ch., 202, 204 and 222.

Brimi : the female of the Jû, *q. v.*

Buba : a gift made to the bride by the boy's father after her betrothal : Gloss., I, p. 791.

Bujkyâ : a shortened form of regular marriage used in Brahmaur ; = *janeî* in Churâh : Ch., 127.

Buk : a double handful : D. I. K.

Bukhal : a lucky child, a girl born after three boys : Gloss., I, p. 744.

Bur : Ar. (burnus ?), a cloak : B., 151.

Chabena : roasted gram : Simla, S. R., xli.

Chabru : a variety of buckwheat : SS. Bashahr, 48.

Châch : = Chhâch, *q. v.*

Chad : a present in money and kind given to the bride ; Cf. *swâj* : Ch., 128.

Chadar Badal : fictitious sisterhood effected by exchanging shawls : Gloss., I, p. 905. Syn. Orhnâ-badal. Cf. Challa-badal.

Chadhâ : sedentary ; — dhû, cross-legged ; see Chudda : Ch., 138.

Chairu : a blanket : SS. Bashahr, 42.

Chahr : a cess levied for the watchman : SS. Bashahr, 72.

Chak : (? Chh-), a daily wage equal to a meal for three men : SS. Jubbal, 19.

Chak khâni : lit. 'eating food,' a visit paid by the father of a boy to his *fiancée's* house to confirm the betrothal : Ch., 157.

Chaka kain : income from the lease of State quarries : Suket, 42.

Chakera : gum of the *Bauhinia retusa* ; = *semla* : Sirmûr, 5.

Chakhre : hornbeam : Ch., 236. Cf. Chakri.

Chaklî : a copper coin current in Chamba ; = ⅛th of an anna : Ch., 73.

Chakmak : a steel for striking light : SS. Bashahr, 42.

Chakpore : (?-pur), hornbeam, *Carpinus viminea* : Ch., 240.

Chakri : hornbeam, *Carpinus faginea* : Ch., 240.

Châkri : Misl —, personal *corvée*, SS. Bashahr, 71.

Chakrundâ : a cash payment made by a *begâru* in lieu of forced labour : Ch., 280.

Châlâ= *muklâwa*, in Gurgaon : Gloss., I, p. 816. Cf. Challa in Karnâl, *ib.*, p. 899.

Chaliswân : the ceremony of the '40th ' day after death, but observed on various earlier days : Gloss., I, p. 886.

Challa-badal bahin : a sister made by exchange of rings : Gloss., I, p. 916.

Chamang : a generic term for shoemakers, weavers and the like; cf. Domang: SS. Bashahr, 22.

Chamәri : typhus : Mandi, 18.

Chanda : fold of a turban : B. 194 and 187. Cf. P. D. 185.

Chândnî-dâ-gâwan : singing of songs in the open air on moonlight nights by girls (in the Ubhâ) : B., 202.

Chandrânân : ('moon') -khâwan, lit. 'to eat the moon'; an observance in which a son-in-law takes his meals in his father-in-law's house when he visits him to congratulate him on the new moon in the lunar month after his betrothal : B., 104.

Chandwa : a wheel made of sticks but without a rim, used at the Shivrâtrî : SS. Bashahr, 29.

Changa (? or) barmî : yew, *Taxus baccata* : Ch., 240. (2) a seal or mark, made on a layer of earth placed over a grain-heap : SS. Kuthâr, 7.

Changar : high-lying land : SS. Nâlâgarh, 11.

Channa artâ : a ceremony on the third day of the Koyidan, in Peshâwar : Gloss., I, p. 832.

Chânnî joṛnâ : to test a bridegroom's skill in marksmanship, by hanging a *chânnî* in a doorway : Gloss., I, p. 799.

Chanwand :?

Chara : *Syringa emodi* : Ch., 239.

Charairi : a swallow or swift : Ch., 37.

Charotri : an ornament worn round the waist : B., 112.

Charva : food supplied to a trade tribunal : SS. Bashahr, 62.

Chaṭh : the occupation rite of a new house : Gloss., I, p. 913.

Châti : a large pitcher also used as a churn : B., 196.

Chatti : a basket, to hold 2 *sers* : Simla, S. R., xlvi.

Chaṭṭi : the rite observed on the 6th day after a birth : Gloss., I, pp. 768-70, 778-9.

Chaubagla : a pleated coat : SS. Kumhârsain, 13.

Chaugharia mahurat, : lucky hours ; also called Zakkî, which is probably for Ar. *zakâ*, 'even,' as opposed to odd. Cf. Chaugharâ, 'four-sided' : P. D., 201.

Chaukanni : peaked : B, 194.

Chaukhandû : a son born to a widow within the 'four corners' of her deceased husband's house, and so deemed his legitimate heir, no matter how long he was born after the husband's death : Ch., 128.

Chauntrû : an official in charge of a group of several *bhojas*, corresponding to a *zail-dâr* : Sirmûr, 63.

Chausingha : a kind of deer : Sirmûr, 7.

Chautha : quartan fever : Suket, 2.

Châwal : an oath sworn against the authority of an official, called Gattî elsewhere, in the lower hills : SS. Bilâspuri, 2.

Chәhli : the midday meal : Sirmûr, 58. Cf. Chelî in III.

Chelam= dastârbandî : in Pasrûr (Siâlkot);

Chelki : pl. -îân, = Charotri : B. 112.

Cher : a pheasant : Sirmûr, 7.

Chersi : — shi, a cess levied to provide goats and sheep for the Shivrâtrî festival and the salaries of State officials : SS. Kumhârsain, 19-20 and 8.

Cheru : a large vessel ; Simla Hills : Gloss., I, p. 450.

Cheunta : add in III : = Chunta, *q. v.*

Chhâch (h) : buttermilk ; hence Chhâchhehâr, a collector of oil and ghî : SS. Kumhârsain, 20.

Chhagana : a sister by mutual adoption, as dearer 'six times' than a sister by birth : Gloss., I, p. 907.

Chhahu : axe : Mandi, 43.

Chhakri : a game played with cowries on a cross figure marked on wood, a stone or the ground : Ch., 211.

Chhaku : a day labourer : SS. Bilâspur, 15. Cf. Châk.

Chhal : = Bakli *q. v.*

Chhali : maize, = *kukri* or *makki* : Simla, S. R., xxxix.

Chhamchani : invitation, Bashahr : Gloss , I, p. 346.

Chhanân : rice and dried fruits cooked together : = *girâhî* : B., 108.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK NOTICES.

HELLENISM in Ancient India, by DR. G. N. BANERJEE, Lecturer on Egyptology and Oriental History, Calcutta University. Second Edn. BUTTERWORTH AND Co., Calcutta and London.

It says much for Dr. G. N. Banerjee's handling of this important subject that his book has gone to a second edition in the year succeeding the appearance of the first. It is wide to a bewildering extent and demands for its adequate treatment a matured knowledge of many of those studies that make up the "humanities." Dr. Banerjee has shown himself to be not afraid of tackling any part of it.

Taking Hellenism to be the spread of Greek culture and the Hellenes to be the people who accepted the Greek mode of life, and contemplating the story of the give-and-take conflict of centuries between Greece and the lands intervening between it and India, and also of the lands within their respective borders in ancient times, one cannot but say that *primâ facie* the reciprocal influence must have been very great. How far that influence can be said to have been actually felt as regards India is the riddle that Dr. Banerjee has set himself to solve, so far as a solution is possible. He has not shirked his task and considers it from all points of view—architecture, sculpture, painting, coinage, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, writing, literature, drama, religion, philosophy, mythology, fables and folklore. The view is comprehensive enough in all conscience and its study is history *in excelsis*. Such a width of view demands an enormous amount of varied reading and what is more, an unusual capacity for absorption and assimilation of what is read. Dr. Banerjee has grasped his nettles with a firm hand and has honestly attempted to crush out of them all that they have to give him. He has his opinions, but he states his grounds fairly, and though experts may find what appear to them to be flaws in apprehension and deduction, yet he is so transparently honest and fair that his views and efforts cannot but command respect. He is not afraid of cross-examination and gives his authorities in a series of admirable bibliographies attached to each section of his work. These are not always as complete as they might be, but at any rate one does know exactly on what he bases the faith that is in him. In this way he has produced a work that is a credit to him and his University.

The results of his detailed study of his subject Dr. Banerjee sums up in a single sentence : "Greece has played a part, but by no means a predominant part, in the civilisation of ancient India." One is not disposed to quarrel with him in this general view. It is in the details that the interest lies, and here I would like to quote again and again from his pregnant pages: but obviously in a "review" one should leave the reader to Dr. Banerjee's paragraphs themselves. I will merely content myself with remarking that, however much one may be disposed to disagree with the individual opinions expressed by Dr. Banerjee, his book is well worth a scholar's examination.

R. C. TEMPLE.

A GRAMMAR OF THE CHHATTISGARHI DIALECT OF HINDI, by HIRA LAL KAVYOPADHYAYA, translated by SIR GEORGE GRIERSON, revised and enlarged by PANDIT LOCHAN PRASAD KAVYAVINOD under the supervision of RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL. Calcutta, 1921.

A good many competent people have obviously had a hand in the production of this Grammar of 225 pp. of a modern dialect of Hindi spoken in the Chhattisgaṛh Division of the Central Provinces. Chhattisgaṛhi is the Southern of the three dialects of Eastern Hindi, which is itself the successor of the Ardha-Mâgadhi Prakrit current in the country (Oudh) between the Sauraseni and Mâgadhi Prakrits. It is nearly allied to the Baghelî dialect of Eastern Hindî of Baghelkhaṇḍ and Bundelkhaṇḍ. It is known as Laṛiyâ to the Uṛiyas and also as Khaltâhî when spoken by the people of the Chattisgaṛh plains (Khalotî).

Chhattisgaṛhi as the definite dialect of about four and a half millions of people is quite modern, having arisen in the 17th century A.D. "The oldest and only inscriptional record" on stone is at Dantêwâṛa in the Bastar State, dated 1703; but in the 17th century Prahlâd Dûbê of Sârangaṛh wrote an historical poem, the *Jayachandrikâ*, containing, among other dialectic terms, words in pure Chhattisgaṛhî. Of late, however, there has been a move to create a literature for the dialect, and hence no doubt the call for a Grammar. That it has been well set forth in the present work is guaranteed by the names on the title page.

R. C. TEMPLE.

SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF VIJAYANAGAR, by GURTY VENKAT RAO, M.A. Oxford University Press: Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, 1922. Reprinted from the *Journal of Indian History*, February 1922.

This little pamphlet of 15 pp. contains the result of very wide reading and is a credit to its author and to the Allahabad University, of which he is a research scholar in the Historical Department. The results of an examination of a great number of papers, pamphlets and books are set down in a lucid and admirably brief manner, and the authority for every statement is carefully given. It is exactly what the title says it is: a reliable guide to the Sources of Vijayanagar history—the history of an Empire of which every South Indian Hindu must be proud, for it kept back the tide of Muhammadan aggression for 200 years and finally, through its heirs, prevented it from overwhelming the South. This little book will be of value to every student, and is a worthy companion to Professor Krishnaswami Aiyangar's work on the same subject.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE COINS OF HAIDAR ALI AND TIPU SULTAN, by J. R. HENDERSON, C.I.E., formerly Superintendent, Madras Government Museum. Madras Government Press, 1921.

This valuable numismatic monograph is much more than a mere description of the coins struck by these two important monarchs, representing the interesting mixed Arabo-Indian race of the Navâyats, whose characters have come down in English historical accounts in an unfortunately garbled form, as they were enemies to be fought under circumstances most serious to the nascent power of the East India Company. It is unwise to accept unhesitatingly the character of any bygone king from the estimates of contemporary enemies. *E.g.*, Tipu was anything but a monster of iniquity in real life, and I heartily endorse Mr. Henderson's hope that "worthy biographies" of himself and his father will yet be produced. As Mr. Henderson remarks, there must be unworked sources of information still available in Mysore,* and I may add elsewhere, among relics "looted" and brought to England from the fall of Seringapatam. Mr. Henderson quotes from Meadows Taylor, who, in his *Tippoo Sultaun* (fiction) puts the following description of him into the mouth of one of his characters (p. x):—

> "He was a great man—such an one as Hind will never see again. He had great ambition, wonderful ability, perseverance, and the art of leading men's hearts more than they were aware of, or cared to acknowledge; he had patient application, and nothing was done without his sanction, even to the meanest affairs, and the business of his dominions was vast. You will allow he was brave, and died like a soldier. He was kind and considerate to his servants, and a steady friend to those he loved. Mashalla! he was a great man." Meadows Taylor, *Tippoo Sultaun*, p. 450.

If we add that he was austere, simple and abstemious in his private life, we have here a view of him that is supported by more recent research.

Haidar 'Ali and his son show in their coins the different circumstances in which they lived, giving once more an illustration of how coins do reflect history. Haidar 'Ali, the military adventurer, had to be very careful to alter as little as possible the coinage already current in the dominions he carved out for himself in Hindu Mysore and neighbourhood, in order to preserve their currency intact, and so the Muhammadan usurper of a minister-ridden kingdom imitated the local Hindu coins, adding merely ح the initial of his name حیدر (tiger), and only doubtfully got as far as a full Persian inscription in his later years.

The real interest in this collection of coins lies in those of Tipu Sultan—the strongly established Muhammadan ruler, the lover of change, unable to hide his masterful pride of power—issued from twelve Hindu mint towns, to which he gave fanciful new-fangled Persianised names. These mint towns, by the way, once more show the propriety of testing the spread of a conqueror's power by the geographical extension of his mints. He soon founded a new era, the Malûdî, which was in effect the existing Hindu Sixty Year Cycle with Arabic names substituted for the old Hindu names, to the great puzzlement of writers on the subject, as Mr. Henderson explains. Incidentally, the change greatly puzzled the die-sinkers and led to many errors on the coins themselves.

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* There is an account of Tipu in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, vol. X., No. 1, pp. 12-33 (Oct. 1919).

Tipu went much further in puzzling posterity. He employed both the Abjad ابجد and Atith ایث systems of the Arabs in enumerating his cyclic years. He next adopted "two systems of nomenclature" for naming the months of the year, and he also, at the end of his reign, adopted the device of lettering his years from the Arabic alphabet, getting, however, only as far as the first four letters before he was killed at Seringapatam in 1227 Mauludi = 1799 A.D. All this, as may be imagined, caused still further mistakes by the die-sinkers. Truly a puzzling coinage.

Tipu divided his coinage into sixteen categories, to all of which, excepting one, the gold *fanam*, he gave fanciful Arabic names indicating—though not by name—its official value. In this way he issued four gold coins of 1, 2 and 4 pagodas and the *fanam*; 7 silver of 1 and 2 rupees and of a half to a 32nd part of the rupee, and 5 copper of 1 and 2 pice and of ½ to ⅛ pice.

All this, and a good deal more, together with much detail of the mints and coins themselves, will be found in Mr. Henderson's valuable monograph, to which is attached a good bibliography.

R. C. Temple.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

"FORM FOURS" OF INDIAN ORIGIN ?

The following letter, which appeared in *The Times Literary Supplement* of July 6th, 1922, regarding the "Origin of Forming Fours," is published here in the hope that some reader may be able to throw more light on this interesting point :—

The Origin of Forming Fours.

Sir,—In his recent "Life of Coote," Colonel Wylly alludes to an interesting point in the evolution of tactics. At p. 198 he notices Coote's introduction of the two-deep formation at Madras in December, 1780. He omits, however, to observe that within a month Coote was ordering his men to fall in three-deep (G.O., Camp near Karanguli, January 22, 1781). His original order for the two-deep formation was repeated, July 1, 1782, and January 4, 1783. But Fullarton says it remained the common custom to draw up Sepoys three-deep ; and this is confirmed by a Madras order of July 26, 1785, mentioning distinctive clothing for the front, centre, and rear ranks. In 1787, however, an order directs the regulations of the British Army to be followed by all troops save that the men will fall in two-deep "as at present."

Under correction, I suggest that there was evidently a good deal of hesitation about definitely adopting the two-deep formation, and that this was due to the fact that no convenient march-formation had been invented. The custom was—as Fullarton says—to march by files, and, when the men were only two-deep. this made an unduly prolonged line of march. This perhaps explains the tendency to revert to the three-deep line. Fullarton suggests as a remedy a march-formation in five columns in the form of a quincunx. But that had the disadvantage of being possible only in the most open country. The real solution was found—as most of us know by personal experience—by doubling the files, either by the process of forming fours or by some clumsier method. Perhaps some evolution of this sort was contemplated by an order issued in the Carnatic, January 4, 1783, after Coote's departure. This directed that when the line of march was to be shortened, the files would "double up." This, I take it, means that two files would march abreast. In 1783 this was only an occasional formation ; but in 1790 I find, "The line will move off four-deep from the left." This looks as if the line fell in two-deep, then formed four-deep, and turned into four abreast. Again, in the same year, the Army was to "march in double files formed from the centre of companies." In 1791 "the whole marches off . . .in one column from the left, the files doubled as usual."

Does this mark the beginnings of our familiar column of fours ?

H. Dodwell.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

43. Laying out Boundaries, 1694.

16*th June* 1694. *President and Council of Fort St. George to Governor of Fort St. David.* Sundo Ballogee [Sundar Bâlâji] wee hear is reduced to great want and lives within your bounds. He was once ordered a monthly allowance in consideration of his service in lying out of your bounds by the Random Shott,[1] wherein he was kind and may be an usefull man if you can keep him true to your interest. Unless you know any good Reason to the contrary you may employ him as Surveigher of the bounds and fields and vesear [*wazir*, overseer] of planting. Whereby you may make a considerable emprovement by planting trees propper for growing in the moore barran places and you may allow Sando Ballageo a monthly payment as you shall find he deserves not exceeding 5 Pagodos Per Month.—(*Letters from Fort St. George*, Vol. 22.)

R. C. Temple.

[1] The term "random" originally meant the full range of a gun, its modern meaning of haphazard coming later. Therefore the services held worthy of reward consisted in good shooting at the boundary, by which the utmost limit possible in favour of the company was secured.

A KOLI BALLAD.

BY S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

SOME years ago one of my Hindu friends in Bombay drew my attention to a doggerel verse in Marâthi which was popular among the Christian Koli fishermen inhabiting the old Koliwâda of the Mândvi area, which lies just north of the Arthur Crawford Market. The verse transliterated in English runs as follows :—

Nâkhwa Koli jât bholi
Gharâ madhye dravya mahâmar
Topiwâlyâne hukum kela
Bâtliwâlyâchya barâbar.

This may be roughly translated as follows :—

" Seaman Koli of simple mould
Hath in his house great store of gold;
Lo ! at the order of Topiwâla
Koli is peer of Batliwâla."

Further enquiry showed that the verse was known to other lower-class Hindus in Bombay besides the Kolis, and that it was a fragment of a ballad which commemorated a chance meeting of a former Governor of Bombay, a Parsi millionaire (Sir J. Jijibhai, whose family name was originally Batliwala) and the Pâtel or headman of the Kolis of Mândvi. The whole of the ballad, in its original form, had been lost ; but about 1880 an old Koli, named Antone Dhondu Nâkhwa, composed a new version embodying the quaint story which formed the gist of the original. This version, which fifteen years ago was regularly sung on the occasion of festivals in the Pâtel's family and is possibly still in vogue, runs as follows :—

श्री.

पुण्यवंत पुण्यशील पाटेल जुरण कोळी गुनी गुनवान ।
धर्मीदाता कोळीवंशी सात्ताड मोला ठीकाण ॥ २ ॥
मुंबई शहरी बाहेर कोठी कोळीवाडा आहे गुलजार ।
जुरन पाटेल पाटेल कोळी लोकांचा सरदार ॥
न्याय इन्साफी अनुमताने चाले जैसे खडाचोधार ।
पंचामध्यें चाले पाटेलगीरीचा अधिकार ॥

सेर.

एके दिवशीं वैसे वारीया पाटेल जुरन दोघे जन ।
बोलत बैसले होते दोघे पाटलाचे घरा आंगन ॥
आली स्वारी साहेब गव्हर्नरची गाडी तेथें झटकन ।
वुठे वारीया दोन्ही हस्ते रामराम करी नमन ॥
नाहीं वुटे जुरन पाटेल तेथें बैसला सठान ।
धर्मीदाता० ॥ २ ॥

वारीयासी म्हणे गव्हर्नर कोण कोळी आहे गुनीजन ।
म्हणे वारीया यासी लक्ष्मी आहे धरसन ।
दर रोज फऱ्यानी मोज मोजुनी द्रव्य वाळवितो धन ।
अपार द्रव्य कोठारे भरभरुनी ठेवी खन ॥

सेर.

कई येक जन जोश्यासी मेन लावुनी वरी चालत आहे ।
पैसा वालुन पुन्हा ठेवुन कमती नमे वाटत आहे ॥
नीत नेम सुकवीत असे नसे कदा खुटत आहे ।
सदा लक्ष्मी भरभरुनी कोठारे भरत आहे ॥
गव्हर्नरासी म्हणे वारीया द्रव्याची आहे ही खान ।
धर्मीदाता० ॥ २ ॥
चकीत झाला ऐकून साहेब म्हणे पाटेल जी ऐकावे ।
विपुल भांडार भरले किती आहे ते सांगावे ॥
पाटेल म्हणे द्रव्य तुजला हावे तितके नेऊन पहावे ।
माप लावूनी गाड्या द्रव्याच्या भरून न्यावे ॥

सेर.

सात्ताड मोल्या कील्ल्यापर्यंत लाविली गाडीची हार ।
झाला चकित गव्हर्नर म्हणे माग करीतो जमीनदार ॥
पाटेल म्हणे कांहीं नको आनीक द्रव्य नेई अपार ।
चांदीचे कौले घालण्यास हुकूम द्यावा जी सरकार ॥
नाहीं हुकूम देत गव्हर्नर तांब्याची तूं करी मार ।
धर्मीदाता० ॥ ३ ॥
म्हणे गव्हर्नर ऐक पाटेलजी तांब्याची पांच कौलार ।
हुकूम देतो तुजला चढविण्यासी अधिकार ॥
नांव राहील कीर्ती गाईल जन लोक तुझे फार ।
कोळी पाटेल डंका वाजेल तुझा अनिवार ॥

सेर.

भरतखंड नांव आखंड चव मुलखी गर्जत राही ।
गेली मुर्ती राही कीर्ती नांव कदापि न जाई ॥
धोंडु तनये अंतोन गाईये कवन करीये त्याची रवाई ।
मोत्याची जडन हीरे रतन जडीले ठाई ठाई ॥
हाती घेऊनि चंगरंग करी दंग इनास तुरा नीशान ।
धर्मीदाता० ॥ ४ ॥

This rendering of the old tradition by Antone Dhondu may be roughly translated as follows :—

"In Sâttâd Moholla lived the virtuous and saintly Juran Koli. Beyond the Fort walls lies gay Koliwâda, where Juran is the leader of the Kolis. Fair and just, like a well-ground scimitar, Juran wields his authority as Pâtel in the *panchâyat.*

"One day Juran Pâtel and the *wadia* were sitting and gossiping on the verandah of the Pâtel's house, when suddenly the carriage of H. E. the Governor passed by. Up rose the Parsi and made profound salutation —Juran however remained stolidly seated and showed no sign of recognition. "Who is this worthy Koli ?" enquired the Governor of the *wadia* ; and the latter replied, "He is the special favourite of Lakshmi ; for daily he spreads his piles of gold to dry, measuring them with the *phara :* his cellars bulge with wealth ; his riches are beyond compare.

"Many coat the soles of their shoes with wax and trample over his hoard ; but the pile of wealth never dries ; never is he short of money : he goes on drying his gold and silver in full measure and never misses a coin, for Lakshmi ever fills his cellars. He is in truth a real mine of riches." The Governor in wonder then turned to Juran Pâtel and asked him how much wealth he possessed, and the Pâtel answered :—"Take away as much as you can by measure and by cartload."

"Straightway the carts are collected : they stretch in unbroken line from Sâttâd to the Fort. The Governor, amazed at so much wealth, cried "Only express the wish and I will make you a Zamindar." But the Pâtel declined the honour, and added "My Lord, take away as much as you will ; I only ask your permission to roof my house with silver tiles." The Governor demurred and suggested the use of copper tiles instead. "Henceforth it shall be the special privilege of your family to use five copper tiles. This will make you famous, and songs will be sung in your honour : your name, O Koli Pâtel, will be more widely known than by the beating of a *battaki*."

"Though he is dead, the name of Juran Pâtel is known throughout India. His fame will never die. This ballad in his honour was composed by Antone, son of Dhondu. Let us sing it, and let Enas (*i.e.*, Ignatius, son of Antone) decorated with pearls and diamonds, with the banner in his hand and the pipes in his mouth, make you merry."

Antone's verses require some elucidation. In the first place it will be observed that the Parsi, who is called Bâtliwâla in the original verse, is identified by Antone Nakhwa with one of the Wadias. The surname Bâtliwâla is certainly that of the family of Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai ; but among the lower-classes of Bombay, as I pointed out a few years ago in my *Byways of Bombay*, the word has become a synonym for millionaire, just as 'Shankarshet' has crept into use as the equivalent of 'rich and prosperous.' It is quite possible that Antone Nakhwa is correct and that the Parsi who figures in the Koli tradition was a member of the rich and well-known Wadia family, which was so closely connected with the Indian Government of old days as ship-builders and dockmasters in Bombay. Sâttâd, *i.e*, Seven Brab-trees, which still lives in the Sâttâd Street of the modern municipal section of Mândvi, was for many years a well-known landmark and figured in 1793 as one of the portions of the disorderly area known as 'Dungree and the woods' which were controlled by special police *chaukis*. The old Koliwâda, which has now been shorn of its original character by the operations of the City Improvement Trust since the beginning of the twentieth century, was one of the original settlements of the Bombay Kolis, the earliest inhabitants of the Island, and was situated a good deal nearer the shore of the harbour, before the great reclamation carried out by the Frere Company and the building of the modern docks and quays changed the whole character of the eastern foreshore.

That Juran Pâtel was a wealthy man has been proved of late years by the constant appearance of his name in the old documents and title-deeds relating to the properties acquired by the Improvement Trust in and around Mandvi. His total lack of education and his superstitious belief may have been responsible for the practice, attributed to him in the ballad, of spreading his piles of money out to dry, in the same way that he and the Kolis in general spread the fish out to dry in the sun. According to the Kolis of to-day, Juran Pâtel's house was one of the few really strong houses in Bombay at the period of his prosperity, the walls being built upon an iron framework and the 'cellar,' which contained his piles of money,

being almost as stout as a modern safe. The origin of these 'cellars' in Mândvi Koliwâda is obscure; but I have suggested in *Byways of Bombay* that they were originally the colouring-ponds of the Koli fisherman, which, as building progressed and overcrowding began to be felt in the middle of last century, were enclosed with brick walls, roofed with tiles, and utilized as store-rooms. No more plausible explanation has hitherto been suggested.

The precise identity of the Governor in the ballad has not been definitely determined; but as Juran Pâtel flourished in the middle of the nineteenth century, one may assume that the reference is either to Viscount Falkland (1848-1853) or to Lord Elphinstone (1853-1860). The copper tiles, it is perhaps needless to add, have disappeared and now belong to the realm of tradition rather than of fact. But the story of their having once been fixed to the roof of Juran Pâtel's house is still cherished and firmly believed by the Mândvi Kolis of the twentieth century. In 1906 the house in Dongri Street, in which Mahadev Dharma Pâtel, then headman of the Kolis, resided, was said to be the very house to which the tiles were once affixed, and local wiseacres declared that after they had been removed from the roof, they were fastened in a prominent position to the wall of the house and were preserved as a kind of family escutcheon. No trace of them now remains. But the ballad describing their origin still exists and, as I have pointed out elsewhere, seems to emphasize the bond of friendship which existed from the earliest days between the aboriginal fisher-folk, the Parsi pioneers of commerce and the English Government in Bombay.

SOME DISCURSIVE COMMENTS ON BARBOSA.

As edited by the late M. LONGWORTH DAMES.[3]

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from page* 98.)

Volume II.

The second volume contains Barbosa's remarks on the Coasts of Malabar, Eastern India to Bengal, Further India, China and the Malay Archipelago, and incidentally, of many other parts of the South-Eastern Asiatic Continent. It is a worthy successor of the first volume, and Dames in editing it had the good fortune to meet with invaluable assistance at the hands of Mr. J. A. Thorne, whose personal knowledge of the Malabar Coast and its people is unrivalled, and of Mr. W. H. Moreland, especially in the matter of the identification of the "City of Bengala."

Here again the early date of Barbosa as a European traveller, his closeness and accuracy of observation, his extraordinary knowledge of the people he lived amongst, and his capacity for obtaining good information regarding their neighbours, combined with his editor's invaluable notes, make this volume, too, of an unusual importance, which I can now but merely indicate.

Geography.

Following Barbosa in his wanderings round the Coast of India, which start from the Country of the Zamorin of Calicut on the South-Western Coast, we come first upon his wonderful account of the Zamorin and the manners and customs of his Court and people of all classes and kinds, and upon the extraordinarily valuable notes of Messrs. Dames and Thorne thereon. But being just now in the domain of geography rather than of ethnography, I must

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3 *The Book of Duarte Barbosa, Translated from the Portuguese text, first published in* 1812. Edited and annotated by M. L. Dames, Vol. I, 1918 : Vol. II, 1921. London : Hakluyt Society.

overcome the strong temptation to descant upon them here at length and proceed to wander with Barbosa as he proceeds down the Coast to the "Kingdom of Cananore," and mentions a number of local place-names, which are mostly identified with much skill and ingenuity. Among these, I would suggest that the form of the name of the river called "Miraporam," and identified with the Nileshwaram, sounds as if Barbosa's informant meant by that term a river named after a village or town called then Mirapura or something like it, which may or may not be still traceable. It may even have been the name of some temporary petty State, as on it stood "a seaport of Moors and Heathen, a place of much trade and navigation, where dwells another of his [King of Cananore's] nephews, who often rises against him, and the King again brings him under his power."

A note by Mr. Thorne on p. 80 in this connection gives one cause to think. He remarks on Maravel (Madayi) that "there are no Jews there now, but a Jew's tank (Chûlâ Kulam) exists on the hill near the Travellers' Bungalow." The fact that Chûlâ and the like in S. Indian names may refer to the Jews and not to the ubiquitous Chôlas (Chulia, etc.) is well worth remembering.

On p. 82 Mr. Thorne has an identification of note in annotating Cotaogatto, the Spanish form of Barbosa's Quategatam (Kottayam). He says it represents "the oblique case" of the name Kottayam, which is "Kottayakath, hence Kottioth or Cotiote of the Tellicherry factors." This statement is well worth bringing into prominence as an explanation of European forms of West Coast names, which have long puzzled enquirers, myself included. Another good instance is Chiliate (Barbosa), Ash-Shâliyât (Ibn Batuta) from the oblique form Châliyath of the name Châliyam (p. 87). And another delightful instance of Barbosa's nomenclature is Tirangoto for Tiruvankôdu, the obscure village which gave its name to the modern State of Travancore.

In discussing Cochin and other places in South India, Barbosa constantly alludes to the native Syrian Christians, whom he calls Armenians by the way, and their legend of St. Thomas. He repeats the story of the foundation of St. Thomas' Church by a miracle, reported as having occurred in several places, including Mirapolis by Marignolli (c. 1345). Mirapolis for Mailapur, now a part of Madras town, is a fine instance of metathesis and folk-etymology. Barbosa's allusions on this subject are all interesting and valuable, and incidentally he says that they called the Apostle "Matoma," *i.e.*, by a title, Mar (or Bar) Toma, such as Syrian and Nestorian Christians would naturally give him. On p. 131 Dames gives Correa's account of the investigation in 1521 into the relics of St. Thomas, "who was reported by country folk to have been called Tanimudolyar," interpreted as "Thomas, the servant of God." Mudaliyâr means in Tamil "the first or highest," and the expression would thus mean "Thomas the Great." It is a common title assumed by certain castes and professions in the South.

We now pass on to the Cape of Cumeri or Cape Comorin, so named from Kumari, the S. Indian pronunciation of Kumârî, the Virgin Goddess, *i.e.*, Durgâ or Kâlî, to whom there is a well known temple there. One MS. of Barbosa has a remarkable statement here: "At this Cape Comory there is an ancient Church of Christians which was founded by the Armenians [Syrians, Nestorians], who still direct it and perform in it the Divine Service of Christians, and have crosses on the altars. All mariners pay it a tribute and the Portuguese celebrate mass there when they pass. There are there many tombs, amongst these is one which has written on it a Latin epitaph: 'Hic jacet Catuldus Gulli filius qui obiit anno. . .' So precise a statement as this should be capable of corroboration, but I have not met with any in the authorities open to me, old or new. It has been suggested that as the Portuguese used every

effort to put down the activities of the Syrian Christians, the church mentioned may have ceased to exist, even in the 17th century. But in regard to the fact that practically all Indians revere tombstones, the remains of such may even now be found to exist, if sought for, and their foundations may be discovered.

After a passing allusion to the Laccadives and Maldives, with an error as to their number and Eastern or Southern extension, copied into many a map and book of travels afterwards, Barbosa reaches Ceylon (Ceilam). The chief interest in this part of the book lies in the notes that his account draws forth ; *e.g.*, I cordially agree with that on the varying forms of the name of the Island among ancient and mediæval travellers based on the Sanskrit form Siṅhala-dvîpa and the Tamil form Ilam, producing such diverse corruptions thereof as Sielidiba, Tenarisim, Tranate and Hibenaro. It is interesting to note, too, that it was the quality of the cinnamon in Ceylon that took the Portuguese there, just as it was the cost, under the Dutch monopoly, of pepper in Europe, a very valuable culinary commodity before sugar became generally available, that took the English to the " South Seas," and thence to India.

On the well-known name Adam's Peak, Dames has an illuminating note, pp. 117-118, commenting on Barbosa's term Adombaba :—" Barbosa probably heard the phrase Adam Bâbâ used of Buddha by Muhammadans. I have myself heard the God Śiva called Bâbâ Adam in Northern India, and the identification of one of the leading gods with Adam may have come down from the Buddhist period." I am tempted to support this with an instance to the opposite effect. The name Buddha Makân (Buddha's House) for well-known Muhammadan sailors' shrines on the Northern and Eastern Coasts of the Bay of Bengal, notably at Akyab on the Arakan Coast and at Mergui on the Tenasserim Coast, arises out of a corruption, through local Buddhist influence combined with folk-etymology, of the name of the great sailors' saint, Badru'ddîn Auliâ, whose chief shrine is at Chittagong. So Badr Maqâm became Buddha Makân.

Dames' explanation of " Adam's Peak " explains also " Adam's Bridge," the comparatively recent, geologically speaking, natural causeway of rock nearly closing the channel between Ceylon and India. Indeed the two terms mutually explain each other. The Hindus have always connected the " bridge " with the story of the *Râmâyaṇa*, and to them it is the dam or made bridge, the barrage *par excellence*, the ordinary term for which in the Indian "Aryan" languages is *band*, Anglice, bund. It is thus the Dam of Râma : Tamil, *shêthu* and *sêtu*, or Râmashêthu, and alternatively Tiruvanai, Great (or Holy) Barrage or Bridge, Anglicised as Tirvanay On the Indian end of it has been built perhaps the greatest shrine to Râma in all India, the great temple known as Râmeshwaram. The " causeway " has also been Sanskritised as Adisêthu, the First or Primeval Bridge. But the rocks have been known to Muhammadan sailors from the earliest days of the old Arabo-Indian trade acquaintance with S.E. India and Ceylon ; *i.e.*, from the days when it created, in the first millennium A.D., those most interesting mixed mercantile Muhammadan races—the Moplahs of the S.W. and the Lubbays of the S.E. Coast of India. And to them, too, the " causeway " was the First, the Principal Bridge, the Bridge of Adam Bâbâ (Father Adam), Adam's Bridge.

In dealing with Quilicare (Kilakarai) on the Indian Coast opposite Ceylon, Dames has another of his illuminating notes on the Labbâis (Lubbays), the Muhammadanised Tamil Hindus of Ceylon and the extreme South Indian Coast, whom he successfully compares with the Navâyats of the Western Indian Coast and S. India (Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultân were Navâyats) and to the Mapillas (Moplahs) of Malabar and the Laccadives. There are several such populations in and about the Indian Empire : *e g.*, the Chulias of Burma and the Klings of the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago.

Barbosa then passes up the East Coast to Paleacatte (Pulicat) and thence to Orissa, or as he calls it Otisa, a neat reference to the vernacular name, which is Oḍisâ or Oṛîsā, showing the two native pronunciations of the palatal (cerebral) sonant as ḍ or ṛ. Pulicat then belonged to Vijayanagar (Bisnaga), and that realm and Orissa were divided by the Udayagiri hills, which name I suggest is at the root of Barbosa's "mountains called Odirguamalado," *i.e.*, Udayagiri-malai, which may be translated "the Udaya mountain range," *giri* and *malai* both meaning "hill" in different vernaculars. In the course of his very valuable note on Pulicat, Dames refers to Fitch's "Servidore, whatever may be the modern name" of that place (p. 131). It was on "the old trade route leading from the East Coast to Western India." I am tempted to suggest that Servidore represents Srîvattûr, for Tiruvattiyûr, *i.e.*, Trivetore in the Chingleput District. There is another Trivetore, *viz.*, Tiruvattūr in the North Arcot District. Mr. W. Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 16 n., is, however, of opinion that "Servidore" is "a confused form of Bîdar, the capital, situated about 70 miles N. W. of Golconda." There is much to be said for this view. But surely Dames writes in error when he observes that Malayâlam is an Aryan language.

In the account of Orissa the most interesting point to note is that Barbosa says that it was bounded on the North by "a river called Ganges, but they call it Guorigua," meaning thereby that the boundary river was a *ganga* or sacred river, *viz.*, the Baitarani. For Guorigua Dames has one of his happy suggestions, *viz.*, that it is a mistranscription of the MS. and should be read Guangua, *i.e.*, Ganga.

Barbosa then goes on to "Bengala" which induces Dames to plunge into the old controversy as to the identity of the "City of Bengala" at great length and with much acumen. After adverting to the known identifications available to him and his correspondents, he finally arrives at the conclusion that by that name the Portuguese and other early writers meant Gaur, taken together with its ports Satgaon and Sunârgaon, and not Dacca. Even now, however, this matter is not at rest, as Mr. Heawood has shown in the *Geographical Journal* for October 1921, where he inclines to the view held by Yule that the "City of Bengala" was Chittagong. I cannot go into the question fully here, but as it has long attracted the attention of Bengali antiquaries themselves, I have been in communication with them, and hope some day to produce their views and arguments for the benefit of Indian enquirers generally. So far as I understand them, their views tend to identify the "City of Bengala" with one of the old ports in Eastern Bengal, notably Sunârgaon.

While I am on this point I may as well mention that Barbosa refers also to another long discussed geographical point, Lake Chimay or Chiamay, generally held to be mythical. Pinto is one of the chief sources of information, and my experience of him is that the more one knows of the country he happens to be talking about, the more one realises that he is not the liar he has so long been represented to be. No doubt many fanciful tales have been told about a great interior lake, which was called by the early travellers and map-makers, Chimay, or something like it. There is a good deal of confusion as to what the term Chimay, Chiamay represented, as it is applied to a State, a town, a river and a lake. It may well have represented them all, and if so, the State of Chiengmai on the Burmo-Siamese border, the Zimmè of the Burmese, at once suggests itself, but whether Zimmè is actually represented by the term is too complicated a question for me to enter into here. My main object in alluding to it now is to suggest that for the purpose of useful research, it would be as well to assume that Chimay is the name of some place really in existence, and no myth.

Chimay has been given a possible location for Barbosa's Gueos, a tribe that is still a puzzle to enquirers, despite Dames' identification with the Wâs, on the authority of Sir George

Scott. My own impression is that on a critical examination of all the authorities, they will turn out to be Shâns. The King of Pegu, whom the early Portuguese met, was by acquired nationality a Talaing, but by descent a Gwê Shân, which fact makes one think. Some have thought the Gueos to be Kachins, *i.e.*, of Tibeto-Burman race. Others that they were Karens, others again, *e.g.*, so great an authority as Sir George Scott, that they were Wâs, *i.e.*, a branch of the Môn Race, as are the Talaings themselves, whereas Shâns and Siamese make up a race of their own. Then there are the Giaos or Giaochis, again a 'Chinese' Wild Tribe (Barbarians), as indeed to the Chinese were all the rest above mentioned. It is clear that this question wants much further examination before settlement than it has yet received.

But in these remarks I have been running on rather faster than Barbosa and must hark back to the "Heathen Kingdom of Burma," of which he knew little, as it did not then extend to the coast anywhere, and Dames is quite right as to the tangled history of the region when the early Portuguese voyagers saw it. The people they came across were the Talaings of Pegu and not the Burmese, and it is the Talaing language that is the source of many of the now familiar Further Eastern terms used by Europeans. I have often tried, *e.g.*, in the *Thirty-seven Nats* and elsewhere, to disentangle the history of what we now call Burma at the time of the arrival of the Europeans in that region. It is not easy to obtain anything like a clear view of the ever-changing political situation of the time, but for practical purposes it may be stated that the ruling races of the period were Talaings in Pegu, mostly under kings of Shân origin from Martaban (1287-1540): Shâns in Ava (1364-1554), though the population was Burman: Maghs in Myaukû (Myohaung, the Old Town) in Arakan (1426-1784): Burman-Shâns in Taungû (1470-1530). This last principality, under a great Taungû Burman-Shân ruler, Tabin Shwêdî, blossomed into a Talaing Empire, ruling under him and his successors from Pegu (1530-1599). Nevertheless, the several petty powers were always fighting and overturning each other temporarily. The king with whom the first Portuguese came in contact was Binyâ Rân, a ruler of Talaings who was of Shân origin (1481-1526). All through the hurly-burly of the centuries after the collapse (in 1298) of the Burmese Empire founded by Anawratâ about 1010 and ruled from Pagân, Shâns of various tribal origin managed to rule in most places—Martaban, Pegu, Pinyâ, Myinzaing, Sagaing, Taungû, and again in Pegu—without reference to the nationality of the inhabitants. The last Talaing rulers in Pegu, overthrown in 1757 by Alompra (Alaungphayâ) the Burman, *viz.*, Mintarâ Buddhakhêtî (1740-1746) and Binyâ Dalâ (1746-1757), were Gwê Shâns, doubtless of the Gueo tribe mentioned by de Barros and others (see Barbosa II, 167 n.), and already alluded to. It is well worth while to bear such facts as the above in mind in examining the statements of the early Portuguese travellers and writers.

The fact that the last "Talaing" Dynasty has come down to us as Gwê Shâns raises a rather interesting point. If we are to follow the identification given by Sir George Scott to Dames, and hold the Gueos, and therefore the Gwês, to mean the Wâ tribes, then they are not Shâns or Laos at all, but must belong to the Môn-Annam race and to the Wâ-Palaung group thereof. So Dames' note (vol. II, p. 167) on the Gueos, though helpful, does not solve the question. If, however, the identification is right, it premises that the last Talaing Dynasty came from a branch of the same race as that to which the Talaings themselves belonged.

In talking of Burma, Barbosa makes a natural slip in stating that "There are no Moors therein, inasmuch as it has no seaport which they can use for their traffic." Muhammadans, under the names of Zairbâdî and Panthay or Pathê, have been in Burma proper from long

before his day. The former are naturalised, like the Labbâîs, Navâyats and Moplahs of India, and the latter came from Yunnan, where they were found by Marco Polo. When we took Mandalay in 1885, we found about 60 Musalman places of worship in the city.

Passing to geographical notices in the same region, Barbosa, in his account (Spanish version, p. 149) of the Gulf of Martaban, is apparently referring, by the " large island " he describes there, to Belûgyun, which so effectually shelters Maulmain from the sea, rather than to the islands of the Mergui Archipelago, south of Tavoy, as Dames seems to suggest. I may also say that Siriam is not on the other side of Rangoon River in relation to Rangoon, but some way nearer its mouth on the same side beyond the junction with the Pegu River. Remains of the Church there and of other buildings were distinctly visible 30 years ago. Barbosa's Dela should be identified, not with Dála (p. 156), but with Dalâ. In accentuating Burmese place-names the safest general rule to follow is that the accent (and the consequent long vowel) is on the ultimate syllable. As regards Macao near Pegu, I made a note some years ago on it which I have unfortunately mislaid. My recollection is that it was on the Pegu River, between its junction with the Rangoon River and Pegu town, and that it has since disappeared owing to river changes. To Dames' note on " Martaban jars " (p. 159), I may add that full information on the subject, with a chronological list of various forms of the names for this once very widely-spread article of commerce, will be found *ante*, vol. XXIII, pp. 340-341. They are very large, and in days gone by I long used one as a bathing tub. While one is discussing place-names it is interesting to note that Nicolo Conti in the 15th century thought that Mâchîn (Macinus) meant Burma with its capital at Ava.

The name Capelan for the Ruby Mines of Burma has baffled Dames as it has long baffled me, and I would like to draw attention to it here in the hope that some Shân, Palaung or Môn scholar will take it up and settle it. As to Barbosa's Anseam for Siam, rightly or wrongly, I have always held Siam to be the Malay form of some common name, of which the Burmese Hrâm, pronounced Shân, is another, and that thus Siam and Shân are different forms of the same word. The Siamese, of course, are but a division of the great Shân Race. In this view the " Moorish," *i.e.*, Arab sailors' Anseam, Asion, and so on, would be Arabic As-Siâm, borrowed from the Malays, just as Dames justly remarks Arakan represents Ar-Rakhaing, and the same may be said of many another name to which the Arabic *al*, in its various forms, has been prefixed.

In reference to Barbosa's Quedaa for Kedah and the relation of that name to the Arabic word *qalaî* for tin, there is a long note *ante*, vol. XLVIII, pp. 156-158, collecting examples of the use of the term ' calin ' (tin) from *c.* 920 to 1893 A.D., including examples from old maps of estuaries, towns and villages with the prefix *kwâla*. The information and examples collected confirm the opinion that the earliest navigators knew of more than one place named Kedah. In the *Times Atlas*, sheet 82, there is both Old Kedah and Kwala, and on the coast of the Malay Peninsula no less than nine entrances to rivers with the prefix Kwala, and three on the coast of Sumatra. Besides these, there are, inland on the Peninsula, as many as six towns and villages shown with the same prefix. Then there is Dr. R. Rost's (*Indo-China*, 2nd series, vol. I, 1887, pp. 241, 243, map, p. 262) identification of the Chinese Kora (650-656 A.D.) with Kala. It seems to me, therefore, that M. Gabriel Ferrand's investigations require further research before we must accept his identification.

Barbosa's detailed account of Malacca draws a long and valuable historical note from Dames, and with regard to the derivation of that name I may say I am not at all sure that we can safely refer it to the abundance of myrabolan trees in the neighbourhood, for the reason

that Malâkâ is not an uncommon village name in the Nicobar Islands. There are two prominent instances which I can recall : one to the east of Car Nicobar and another to the north of Nancowry in Camorta Harbour. Myrabolan trees are not a product of the Nicobars, so far as I remember ; certainly they are not prominent objects.

With reference to Dames' note on the Nicobars, I wish to draw attention to three official books here, as they seem, from this note and others by first rate authorities, to be practically unknown. They all give a very full account of the Nicobars from every point of view : (1) *Census of India*, vol. III. *Andamans and Nicobars*, 1901. (2) *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (*Nicobars*), ed. 1908. (3) *Gazetteer, Andaman and Nicobar Islands,* Provincial Series, 1909.

As regards the term Nicobar, it means the Land of the Naked People, and is one form out of very many of Nakkavâram, the name by which the islands appear in the great Tanjore Inscription of 1050 A.D. : *vide* Marco Polo's Necuveran 1292 ; Rashîdu'ddîn's Nakwaram, 1300 : Friar Odoric's Nicoveran, 1322 : all lineal ancestors of 15th and 16th century Portuguese Nacabar and Nicubar, and of the modern Nicobar (from at least 1650). The people are not, and never have been, quite naked, and the story of the tails, repeated by the Swede Kjoeping as late as 1647, has arisen from the appearance of the long streamer attached to the loin cloth, which looks exactly like a wagging tail as the men walk along : see *Round About the Andamans and Nicobars,* J.R.S.Arts, vol. XLVIII, 1900, p. 105.

Passing on to the Malay Archipelago, the early Portuguese name of Jao for the people of Java was in common use for Javanese on the West Coast of India as far as Surat at any rate. And with regard to the origin of the inhabitants of Java and the mainland generally, Dames more than once remarks on their probable northern origin from the highlands of China proper. This migration to the South is still actively traceable among the Kachins for instance, and has undoubtedly gone on steadily for ages, as is indicated in all tradition, so far as I have heard it. In the Nicobars, where the inhabitants are "wild Malays," though really, I think, representative of some tribes of Môn origin, the tradition of migration from the North is still traceable in language and story, while the general likeness of Nicobarese to Malagasy struck me most forcibly when studying the latter language.

Another general likeness in these migrants from a Northern cradle is to be found in the belief noted by Barbosa (p. 192) that "nothing ought to be over the head." The idea, in various inconvenient forms, is common to Chinese, Shâns, Talaings and Burmese. Until quite recently the essentially democratic Burmese, for instance, often put on an apparently cringing attitude in order to get the head lower than that of a recognised superior, and in many instances the idea affected their domestic building operations, as Barbosa notes that it did in the case of the Javanese.

Barbosa's 'white folk' of the Celebes and Sulu Islands raises a question of more importance than seems to have been recognised. Such people have been so often reported in the East and Far East among the Kâfirs of the Pâmirs, the Kanêts of the Himalayas, the fishermen (Maguvan) of the Malabar Coast, and of Pulo Aor and Pulo Condor of the Far Eastern Islands, the Jakuns of the Malay Peninsula, the Talaings and some Shâns and Burmans, and certain tribes in the hinterland of French Extrême Orient, that the whole question is worthy of detailed investigation. For the present we may predicate them to be migrants, originally from the Western Chinese highlands.

Returning to the Asiatic Continent, Barbosa calls Champa, now in French Cochin China "a very great island," probably a mistranslation of some form of the term '*dvîpa*' which

means in old Indian geography a 'continent' as well as an 'island,' when tacked on to the name of a country. See also p. 212, where Barbosa's informant probably meant 'countries' where he translates 'islands.'

Barbosa's last geographical note is on the Lequeos or Liu Kiu Islands, south of Japan. Dames notes that Liu Kiu is Riu Kiu to the Japanese. This is due to a linguistic peculiarity. The Chinese say *l* where the Japanese say *r*, and they have a reciprocal difficulty respectively as to pronouncing these sounds ; *e.g.*, I have seen written up as an advertisement in Nagasaki for the benefit of sailors : "Good remonade," and my Japanese guide, a fiery little man, on one occasion kept on repeating "You not berieve me," when I differed (and correctly) over a time-table. Moreover, an old hawker in Rangoon used to be known by the name of Tih Lupî, his method of pronouncing 'three rupees,' the price of an article he frequently sold.

In an appendix (pp. 241–4) on De Barros' *Decadas* (translated) reference is made to the "Cape of Singapura" (? Cabo de Çinguapura) valuable for the origin of the name Singapore, about which much has been hazarded, mostly nonsense.

With this last remark I must close these overlong notes on the geography and Far Eastern ethnology to be found in Barbosa's second volume, refraining from descanting on Wâgarû and other delightful geographical names on p. 243. In fact, Dames' admirable work contains so much that is valuable and arresting that it is difficult to stop talking about it.

Linguistics.

I now turn to the question of linguistics raised in vol. II, on which subject I am rather glad that the long-disputed derivation of the name Mount Delly on the Malabar coast of India comes at the very commencement of the volume, because I wish to make a protest against the transliteration of *zh* for a peculiar South Indian *l*. It is not Dames' fault that *zh* has been adopted, but anything more misleading to European eyes and ears, and even it may be said to non-Malayâlam Dravidian ears, than *zh* for the sound, could not have been hit upon. Apparently this *l* is not a true phonological *l*, but it is near enough to *l* to be mistaken for one by all ears unaccustomed to the Dravidian languages. Hence, Mount Delly, as the European form of a native name for the first landfall made in India by Vasco da Gama in 1498. If we discard *d* as a Portuguese grammatical addition, *Eli*, or something like it, may be taken as the real name. The Arabs called it *Haili* or *Hîlî*, and the *h* in this form is etymologically important. The Malayâlam name sounds to foreigners, including even Tamils, like Eli-mala (*mala* being "hill"), but it is written with the *l*, which it is the present fashion to write *zh* (*Ezhi-mala*). We see this *l* in Kolikkôd (Calicut), written "scientifically" Kozhikkôd. On the above argument, *eli* has been taken to mean either "high" or "seven," according to the *l* used, and the name to mean "High Hill" or "Seven Hills." A proposal by Burnell to derive it from *tali*, a temple, and thus to make it mean the Temple Hill, is rather upset by the old Haîlî or Hîlî of the Arabs. They might have adopted *h* for an initial *s*, but were not likely to have done so for an initial *t*.

In reference to this peculiar Malayâlam *l*, I would remark also that in the derivations of the terms Malayâlam and Malabar respectively, "the language and land of the hills," the alternative form Malayazhma (for Malayalma) for the former rather sticks on the tongue.

Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer, however, would upset all previous derivations in his most interesting and illuminating article in *JRAS.*, April, 1922, on "An Unidentified Territory of Southern India." This Territory he shows to be the land of the Kôlattiri Râjas, kings of Kôlam, and that there were two Kôlams, this one on the banks of the Agalappualai river, being called by way of distinction Pandalâyani-Kôlam, now a station on the South Indian Railway.

Aiyer's argument is that the land of the Kôlattiri Râjas to have been the country of Râmaghaṭa-Mûshakeśvara, Râmaghaṭa (Râmghât), translating the Dravidian name Irâmakuḍam, and to have been ruled by a dynasty known as the Mûshakas or Mûshakeśvaras who, with their people, appear to have migrated southwards at some ancient time from the region of the Vindhyas. Now the meaning of the Sanskrit *mûshaka* is rat, and it translates the Dravidian *eli*, and to quote Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer, " As a rule, the chieftains of the Deccan were lords of one or more divisions (*nâḍu*), possessed a favourite hill (*malai*), and a capital city (*ûr*). The principal hill of the Mûshaka king was the Elimalai, his *naḍu* was Irâmakuḍam, and his capital Kôlam." Therefore, assuming Mr. Aiyer to be right, the real meaning of the Eli in the Portuguese and European Mount Delly (d'Eli) is Rat Hill, and not the High Hill nor the Seven Hills. Therefore myself, Dames, Yule, Burnell, and the rest of us have been all wrong. After the manner of India, the *Mûshakavaṁśa* (*Mûshaka Genealogy*) has a legend, according to which the Kshattriya, mother of the first Mûshaka king, took refuge from her enemies in a mountain cavern (*i.e.*, in the Elimalai Hill), where she brought forth a son by a Rat-incarnation, a Parvata-râja, " as big as an elephant." This son was eventually crowned king of the country in which the " Rat-mountain " stood.

The interpretation of Elimalai as the Seven Hills is due, according to Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer, to Indian and not to European scholiasts, and appears to have come about by the peculiar Dravidian ḻ being used by some of them in writing Eli. He tells us that " the dental ḷ of the word was sometimes changed into the lingual *l* which gave rise to the name Saptaśaila applied to the Territory in some Sanskrit works, such as the *Kêraḷamâhâtmya* [*Ancient History of Kêrala*, *i.e.*, of Malabar]. Local tradition also perpetuated this name."

Burnell's suggestion of *tali*, a temple, as a possible derivation for *eli*, seems to have arisen from a statement in the *Mûshakavaṁśa* that the abode of Paraśurâma, the classical hero hereabouts, was on the Elimalai, now probably represented, says Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer, " by the modern Râmantalli temple, lying close under the mountain on its western or sea face."

After a very valuable note on the legend of the conversion of Chêruman Perumâl to Islam, Dames tackles another knotty linguistic question—the derivation of the name Zamorin—with the aid of Mr. Thorne, who gives at great length excellent reasons for finding the origin in Swâmi-śrî, the Excellent Lord, in the place of the hitherto accepted Sâmudri, Lord of the Seas. So that many of us, including myself, in *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, vol. III., pt. ii, pp. 269-470 n., will now have to own ourselves corrected. Incidentally, Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer notes that in the term " Kôlattiri," " the suffix *tiri* is nothing but an adaptation of *śrî*." This supports Mr. Thorne's derivation of the Portuguese term Zamorin from Swâmi-śrî [through ? Sâmudri]. It would be useful to search local MSS. to see if the word has ever been actually written Swâmittiri, or Sâmuttiri, or even Sâmudri.

In the course of comments on Barbosa's description of Cananore as the seat of a Moplah family of note, once well known as that of the " Ali Râja," on which the Editor and Mr. Thorne have several notes, mention is made that the title has been passed on to the Moplah rulers of the Maldives and Laccadives, though repudiated by them. So hybrid an expression as Ali Râja is not *primâ facie* a possible title for a virtually independent Muslim family of importance, and the term requires, in my opinion, further investigation. The first idea that suggests itself is that it refers to Adi Râja (First or Chief Râja) and that it is comparable with the Aji Râja, or rather Aji Sûka, the ' first hero ' from India of the Archipelagic Malays of Sumatra and Java. Be that as it may, is it not possible that the Malayâlam title Ilaya Râja

(Elliah Râja) for the nearest heir to the throne is reflected in the Malabar title? It corresponds to the common *yuvarâja* of many Hindu States, including Mysore. It was the Jobrâj of many Parliamentary questions in the days when the Manipur State was to the fore in general politics about 1890, and was applied by the crowd to the Prince of Wales in Poona and elsewhere when they shouted, "*Jubrâj ki jai*," Hurrah for the heir! In another corruption from the Pali equivalent *uparâja*, it becomes the "Upper Roger" of early English visitors to the Court at Pegu.

(*To be continued.*)

A CHINESE EXPEDITION ACROSS THE PAMIRS AND HINDUKUSH, A.D. 747.*

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.

(*Continued from p.* 103.)

By disposing his force *en échelon* from Shighnan to Sarikol, Kao Hsien-chih obtained also a strategically advantageous position. He was thus able to concert the simultaneous convergent movement of his columns upon the Tibetans at Sarhad without unduly exposing any of his detachments to separate attack and defeat by a superior Tibetan force; for the Tibetans could not leave their position at Sarhad without imminent risk of being cut off from the Baroghil, their only line of communication. At the same time the disposition of the Chinese forces effectively precluded any Tibetan advance either upon Sarikol or Badakhshan. Difficult as Kao Hsien-chih's operations must have been across the Pamirs, yet he had the great advantage of commanding two, if not three, independent lines of supplies (from Kashgar-Yarkand; Badakhshan; eventually Farghana), whereas the Tibetan force of about equal strength, cooped up at the debouchure of the Baroghil, had only a single line, and one of exceptional natural difficulty, to fall back upon. Of the territories of Yasin, Gilgit, Baltistan, through which this line led, we know that they could not provide any surplus supplies for an army.[19]

The problem, as it seems to me, is not so much how the Chinese general succeeded in overcoming the difficulties of his operations across the Pamirs, but how the Tibetans ever managed to bring a force of nine or ten thousand men across the Darkot to Sarhad and to maintain it there in the almost total absence of local resources. It is certainly significant that neither before nor after these events do we hear of any other attempt of the Tibetans to attack the Chinese power in the Tarim basin by way of the uppermost Oxus, constant, and in the end successful, as their aggression was during the eighth century A.D.

The boldness of the plan which made Kao Hsien-chih's offensive possible and crowned it with deserved success must, I think, command admiration quite as much as the actual crossing of the Darkot. The student of military history has, indeed, reason to regret that the Chinese record does not furnish us with any details about the organization which rendered this first and, as far as we know, last crossing of the Pamirs by a large regular force possible. But whatever our opinion may be about the fighting qualities of the Chinese soldier as judged by our standards—and there is significant evidence of their probably not having been much more serious in T'ang times than they are now—it is certain that those who know the formidable obstacles of deserts and mountains which Chinese troops have successfully faced and overcome during modern times will not feel altogether surprised at the power of resource

* Reprinted from the *Geographical Journal* for February, 1922

19 Cf. *Ancient Khotan*, i. pp. 11 *sqq.*

and painstaking organization which the success of Kao Hsien-chih's operations indisputably attests in that long-forgotten Chinese leader and those who shared his efforts.

The location of *Lien-yün* near Sarhad, as originally proposed by M. Chavannes, is confirmed by the description of the battle by which the Chinese general rendered himself master of the Tibetan position and of the route it was intended to guard. The three Chinese columns operating, as I have shown, from the west, east, and north, "had agreed to effect their junction on the thirteenth day of the seventh month (August) between seven and nine o'clock in the morning at the Tibetan stronghold of Lien-yün. In that stronghold there were a thousand soldiers ; moreover, at a distance of 15 *li* (about 3 miles) to the south of the rampart, advantage had been taken of the mountains to erect palisades, behind which there were eight to nine thousand troops. At the foot of the rampart there flowed the river of the valley of *P'o-lê*, which was in flood and could not be crossed.[20] Kao Hsien-chih made an offering of three victims to the river ; he directed his captains to select their best soldiers and their best horses ; each man carried rations of dry food for three days. In the morning they assembled by the river-bank. As the waters were difficult to cross, officers and soldiers all thought the enterprise senseless. But when the other river-bank was reached, neither had the men wetted their standards nor the horses their saddle-cloths.

"After the troops had crossed and formed their ranks, Kao Hsien-chih, overjoyed, said to Pien Ling-ch'êng (the Imperial Commissioner) : 'For a moment, while we were in the midst of the passage, our force was beaten if the enemy had come. Now that we have crossed and formed ranks, it is proof that Heaven delivers our enemies into our hands.' He at once ascended the mountain and engaged in a battle which lasted from the *ch'ên* period (7-9 a.m.) to the *ssŭ* period (9-11 a.m.). He inflicted a great defeat upon the barbarians, who fled when the night came. He pursued them, killed 5,000 men, and made 1,000 prisoners ; all the rest dispersed. He took more than 1,000 horses, and warlike stores and arms beyond counting."

The analysis given above of the routes followed by the Chinese columns, and what we shall show below of Kao Hsien-chih's three days' march to Mount *T'an-chü*, or the Darkot, confirm M. Chavannes in locating the Tibetan stronghold of Lien-yün near the present Sarhad, the last permanent settlement on the uppermost Oxus. It is equally clear from the description of the river crossing that the Chinese concentration must have taken place on the right or northern bank of the Ab-i-Panja, where the hamlets constituting the present Sarhad are situated, while the stronghold of Lien-yün lay on the opposite left bank.

Before I was able to visit the ground in May 1906, I had already expressed the belief that the position taken up by the Tibetan main force, 15 *li* (*circ.* 3 miles) to the south of Lien-yün, must be looked for in the valley which debouches on the Ab-i-Panja opposite to Sarhad.[21] It is through this open valley that the remarkable depression in the main Hindukush range represented by the Baroghil and Shawitakh saddles (12,460 and 12,560 feet respectively), is gained. I also surmised that the Chinese general, apart from the confidence aroused by the successful river crossing, owed his victory mainly to a flanking movement by which his troops gained the heights, and thus successfully turned the fortified line behind which the Tibetans were awaiting them.

20 M. Chavannes has shown (*Turcs occidentaux*, p. 154) that this name *P'o-lê* is a misreading easily explained in Chinese writing for *So-lê* mentioned elsewhere as a town in Hu-mi or Wakhan.

21 See *Ancient Khotan*, i. p. 7

The opinion was confirmed by what I saw of the valley leading to the Oxus on my descent from the Baroghil on 19 May 1906, and by the examination I was able to make two days later of the mountain-side flanking its debouchure from the west. The valley into which the route leads down from the Baroghil is quite open and easy about Zartighar, the southernmost hamlet. There a ruined watch-tower shows that defence of the route had been a concern also in modern times. Further down the valley-bottom gradually contracts, though still offering easy going, until, from a point about 2 miles below Zartighar to beyond the scattered homesteads of Pitkhar,[22] its width is reduced to between one-half and one-third of a mile. On both sides this defile is flanked by high and very precipitous rocky ridges, the last offshoots of spurs which descend from the main Hindukush watershed.

These natural defences seemed to provide just the kind of position which would recommend itself to the Tibetans wishing to bar approach to the Baroghil, and thus to safeguard their sole line of communication with the Indus valley. The width of the defile would account for the comparatively large number of defenders recorded by the Chinese Annals for the enemy's main line; the softness of the ground at its bottom, which is almost perfectly level, covered with fine grass in the summer, and distinctly swampy in the spring owing to imperfect drainage, would explain the use of palisades, at first sight a rather strange method of fortification in these barren mountains.[23] Finally, the position seemed to agree curiously well with what two historical instances of modern times, the fights in 1904 at Guru and on the Karo-la, had revealed as the typical and time-honoured Tibetan scheme of defence—to await attack behind a wall erected across the open ground of a valley or saddle.

There remained the question whether the defile of Pitkhar was capable of being turned by an attack on the flanking heights such as the Chinese record seemed plainly to indicate. The possibility of such a movement on the east was clearly precluded by the extremely precipitous character of the flanking spur, and still more by the fact that the summer flood of the Ab-i-Panja in the very confined gorge above Sarhad would have rendered that spur inaccessible to the Chinese operating from the northern bank of the river. All the greater was my satisfaction when I heard from my Wakhi informants of ruins of an ancient fort. known as *Kansir*, situated on the precipitous crest of the flanking spur westwards, almost opposite to Pitkhar. During the single day's halt, which to my regret was all that circumstances would allow me at Sarhad, I was kept too busy otherwise to make a close inspection of the ground where the Tibetan post of Lien-yün might possibly have been situated. Nothing was known locally of old remains on the open alluvial plain which adjoins the river at the mouth of the valley coming from the Baroghil; nor were such likely to survive long on ground liable to inundation from the Oxus, flowing here in numerous shifting channels with a total width of over a mile.

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22 The *Pirkhar* of sketch-map 2 is a misprint.

23 In my note in *Ancient Khotan*, p. 9, I had ventured to suggest that, considering how scanty timber must at all times have been about Sarhad, there was some probability that walls or "Sangars" constructed of loose stones were really meant by the "palisades" mentioned in the translation of the passage from the T'ang Annals.

This suggestion illustrates afresh the risk run in doubting the accuracy of Chinese records on quasi-topographical points without adequate local knowledge. On the one hand, I found that the peculiar nature of the soil in the defile would make the construction of heavy stone walls inadvisable, if not distinctly difficult. On the other, my subsequent march up the Ab-i-Panja showed that, though timber was as scarce about Sarhad itself as I had been led to assume, yet there was abundance of willow and other jungle in parts of the narrow river gorge one march higher up near the debouchure of the Shaor and Baharak streams. This could well have been used for palisades after being floated down by the river.

Even if the exact position of Lien-yün thus remained undetermined, my short stay at Sarhad sufficed to convince me how closely local conditions agreed with the details of Kao Hsien-chih's exploit in crossing the Oxus. The river at the time of the summer flood must, indeed, present a very imposing appearance as it spreads out its waters over the wide valley-bottom at Sarhad. But the very separation of the waters makes fording always possible even at that season, provided the passage takes place in the early morning, when the flood due to the melting snow and ice is temporarily reduced by the effect of the night's frost on the glaciers and snow-beds at the head of the Ab-i-Panja. The account in the Annals distinctly shows that the river passage must have been carried out at an early hour of the morning, and thus explains the complete success of an otherwise difficult operation.

I was able to trace the scene of the remaining portion of the Chinese general's exploit when, on May 21, I visited the ruined fortifications reported on the steep spur overlooking the debouchure of the Baroghil stream from the west and known as Kansir. After riding across the level plain of sand and marsh, and then along the flat bottom of the Pitkhar defile for a total distance of about 3 miles, we left our ponies at a point a little to the south of some absolutely impracticable rock faces which overlook Pitkhar from the west. Then, guided by a few Wakhis, I climbed to the crest of the western spur, reaching it only after an hour's hard scramble over steep slopes of rock and shingle. There, beyond a stretch of easily sloping ground and about 300 feet higher, rose the old fort of Kansir at the extreme north end of the crest. Between the narrow ridge occupied by the walls and bastions and the continuation of the spur south-westwards a broad dip seemed to offer an easy descent towards the hamlet of Karkat on the Oxus.

It was clearly for the purpose of guarding this approach that the little fort had been erected on this exposed height. On the north and east, where the end of the spur falls away in unscalable cliffs to the main valley of the Oxus and towards the mouth of the Pitkhar defile, some 1600 to 1700 feet below, structural defences were needless. But the slope of the ridge facing westwards and the narrow neck to the south had been protected on the crest by a bastioned wall for a distance of about 400 feet. Three bastions facing west and south-west, and one at the extreme southern point, still rose, in fair preservation in parts, to a height of over 30 feet. The connecting wall-curtains had suffered more, through the foundations giving way on the steep incline. Of structures inside the little fort there remained no trace.

Definite archæological evidence as to the antiquity of the little fortification was supplied by the construction of the walls. Outside a core of closely packed rough stones they show throughout a solid brick facing up to 6 feet in thickness, with regular thin layers of brushwood separating the courses of large sun-dried bricks. Now this systematic use of brushwood layers is a characteristic peculiarity of ancient Chinese construction in Central Asia, intended to assure greater consistency under climatic conditions of particular dryness in regions where ground and structures alike are liable to constant wind erosion. My explorations around Lop-nor and on the ancient Chinese *Limes* of Tun-huang have conclusively proved that it dates from the very commencement of Chinese expansion into Central Asia.[24] At the same time my explorations in the Tarim basin have shown also that the Tibetan invaders of the T'ang period, when building their forts, did not neglect to copy this constructive expedient of their Chinese predecessors and opponents in these regions.[25] On

[24] Cf., *e.g.*, *Desert Cathay*, i. pp. 387 *sqq.*, 540 *sqq.*; ii. pp. 44, 50, etc.

[25] This was distinctly observed by me in the Tibetan forts at Miran and Mazar-tagh, built and occupied in the 8th century A.D.; cf. *Serindia*, pp. 457, 1285 *sqq.*

various grounds which cannot be discussed here in detail it appears to me very probable that the construction of the Kansir walls was due to the Tibetan invaders of Wakhan. But whether the fortification existed already when Kao Hsien-chih carried the Tibetan main position by an attack on its mountain flank, or whether it was erected by the Tibetans when they returned after the retirement of the Chinese some years later, and were, perhaps, anxious to guard against any repetition of this move outflanking a favourite defensive position, I am unable to say.

The victory thus gained by Kao Hsien-chih on the Oxus had been signal, and it was followed up by him with the boldness of a truly great commander. The Imperial Commissioner and certain other high officers feared the risks of a further advance. So Kao Hsien-chih decided to leave them behind together with over 3,000 men who were sick or worn out by the previous hardships, and to let them guard Lien-yün. With the rest of his troops he "pushed on, and after three days arrived at Mount T'an-chü; from that point downwards there were precipices for over 40 *li* (*circ.* 8 miles) in a straight line. Kao Hsien-chih surmised: 'If the barbarians of A-nu-yüeh were to come to meet us promptly, this would be the proof of their being well-disposed.' Fearing besides that his soldiers would not care to face the descent [from Mount T'an-chü], he employed the strategem of sending twenty horsemen ahead with orders to disguise themselves in dress as if they were barbarians of the town of A-nu-yüeh, and to meet his troops on the summit of the mountain. When the troops had got up Mount T'an-chü they, in fact, refused to make the descent, saying, 'To what sort of places would the Commissioner-in-Chief have us go?' Before they had finished speaking, the twenty men who had been sent ahead came to meet them with the report: 'The barbarians of the town of A-nu-yüeh are all well-disposed and eager to welcome you; the destruction of the bridge over the So-yi river is completed.' Kao Hsien-chih pretended to rejoice, and on his giving the order all the troops effected their descent."

After three more marches the Chinese force was in reality met by "the barbarians of the town of A-nu-yüeh" offering their submission. The same day Kao Hsien-chih sent ahead an advance guard of a thousand horsemen, charging its leader to secure the persons of the chiefs of "Little P'o-lü" through a ruse. This order having been carried out, on the following day Kao Hsien-chih himself occupied A-nu-yüeh, and had the five or six dignitaries who were supporting the Tibetans executed. He then hastened to have the bridge broken which spanned the So-yi river at a distance of 60 *li*, or about 12 miles, from A-nu-yüeh. "Scarcely had the bridge been destroyed in the evening when the Tibetans, mounted and on foot, arrived in great numbers, but it was then too late for them to attain their object. The bridge was the length of an arrow-shot; it had taken a whole year to construct it. It had been built at the time when the Tibetans, under the pretext of using its route, had by deceit possessed themselves of Little P'o-lü." Thus secured from a Tibetan counter-attack on Yasin, Kao Hsien-chih prevailed upon the king of Little P'o-lü to give himself up from his hiding-place, and completely pacified the territory.

The personal acquaintance with the ground which I gained in 1906 on my journey up the Yarkhun, or Mastuj, valley and across to Sarhad, and again on my move up Yasin and across the Darkot in 1913, has rendered it easy to trace the successive stages here recorded of Kao Hsien-chih's great exploit. All the details furnished by the Chinese record agree accurately with the important route that leads across the depression in the Hindukush range, formed by the adjacent Baroghil and Shawitakh Passes, to the sources of the Mastuj river, and then, surmounting southwards the ice-covered Darkot Pass (*circ.* 15,400 feet), descends

the valley of Yasin to its debouchure on the main river of Gilgit. The only serious natural obstacle on this route, but that a formidable one, is presented by the glacier pass of the Darkot. I first ascended it on 17 May 1906, from the Mastuj side, under considerable difficulties, and to a description of that visit and the photographic illustrations which accompany it I may here refer for all details.[26]

Owing to a curious orographic configuration two great ice-streams descend from the northern face of the Darkot pass. One, the Darkot glacier properly so-called, slopes down to the north-west with an easy fall for a distance of nearly 8 miles, pushing its snout to the foot of the Rukang spur, where it meets the far steeper Chatiboi glacier. The other ice-stream, which on the map is shown quite as long, but which reliable information represents as somewhat shorter, descends towards the north-east and ends some miles above the summer grazing ground of Showar-shur on the uppermost Yarkhun river. Thus two divergent routes offer themselves to the traveller who reaches the Darkot pass from the south and wishes to proceed to the Oxus.

The one, keeping to the Darkot glacier, which I followed myself on my visit to the Darkot pass, has its continuation in the easy track which crosses the Rukang spur, and then the Yarkhun river below it to the open valley known as Baroghil-yailak. Thence it ascends over a very gentle grassy slope to the Baroghil saddle, characteristically called Dasht-i-Baroghil, "the plain of Baroghil." From this point it leads down over equally easy ground, past the hamlet of Zartighar, to the Ab-i-Panja opposite Sarhad. The other route, after descending the glacier to the north-east of the Darkot Pass, passes down the Yarkhun river past the meadows of Showar-shur to the grazing ground of Shawitakh-yailak; thence it reaches the Hindukush watershed by an easy gradient near the lake of Shawitakh or Sarkhin-zhoe. The saddles of Baroghil and Shawitakh are separated only by about 2 miles of low gently sloping hills, and at Zartighar both routes join.

The distances to be covered between the Darkot pass and Sarhad are practically the same by both these routes, so far as the map and other available information allow me to judge. My original intention in 1906 was to examine personally those portions of both routes which lie over the *névé*-beds and glaciers of the Darkot. But the uncertain weather conditions prevailing at the time of my ascent, and the exceptional difficulties then encountered owing to the early season and the heavy snowfall of that spring, effectively prevented my plan of ascending from the foot of the Rukang spur and descending to Showar-shur. In 1913 I was anxious to complete my examination of the Darkot by a descent on the latter route. But my intention was unfortunately frustrated by the fact that the passage of the glacier on the Showar-shur side had been blocked for several years past by an impracticable ice-fall which had formed at its end.

Having thus personal experience only of the north-west route, I am unable to judge to what extent present conditions justify the report which represents the glacier part of the north-eastern route as somewhat easier. It is, however, a fact that the Pamir Boundary Commission of 1895, with its heavy transport of some six hundred ponies, used the latter route both coming from and returning to Gilgit. The numerous losses reported

[26] See *Desert Cathay*, I. pp. 52 *sqq*. In 1913 I crossed the Darkot from the Yasin side towards the close of August, *i.e.*, at the very season when Kao Hsien-chih effected his passage. The difficulties then encountered in the deep snow of the *névé* beds on the top of the pass, on the great and much-crevassed glacier to the north, and on the huge side moraines along which the descent leads, impressed me as much as before with the greatness of Kao Hsien-chih's alpine feat in taking a military force acros the Darkot.

of animals and loads show that here, too, the passage of the much-crevassed glacier and the treacherous snow-covered moraines proved a very serious difficulty for the transport. Nevertheless, inasmuch as for a force coming from the Wakhan side the ascent to the Darkot pass from the nearest practicable camping ground would be about 1,300 feet less by the Showar-shur route than by that passing the Rukang spur, I consider it probable that the former was used.

Kao Hsien-chih's biography states that it took the Chinese general three days to reach "Mount T'an-chü," *i.e.*, the Darkot, but does not make it quite clear whether thereby the arrival at the north foot of the range or on its crest is meant. If the latter interpretation is assumed, with the more rapid advance it implies, it is easy to account for the time taken by a reference to the ground; for, although the Shawitakh-Baroghil saddle is crossed without any difficulty in the summer after the snow has melted, no military force accompanied by baggage animals could accomplish the march from Sarhad across the Darkot in less than three days, the total marching distance being about 30 miles. Even a four days' march to the crest, as implied in the first interpretation, would not be too large an allowance, considering the high elevations and the exceptional difficulties offered by the glacier ascent at the end.

The most striking evidence of the identity of "Mount T'an-chü" with the Darkot is supplied by the description given in the record of "the precipices for over 40 *li* in a straight line" which dismayed the Chinese soldiers on looking down from the heights of Mount T'an-chü; for the slope on the southern face of the Darkot is extremely steep, as I found on my ascent in 1913, and as all previous descriptions have duly emphasized. The track, mostly over moraines and bare rock, with a crossing of a much-crevassed glacier *en route*, descends close on 5,000 feet in a distance of little more than 5 miles before reaching, near a ruined "Darband," or Chiusa, the nearest practicable camping ground above the small village of Darkot.

(To be continued.)

EARLY HISTORY OF INDIAN FAMINES.*

BY P. N. RAMASWAMI, B.A.

(With an Additional Note by L. M. ANSTEY.)

(Continued from page 113.)

In his separate heading "Times of distress" (ch. VIII, s. 339 and foll.) Manu considers other rules and regulations applicable to such times. The Kshatriya King was justified in the interests of public safety "in taking without sin even the fourth part of the crops." The other law-givers also give their own "famine-Sutras," of which a brief account must suffice. According to Yajñavalkya, "when a man saves the life of a woman who has been abandoned in forests, or forsaken in time of famine, etc., he has a right to enjoy her as agreed upon during the rescue." And according to some other law-givers it was permissible for one who has been maintained during famine "to ransom himself from servitude by a pair of oxen." Famine in Hindu Law (*vide* Narada) is one of the recognised causes of slavery. Yajñavalkya also holds that a husband is not liable to make good the property of a wife taken by him during a famine. The authors of the *Smritichandrika*, the *Daya-Vibhaga*, as well as *Jimuta Vahana*, recognise that a woman's estate is subject to her husband's control in times of distress. Devala

* In the publication of these papers I have received very great help from my gifted and beloved master, Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar. The Nestor of South Indian Historians spared no pains to make these papers as comprehensive as possible. Several eminent scholars—especially Pandit Srinivasa Achariar and Fr. Steenkiste—have liberally helped me with facts, suggestions, etc. I thank them all. I also take this opportunity to thank the St. Joseph's College Library Staff for their kindly services during the preparation of these papers; and have much pleasure in thankfully acknowledging this unfailing courtesy, prompt and intelligent help.—P.N.R.

mentions a woman's gains as part of the separate property over which she has exclusive control, and which her husband cannot use except during famine. Katyayana lays down similar injunctions. As Mr. Mayne remarks, the Hindu law-givers unanimously agree that the husband may take his wife's property only in case of extreme distress, as in a famine, etc. (Mayne's *Hindu Law and Usage*, sec. 569 and foll., p. 632.)

Besides these important legal works, we also find ample references in the Twenty *Saṁhitas* translated and published by M. N. Dutt. The importance of irrigation as a famine preventive is well recognised. The *Vaśistha Saṁhita* lays down among the duties of the King (ch. xvii, *sloka* 8) : 'There shall be places for distributing water.' The Brahmans also encouraged irrigation by promising " heaven " to those who dug canals, etc. The *Vrihaspati Saṁhita* says (p. 429) : 'He who excavates a new tank or reclaims an old one, lives gloriously in the celestial region after rescuing his entire family, etc ' Similarly, the *Likhita Saṁhita* (ch. I) : 'By *purtta* (digging of tanks, wells, etc.) one attains to emancipation. He who re-excavates and restores dilapidated wells, tanks, and lakes, reaps the fruits of Purtta acts.' The *Śatatapa* and *Saṁvarta Saṁhitas* lay down similar injunctions. The *Vishnu Saṁhita* categorically declares (ch. xci) : " The half of the sin of a person, who has caused a well to be excavated, is extinguished just as water begins to well up from its bottom. (1) He who causes a tank to be excavated, goes to the region of Varuna and enjoys satisfaction each day, etc.' But, in spite of all the efforts of the priests for the extension of irrigational works to prevent droughts and famine, these latter seem to have often prevailed.

The *Dharmaśastras* contain indirect references to famines. The *Sankha Saṁhita* would forbid even in times of distress, the twice-born wedding a Śudra girl, inasmuch as a son begotten by him of her will never find his salvation. The *Parasara Saṁhita* says : In disease, pestilence or famine, etc., a Śudra should cause a Brahmana to observe a fast or perform ceremonies. The *Daksha Saṁhita* (p. 144, ch. III, s. 17-18) specifies certain articles which should not be given away even in times of famine. The *Atri Saṁhita* lays down the following minatory warnings : " The Kingdom where the ignorant partake of the food which should be taken by the learned, courts drought ; or a great calamity like pestilence or famine appears there. There the god of rain pours down showers (and there is no famine) where the king adores these,—the Brahmans learned in the Vedas and well versed in the scriptures."

Passing to the later period of the Age of Laws and Philosophy, we detect a similar state of affairs. We find numerous descriptions of famines in Sanskrit literature. But the best authority for this period is the Brahman minister Kautilya. In his *Arthaśastra*—(trans. R. Shama Sastri)—the contents of which are held by distinguished historians as describing the state of things *before* the establishment of the Maurya Empire—Kautilya enters into the following details of the measures to be taken for famine protection :—

" During famine," says Kautilya, " the king shall show favour to his people by providing them with seed and provisions. He may also do such works as are usually resorted to in calamities ; he may show favour by distributing either his own collection of provisions or the hoarded income of the rich among the people, or seek help from his friends among kings ;

" or the policy of thinning the rich by exacting excessive revenue (progressive taxation) or causing them to disgorge their accumulated capital (capital levy), may be resorted to ;

" or the king with his subjects may emigrate to another kingdom where there is an abundant harvest ;

" or he may remove himself with his subjects to the seashore or to the banks of rivers or lakes. He may cause his subjects to grow vegetables, grain, roots and fruits wherever water is available. He may, by hunting and fishing on a large scale, provide the people with wild beasts, birds, fish," etc. (*Arthaśastra*, bk. 4, ch. II).

Chanakya in his *Arthaśastra* mentions other remedial and relief measures : (*a*) remission of taxes, (*b*) construction of relief works to keep the people remuneratively employed, and (*c*) Famine Relief funds to which the wealthy were to be persuaded to handsomely subscribe by promises of titles and honours. Kautilya, however, relies mainly on two relief measures to mitigate the horrors of famine, *viz.*, the strict regulation of prices and the state distribution of corn among the famished people. The system of standardisation of prices is instructive :—" The Superintendent of commerce shall fix a profit of 5 per cent. over and above the fixed price of local commodities and ten per cent. on foreign produce. Merchants who enhance the price or realise profit even to the extent of half a *pana* (a small denomination) more than the above in the sale or purchase of commodities, shall be punished with a fine of, from 5 *panas* in case of realising 100 *panas* up to 200 *panas*.

" Fines for greater enhancement shall be proportionately increased.

" Merchants who conspire either to prevent the sale of merchandise or to sell or purchase commodities at higher prices shall be fined 1,000 *panas*."

And as the ancient kings of India were themselves the greatest traders in the land and in very close touch with the movements of the market, they were able strictly but justly to regulate prices.

Secondly, the distribution of foodstuffs was easy in those days when people paid most of the taxes in kind and the king had a network of treasuries all over the land stored with foodstuffs. The granaries were stored with the finest grains : " grains pure and fresh," enjoins Kautilya, " shall be received in full measures ; otherwise a fine twice the value of the grains shall be imposed."

Other interesting details are given in the *Arthaśastra* which should be briefly indicated. Says Kautilya (p. 261) : " There are eight kinds of providential visitations : they are fire, floods, pestilential diseases, *famine*, rats, tigers (*vyâlâh*), serpents and demons. From these shall the king protect his kingdom ; " and he adds, like a true Brahman : " success in averting these is to be sought by worshipping Gods and Brahmanas." During drought Indra (*Sachinatha*), the Ganges, mountains and Mahakachchha were to be worshipped. On p. 54, kings are advised not to take possession of any country which is harassed by frequent visitation of famines. Elsewhere he naïvely observes, " the destruction of crops is worse than the destruction of handfuls (of grains), since it is the labour that is destroyed thereby ; absence of rain is worse than too much rain " (p. 396). In chapter IV, Bk. VIII (p. 401), there is an interesting discussion between Kautilya and his master ; " Providential calamities are fire, floods, pestilence, famine. . . . (and the epidemic disease called *maraka*)."

" My teacher says that, of pestilence and famine, pestilence brings all kinds of business to a stop by causing obstruction to work on account of disease and death among men and owing to the flight of servants, whereas famine stops no work, but is productive of gold, cattle and taxes."

" No," says Kautilya, " pestilence devastates only a portion of the country and can be remedied ; whereas famine causes trouble to the whole of the country, and occasions dearth of sustenance to all living creatures." Kautilya (Ch. 14, Bk. 7, p. 374) recognises the importance of irrigation works : irrigational works (*setubhanda*) are the source of crops ; the results of a good shower of rain are ever attained in the case of crops below irrigational works " ; and says, " a King (Ch. I, Bk. 2, p. 53) shall also, in addition to his helping the ryots with grain, cattle, money, construct reservoirs filled with water, either permanent or from some other source ; or he may provide with sites, roads, timber and other necessary things those who construct reservoirs of their own accord ; and kings are warned not to be niggardly in

Public Works expenditure ; " for the king will have to suffer in the end if he curtails the amount of expenditure on profitable works." (Ch. VII, Bk. 2, p. 71.)

Judging from the elaborate famine codes drawn up at this time it would not be unsafe to make the assertion that famines not unfrequently prevailed in Mauryan India. There is a tradition which asserts that in 503 B.C. and 433 B.C.(?) during the reign of the Emperor Jayachandra, a great pestilence and famine raged throughout Northern India (Balfour, *Cyclopædia of India*, art. " famines "). It should, however, in all fairness be added that when famines did occur, adequate remedial and relief measures were promptly undertaken by the State. " It should be observed," says Mr. E. B. Havell (*History of Aryan Rule in British India*, p. 305), " that the regulation of prices and famine preventive measures had been a recognised branch of Hindu polity."

But the deficient means of rapid communication and transport, as well as the widely prevailing agricultural indebtedness must have greatly mitigated the beneficial effects of these ameliorative efforts. A measure of the widespread agricultural indebtedness at this time can be had from the elaborate code of usury laws drawn up. The rate of interest, according to Vaśistha, for loans for which security was given was 15 per cent. per annum. Other articles might be lent at a much higher rate of interest.[6] Similarly Gautama says that the rate of interest may vary from 15 to 800 per cent. ![7] He also mentions no less than six different forms of interest, *viz.*, compound interest, periodical interest, daily interest, stipulated interest, corporal interest, and the pawn interest. From these elaborate usury codes and other Sanskrit works we infer the great agricultural indebtedness at this time. This was fostered sometimes by the prevailing insecurity and maladministration ; but most often it was the direct outcome of the poverty of the people. Anyhow it engendered in the people that pessimism, passivity and lack of prospectiveness which rendered them nerveless in the struggle against famines ; and made the rigours of famine cruel and hard.

Buddhist India, B.C. 320—300 A.D.

In Buddhist India (B.C. 300—A.D. 300) it was no better. Famines resulting from drought were of frequent occurrence. We find numerous descriptions of famines in Pali and Sanskrit literature : " We find many references (especially in the Jataka tales) to times of great scarcity, and that too in the very districts adjacent to Patali Putra where Chandragupta held his magnificent court " (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 50). It is related in one of the Jataka Tales (*Jataka Tales*, Cowell and Rouse, vol. II, Tale No. 276, p. 252 and foll.) " that in the kingdom of Kalinga, in the reign of a king, also named Kalinga, the rain fell not and because of the drought there was famine in the land. The people thought that lack of food might produce a pestilence ; and there was fear of drought and fear of famine,—these three fears were ever present before them. The people wandered about destitute hither and thither leading their children by the hand. All the people in the kingdom gathered together and came to Santapura ; and there at the King's door made outcry.

"As the king stood by the window he heard the noise and asked the people why they were making all that noise.

" 'O Sire," was the reply, ' three fears have seized upon all your kingdom. There falls no rain, the crops fail, there is a famine. The people starved, destitute, are wandering about with their little ones by the hand ; make rain for us, O King ! ' "

[6] For further particulars, consult R. C. Dutt, *History of Ancient Civilisation in India*, vols. I and II.

[7] The interest on products of animals, on wool, on the product of a field and on beasts of burden shall increase more than five-fold the value of the object, etc.

" Said the King, ' What used former monarchs to do, if it would not rain ? '

" 'Former monarchs, O King ! if it would not rain, used to give alms, to keep the holy day, to make vows of virtue and to lie down seven days in their chamber on a grass pallet ; then the rain would fall ! ' " etc.

The *Jataka Tales* record another great famine in Kalinga. " Now at that time there was a drought in the kingdom of Kalinga ; the corn grew not, there was a great famine, and men being unable to live, took to robbery " (*Jataka*, book xxii, No. 547). Another *Jataka* Tale records a famine in Benares (Vol. v, Book xviii, Tale No. 526, p. 100) : "Once upon a time when Brahmadatta ruled in Benares, ... for the space of three years rain stopped from falling in the kingdom of Kaśi ; and the country became, as it were, scorched up, and when no crops ripened, the people under the stress of famine gathered themselves together in the palace-yard and reproached the King. Taking his stand at an open window, he asked what was the matter ? ' Your majesty,' they said, ' for three years no rain has fallen, and the whole kingdom is burnt up, and the people are suffering greatly ; cause rain to fall, sire,' " etc. Compare also the significant description of a king and his country : " O ! yes. In the kingdom all is well ; the countryside is at peace ; the animals all strong to work ; and *the rain clouds do not cease*." (*Jataka Tales*, Vol. VI, Bk. 22, Tale No. 547, p. 301.) In the reign of the great Emperor Chandragupta well-concerted precautionary measures were undertaken by the State to mitigate the horrors of famine. A magnificent system of canals with sluices was constructed and maintained under the strict supervision of departmental officers. The Greek writers make mention of this splendid irrigation system. Megasthenes remarks that imperial officers were wont to " measure lands as in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is distributed into the branch canals so that every one may enjoy his fair share of the benefit." (V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 133.) Arrian and Strabo notice it. Dion Chrysostom writes : " There are many channels to convey water from the rivers, some of them large, and others which are smaller and mingle with each other. These are made by the inhabitants as suits their pleasure ; and they (Indians) convey water in ducts with facility, just as you convey water for the irrigation of your garden " (M'Crindle, *Ancient India*, p. 175). These precautionary measures, however, were not crowned with complete success.

Famines of long duration and intensity occurred in Mauryan India. A tradition affirms—and there is nothing incredible in it—that a famine lasting twelve years devastated Northern India at the end of the reign of the Emperor Chandragupta. It is also said that a large body of people migrated at this time to Southern India (V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, Bk. II, ch. I, p. 75). Of Bindusara and his times we possess little or no information. Though no account of a famine or drought in Aśoka's reign has been handed down to us, we know something of that great Emperor's irrigational activities from the inscription of the Satrap Rudradaman engraved soon after the year A.D. 150 on the famous rock at Girnar in Kathiawar.

We have little or no information of the feeble successors of Aśoka. The Mauryan dynasty was replaced in or about 185 B.C. by the Sunga dynasty ; and till the rise of the Gupta power, we have no detailed record of the autonomous, anarchical condition of the people. Agricultural indebtedness prevailed widely. There is constant reference to promissory notes, and the Buddhist law books give the rate of interest for loans on security as about 18 per cent. per annum ; but the current rate of interest was much higher and ranged from 18 to 30 per cent. (*Cf.* Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 102). In 138 B.C. a drought which prevailed throughout the world, also visited India (Balfour, *Cyclopædia of India*, art. " droughts"). In the anarchical times that intervened between the dissolution of the Mauryan Empire and the rise of the Gupta power, droughts and famines must have been of frequent occurrence ; but this is merely a conjecture based upon insufficient data.

Gupta Period, A.D. 320–500.

In the Gupta period we have ample evidence of the condition of the people left by Chinese travellers. That prince of travellers, Fa-Hien, while recording the general prosperity of the kingdom, also testifies that several districts had retrograded in population and wealth. The causes of this decay were probably droughts and famines. The contemporaneous author of the *Sukraniti* is however more explicit. He is to the Gupta period what Kautilya is to the Maurya period.

The author of the *Sukraniti* recognises the great importance of seasonal rainfall. "Can the nourishment," he asks, "that is due to the water from the skies be derived from the water of the rivers, etc.?" (ch. V., sec. 1, p. 261); and wisely concludes, "Where the clouds do not pour rain in season, there the lands are not productive, the commonwealth deteriorates and enemies are increased and wealth is destroyed." (Ch. IV. sec. 1, p. 132.) The ravages of droughts were common; and the author speaks of "perpetual famines." He elsewhere gives a graphic description of the impoverished people: "Through abject poverty some people came under the subjugation of enemies, some courted death, some went to the villages, some to the hills, some fell into utter ruin and some became mad. And, owing to insufficiency of wealth, some came to be the subjects of others" (B. K. Sarkar, *Sukraniti*, p. 116). These famines must have been caused by drought; for Varahamihira, the great astronomer who lived at this time, mentions in his writings the theory of the connection between sunspots and droughts, and this knowledge must have been the result of personal observation.

Sukracharya relies mainly on two Famine Relief measures: (1) the extension of irrigation and (2) the storage of food-grains. After exhorting kings not to be niggardly in Public Works expenditure, he lays down the following rules for the proper storage of foodstuffs in the Royal granaries:

"Grains should be collected, sufficient to meet the wants of three years in proper seasons, by the King for his own good as well as for that of the commonwealth.

"The king should store up those grains that are well-developed, bright, the best of the species, dry, new, or have good colour, smell, and taste, the famous ones, durable and the dear ones,—not others.

"He should not preserve those that have been attacked by poisons, fire, or snows or eaten by worms and insects or those that have been hollowed out, but should use them for immediate consumption.

"And the king should carefully replace every year by new instalments the exact amounts of those consumed." (Ch. IV, sec. II, p. 141.)

Though the Gupta line did not become extinct until the early part of the eighth century, the history of the later Gupta kings is merged in obscurity; and we possess no information of famines during this period. "In 297 A.D. in Magadha a famine is said to have raged. This is however merely a legend" (Dutt, *History of India*, vol. II, p. 317). The political disorders which followed the decay of the Gupta dynasty were checked for a time by the strong arm of Harsha, who succeeded partially in bringing the whole of India "under one umbrella." The reign of Harsha seems to have been singularly free from great famines. Minor inflictions may have occurred, but are not recorded. In A.D. 640 Harsha died. At this time a severe famine caused by drought inflicted Aryavarta with the greatest hardships. (E. B. Havell, *History of Aryan Rule in India*, p. 249.) After the death of Harsha, India was broken up into a number of petty states, of whose history for centuries we have little or no knowledge.

(To be continued.)

REMARKS ON THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS AND THEIR COUNTRY.

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I.

Introduction.

IN 1919-20[1] yet another of the many Commissions, deputed by the Government of India to enquire into the Penal Settlement at Port Blair in the Andaman Islands, visited that place and reported thereon. The object of the Commission differed greatly from that of all its predecessors in that they were sent with a view to improving the administration of the Indian Penal System, while this one was political and was sent to see if the Penal Settlement should be retained or abolished, preferably the latter. The Commission duly found reasons for recommending that it should be abolished as soon as practicable, and assuming the Government of India to adopt that policy, it becomes important to give to the scientific world the information about the aborigines of the Islands contained in the official *Census Report* of 1901,[2] as it was a detailed summary of all that was known about them up to that date. This Report was written by myself after several years' experience as Head of the Administration of the Islands and a very long acquaintance with them. Naturally it provided much information not readily procurable elsewhere. Moreover, if the Penal Settlement is actually abolished, the incentive to maintain interest in the aborigines will disappear, and the old official reports on them will be lost to sight. This alone is a reason for preserving such portions of them as are of value to the ethnologist.

But there is a further reason. The *Census Report* in question has long been out of print, while its successors have not contained the same kind of ethnological information, and I have found that books, articles and papers, even by scholars and searchers of the highest authority, show that they have not heard of the *Report,* and have made or perpetuated errors in matters of detail, which it is a pity to let run on for ever without providing a means for checking them. I have therefore selected such portions of the *Report* as deal with Ethnology and kindred subjects for my present purpose. The linguistic portion has already been reproduced with amendments in the *Indian Antiquary.*[3]

Yet another reason for extending knowledge about the Andamanese is that they are a moribund race and the old characteristics of such as survive are fast becoming lost under contact with Europeans and civilised Asiatics. The diminution of the aboriginal population has gone on steadily with each succeeding generation, and even as I write I have news that there lately died at Port Blair the last of the Âkà-Bêas, the only tribe of which an extensive knowledge has ever been acquired, through the prolonged labours of Mr. E. H. Man.[4] I am

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1 *Report of the Indian Jails Committee,* 1919-20. London : 1921.

2 *Census of India,* 1901 : *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands—Report on the Census.*

3 *A Plan for a Uniform Scientific Record of the Languages of Savages, ante,* Vol. XXXVI, pp. 181 ff.

4 Mr. Man's works on the Andamans comprise the following :—*Notes on two maps of the Andaman Islands* (with R. C. Temple) : See *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,* 1880. *The Lord's Prayer in the South Andaman Language* (with R. C. Temple) ; Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1877. *The Arts of the Andamanese and Nicobarese,* with observations by Major-Genl. A. Lane Fox, F.R.S. (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* Vol. VII, 1878.) *On the Andaman and Nicobar objects presented to Major-Genl. A. Pitt-Rivers, F.R.S.* (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* Vol. XI, Feb. 1882.) *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* Vol. XII, 1883. (This was published in book form by Trubner & Co. for the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1884.)

informed also that the diminution in numbers is now very marked among the Önges, the latest of the tribes to become 'friendly.'

In addition to all this, there has lately been published a new book on the Andaman Islanders by Mr. A. R. Brown,[5] who spent about 18 months, largely in the North Andaman, between 1906 and 1908 as a professed anthropologist. In this book he often criticises the work of his predecessors, especially that of Mr. Man, and propounds what is to all intents and purposes a new theory of social anthropology. I am not in agreement with many of his statements as to facts, and it will be as well perhaps to commence the present disquisition by an examination of his book.

The plan I therefore propose to adopt for these remarks is to divide them into the following parts—(1) the Introduction; (2) a criticism of Mr. Brown's book generally; (3) a criticism of his system of writing the language; (4) an exposition of his new theory; (5) an amended statement of the contents of the *Census Report*, 1901; (6) a bibliography of the whole subject.

II.

Brown's Andaman Islanders: Observations.

(a) *Census of* 1901.

I have had reason to notice the first part of Mr. Brown's book (Observations) elsewhere,[6] but for the sake of clearness I will here restate the gist of what I have said and make certain additions thereto in support of my former criticisms.

Mr. Brown has exhibited two unfortunate habits in his work: (1) pitting his own observations against those of his predecessors and deciding in favour of his own without reference to relative opportunities for observing, and (2) appropriating without acknowledgment information collected by them, including the benefit he has clearly had from their labours and discoveries. And he has had the further misfortune (shall we call it ?) to adopt a system of reducing the language to writing by an unsuitable method in deliberate preference to a long established and well-known practice. The idiosyncrasies of Mr. Brown thus indicated are brought to the notice of the reader with sufficient clearness, and I do not suppose that anything I can write here will influence him, but nevertheless in the interests of the understanding of this remarkable people and of the lessons in anthropology to be drawn from a study of them, the criticisms that follow are necessary. I may as well, however, say at once that the illustrations in Mr. Brown's book are first rate, and that his theory in the second part of it is admirably developed, and so the book on the whole is good and well worth study: all the more reason for noticing what seems to be wrong in it.

Mr. Brown's trend of mind, as exhibited in this book, leads him to lay too much stress on his own powers of observation and too little on those of his predecessors. Indeed, he seems at times to go out of his way to disagree with their results, sometimes on quite minor points, even where they, like himself, have been students of experience, but, in some cases, with far better opportunities for observation. He is particularly unfair to Mr. Man from the very beginning. In his Introduction itself there is a statement which, considering his opportunities of ascertaining the facts, ought not to have crept in. He writes (p. 20):—"By far the most important of these [a number of writings] is a work by Mr. E. H. Man, who was for

[5] *The Andaman Islanders. A study in social anthropology.* (Anthony Wilkin studentship research, 1906) by A. R. Brown, M.A. Formerly Fellow of Trinity Coll., Cambridge.

[6] *Man, a Monthly Record of Anthropological Science.* Vol. XXII, pp. 121-127, Aug. 1922. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April 1923, pp. 288-292. *Nature*, July 1922, Vol. 110, pp. 106-108. *Geog. Journal*, Vol. LX, pp. 371-2, Nov. 1922.

some years an officer of the Penal Settlement of Port Blair, and for four years of that time was in charge of the Andamanese Home. Mr. Man made a special study of the language of the Âkà-Bêa tribe and compiled an extensive vocabulary, which, however, has never been published." But what are the facts, which could easily have become known to Mr. Brown by the date of his visit to the Andamans and the publication of his book? Mr. Man had retired before he arrived at the Andamans, after well over thirty years' continuous service there, during all of which he was in actual close touch with the Andamanese, even when he was not in technical charge of them. After his retirement he has continued his labours on his *Dictionary* to the present day, having begun them in 1874, nearly fifty years ago. I may add here, though Mr. Brown evidently did not know this when he wrote, that the *Dictionary* has been published in this *Journal* in the course of 1919—1922. These remarks on Mr. Brown's statement lead fairly to the observation that it is always unwise to belittle the work of predecessors. I emphasize this point because it bears on the relative authority of Mr. Man and of Mr. Brown in cases where their opinions are found to differ.

To go into particulars. Some geographical and orographical detailed statements are made in a general way in the beginning of Mr. Brown's Introduction in round figures, in the course of which there are remarks on the climate. These last are pretty clearly taken, and I suspect some of the others, too, from the *Census Report* of 1901. Any one reading the *Report* [7] will become aware of the labour with which such information was gathered and recorded, but there is no indication in Mr. Brown's Introduction as to the source of his statements. It may be that he has collated the *Report* with the work of other writers, and he might, if he had chosen, been much more accurate than he is in his statements. They are, however, merely introductory to his main story and therefore not of much consequence, except as exhibiting the trend of his method.

The length of time of the existence of the Andamanese in their present habitat is a question of some importance from the point of view of cultural anthropology, as their isolation therein through the ages and the reasons therefore are pretty well accepted. If the last point is agreed to, then we have, or at least had when Mr. Man first began to investigate the Andamanese, an unprogressive race representing the earliest known stage of culture without contact from outside that it is now possible to study. Therefore the question of the islands being once part of the Asiatic mainland is of great consequence, when we come to consider the points whether this remarkable people represent a race once occupying the South-East corner of Asia and what is now known as the Malay Archipelago, or whether they are emigrants from some part thereof. It will be readily seen that if it can be shown that the Andamanese were on their present site before it consisted of islands, and also that there are still traces of Negritos of their class in India, Burma and the Archipelago, an important point in anthropological history would be gained.

Mr. Brown seems inclined to admit the probability of the Andaman Islands being at one time joined to the Continent, and in this belief he is supported, to my mind, by the geological, biological and conchological evidence hitherto gathered about them. But he argues (p. 5) as if the connection between the islands and the continent had definitely ceased before the Andamanese had reached them. Against such an assumption can be set the apparent age of some of their kitchen-middens, some terms in their language, and the tradition of a cataclysm everywhere among the people, so far as any reliance can be placed on this last, and it seems to me that Mr. Brown has dismissed this argument

[7] *Census of India*, 1901: *Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, pp. 37-40.

on too little enquiry. Unfortunately, other recognised Negrito races of South-East Asia, *e.g.*, Semangs and Aëtas, have been much in contact with past or present inhabitants of their neighbourhood, but surely it is still too early to say of the Further-Indian (Indo-Chinese), Archipelagic, or even Indian jungles, that there are no other people of the Negrito type traceable therein—not even in customs, beliefs or language.

In Mr. Brown's general account of the history of the Islands I recognise much of the *Census Report*, and *en passant* I would note that Mr. Brown does not seem to know of the existence of those two great editions of Marco Polo that go under the revered names of Henry Yule and Henri Cordier.

Inter alia Mr. Brown remarks in effect that the Andamanese are divided into groups of one race, and their speech into languages of one family, though he observes that these last are mutually unintelligible. What he does not state is that these facts were elicited at great labour extended over a long period by Mr. E. H. Man and the writer of these notes, and in the course of his remarks on this point he makes a statement to which I must revert for a space, as it is so typical of his method when dealing with the work of other people.

He says (p. 12) that "the natives of the Little Andaman refer to themselves as Önge (men). It is probable that the so-called Jarawa of the South Andaman have the same word. In a vocabulary obtained by Colebrooke in 1790 from a Jarawa near Port Blair, the word Mincopie is given as meaning a native of the Andaman Islands." It is not unfair to Mr. Brown to say that a stranger, say a student of anthropology in his own University (Cambridge), on reading this passage, would have no idea as to where he obtained the information on which he has based the statement just quoted. I will now quote from my own Grammar of the Andamanese Language in the *Census Report*, 1901.[8] At p. 116 of the *Report* I discuss the question of proofs of the existence of Northern and Southern Groups in the Language, and then pass on (p. 117) to an examination of an Outer Group (Önge-Jarawa). "In turning to the Önge-Jarawa Group, one finds that the hostility of the Jarawas, and the only recent friendliness of the Önges combined with the inaccessibility of the island they inhabit, have caused the knowledge of their language to be but slight. However, we have the careful *Vocabulary* of Colebrooke made in 1790 and those made by Portman just a century later. An examination of these affords sufficient results for the present purpose: *viz.*, proof of the fundamental identity of the language of these people with that of the rest of the Andaman Tribes, and what is, perhaps, quite as interesting, proof that Colebrooke's informant really was a Jarawa. A comparison of such of Portman's words as can be compared with Colebrooke's, when shown with roots and affixes separated and reduced to one system of transcription, produces the following results[9]; noting that in their actual lists, both enquirers fell into the natural error of taking the prefixed inflected 'personal pronouns' to be essential parts of the words to which they were attached."

I next proceed in the same place to pull to pieces, so as to show roots, 67 words given by both Colebrooke (1790) and Portman (1892), and approximately 9 other words from Colebrooke and 28 from Portman.[10] In Appendix B of this part of the *Census Report*

[8] Reprinted in this *Journal* with amendments: vol. XXXVI, pp. 217 ff.

[9] Not reprinted here in detail.

[10] Portman is unfortunately always difficult to follow in his linguistic statements as they are so uncertain. His vocabularies are apt to differ frequently from the statements in his lists of sentences, and where his vocabularies can be compared they are inconstant: but at p. 731, vol. II, of his *History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, he gives a comparative list of Jarawa and Önge words from his own observations.

I further discuss a list of about 250 Önge words. Next I go into roots and affixes in detail to show (p. 120) how the words reported by Colebrooke are actually made up. Lastly, as a result of this method, I am able to make the following remarks (p. 120): "Colebrooke showed all sorts of impossible things to his Jarawa to name, and one interesting result is the following :—

English.	*Jarawa.*	*Önge.*
Cotton cloth. Paper.	Pa—nge—be.	Be—nge—be.
	Flat—become—is.	Flat—become—is.

Of course, no Jarawa had ever seen before anything approaching to either object, and this man's one expression for both means 'it is (has been) flattened,' which is what the savage meant to convey when asked anything so impossible as to name them."

I then proceed to my concluding remarks on the Önge-Jarawa language (pp. 120-121): "We are now in a position to solve a great puzzle of ethnographists for a century and more : why were the Andamanese called Mincopie by Europeans ? What word does this transcription represent ? It can now be split up thus—

M-o—nge—be.
I-man-kind-am.
(I am an Önge.)

"Or, as the Jarawas perhaps pronounce the expression 'M-inggo-be' or even 'M-injo-be,' I am an Inggo (Injo). The name given by the Önges to themselves is a 'verbal noun' *ö-nge*, man-being. So that when questioned as to himself by Colebrooke, this Jarawa replied 'M'inggobe,' or something like it, which compound expression by mistranscription and misapprehension has become the well-known Mincopie of the general ethnological books in many languages for an Andamanese. The Önges call their own home, the Little Andaman, Gwabe-l'Önge. Jarawa is a modern Bêa term, possibly radically identical with Yerewa, the Bêa name for the Northern Group of Tribes.

"It is just possible that Colebrooke's Jarawa misunderstood what was wanted altogether and simply said, 'I am (will be, would be) drinking : *m-inggo-be*, I-drink-do.'

"I have now to record a great disappointment. The proof that the method herein adopted for recovering the Jarawa language was correct lay in the fact that the word *i-nge* for 'water' was ascertained from a little Jarawa boy captured in February, 1902, and the identical word was quite independently unearthed from Colebrooke's and Portman's Vocabularies as Önge-Jarawa for 'water.' The only other word clearly ascertained from the boy, *wâlu-ng* for 'pig' has not been gathered independently as yet. This little boy was the last of the prisoners left, who were captured on that occasion, as the women and small children and girls were all returned and only two boys kept back for a while in order to get their language, etc., from them. Of these, the elder died of fever and on the very day that their language was fairly recovered, and we were in a position to set to work to learn quickly from him, the younger died very suddenly, without warning illness, of pneumonia."

Although it is 20 years ago since these remarks were made, I well recollect the sense of satisfaction at being able, from a long general acquaintance with Andamanese in all its aspects, to explain the first rough tentative record of the language, especially as it had been made by so great an Orientalist as Henry Thomas Colebrooke, and to settle, as far as that is now possible, an old "scientific" term for an Andaman Islander. I therefore make no apology for the length of the note on this point, as it brings so interesting a discovery once more to notice.

I have even a further note to make here. It will have been observed in the quotation given above that Mr. Brown talks of the "so-called Jarawa," and says that it is the "official" name for the tribe though "probably they call themselves Önge," the name Jarawa being derived from the Âkà-Bêa term for them, as if Jarawa was a wrong term to use. But why should it be ? The Bêa or Âkà-Bêa Tribe was that living in and around the Penal Settlement at Port Blair when the British Officials arrived, and its terms were naturally those adopted by them. Is it wrong for an Englishman to talk of "the French," or for a Frenchman of "Les Anglais" ? Or for an Italian of "Inghilterra" ? Or again is it wrong to speak of "Deutschland" as Germany or L'Allemagne ? And what about using such terms as Burman, Talaing, Siamese, Tibetan and so on for people who do not know themselves by names even approaching these forms ? For that matter, what about "Andaman" itself ? It is worth while noting this point, because European scholarship got the Andamanese tribal names from Mr. Man, who adopted them from the tribe he worked with—the Âkà-Bêa. Europeans thus had a uniform set of names not identified with any English reporter. Then Mr. Portman came along and took to calling some of them by their names for themselves as he heard them, so that the searcher had two sets of names before him, Man's Âkà-Bêa names and the set according to Portman. Mr. Brown has followed Portman's plan and created yet a third set —a set according to Brown. He thus extended the confusion created by Portman, which does not work for improvement. It may be said that I myself created a fourth set in the *Census Report*, but what I did was to leave out the grammatical affixes to the names and so shortened them for the English student.

To turn to another subject. On p. 15 Mr. Brown says :—"It is not possible to give accurately the area occupied by each tribe, as the boundaries are difficult to discover." That is no doubt true at the present day, as the tribes are all mixed up together, as were the Hottentots before they disappeared, just as the Andamanese are disappearing. But it was not wholly true 50 years ago when Mr. Man began to work. The area of occupation by various tribes has altered from time to time to my personal knowledge. In fact, political geography was always changing in the Andamans, as elsewhere, according to variation in local tribal supremacy. *E.g.*, Colebrooke found Jarawas at Port Blair in 1790, whereas Dr. Mouat and his successors found Âkà-Bêas there in 1858. The Jarawa area of occupation has since varied greatly in my own experience. Mr. Brown shows here and throughout his observations a tendency to give the impression that his observations in 1906—1908, when the tribes had become all mixed up and were in close friendly contact (except the Önges and Jarawas), were true of the Andamanese Tribes, when they were still separated and largely mutually hostile. His remarks must therefore always be read with caution.

On one point, estimate of population, Mr. Brown differs from all who preceded him. The Census of 1901 was a first attempt it is true, but it was very carefully performed by officers of long experience, including Mr. Man himself, on a definite detailed plan, which is explained at full length in the *Report*. It involved visits to every available part of the Islands, so thorough that they in turn involved brushes with the Jarawas. Every effort practicable was made to arrive at approximate accuracy, and an estimate was added of the population in pre-contact days on data that were also fully explained. The meaning of all this is that the Census estimates were made, on openly described data, both for the present (1901) and the former population. Mr. Brown thinks them wrong on very much smaller opportunity for judging, and owing to my experience, his strictures on the Jarawa estimate do not impress

me at any rate. Here we have again a characteristic of this book, a tendency to criticise on insufficient data, so that on points of observation it supplies evidence only. It does not supersede the work of former observers.

(*To be continued.*)

A CHRISTIAN DYNASTY IN MALABAR

(*Being an Enquiry into Local Christian Tradition*).

BY T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

The Muhammadan royal house of the Ali Rajas of Canannore is fairly well known. Not so the Christian dynasty of Villiyâṛvaṭṭam near Cochin, which became extinct sometime before the advent of the Portuguese to the Malabar Coast. Reliable evidence for its existence has not yet been forthcoming.

Malabar Christian tradition has it that this line of kings dates from the time of the famous merchant Thomas of Cana who colonized Cranganore [Koḍungallûr, Kotunnallûr] along with a large number of Christians from Baghdad, Nineveh and Jerusalem in 345 A.D. But there is absolutely no historical evidence to support this. When in 1502 Vasco da Gama came to Cochin for the second time, some Syrian Christians from Cranganore presented him with a sceptre which, they said, once belonged to their ancient Christian sovereigns.

The Kêraḷa Paḷama, a history of the Portuguese in Malabar, written in Malayalam after 1662, refers to this incident in these words :—" The Syrian Christians came from Cranganore with fowls and fruits and presenting them said, ' we are all very glad of your coming. In olden times there was in this land a king in our own community. Here we give you the sceptre and the writ of kingship granted to him by the ancient Perumâḷs. We, about 30,000 of us, are all of one accord. Henceforth let the King of Portugal hold sway over us.' . . . The sceptre was red in colour and had two silver rings with three silver bells on one of them."

" These St. Thomas' Christians then," says Adriaan Moens, Dutch Governor, in his *Memorandum on the Administration of Malabar* (1781), " being favoured with privileges, increased, it is said, in influence, power and number among the nations of the country, became bold through these advantages and desired, just as the Israelites of old, a king over them and did in fact appoint one, by name Balearte [Villiyâṛvaṭṭam], and gave him the title of king of the St. Thomas' Christians. His descendants are also said to have succeeded him on the throne until at last one came to die without offspring. In his place was elected with the common consent of the people a king, who was at the same time king of Diamper or Odiamper [Udayamperur], which is distant 3 (Dutch) miles from Cochin to the south in the present territory of the king of Travancore. . . .When the kings of this dynasty also had died out altogether, the kings of Cochin are supposed to have got possession of that kingdom." *Vide* Galletti's *Dutch in Malabar*, p. 174. (Madras, 1911.)

Moens gives also the subsequent fate of this kingdom of Villiyârvaṭṭam (Balearte). " The little old kingdom of Valliavattam also belongs to him [*i.e.*, to Pâliyat Achchan, hereditary prime minister of the king of Cochin]. It is an island, a little to the north from here (Cochin) near the southern extremity of Paru (Parûr). He got this in ancient times from the king of Cochin, who had inherited it from a Nair chief." *Ibid*, p. 120.

J. V. Stein van Gollenesse also says to the same effect in his *Memorandum* of 1743: " He [Pâliyat Achchan] possesses also a right to the old state of Villiar Vaṭṭatta ; this however is merely nominal." We have it on the authority of the author of the *Cochin State Manual* that the royal family of Villiyârvaṭṭam " became extinct about 1600 A.D., and it is stated

that the title with only a small portion of the estate passed to Pâliyat Achan." *Ibid*, p. 62, and note 1. Mr. Logan in his *Malabar Manual* says that this Villiyârvaṭṭam is "the Beliartes of the Portuguese, the Koḍungallûr (Cranganore) dynasty." *Vide* Logan's *Malabar Manual*, Vol. II, Collection of Deeds, No. 7, note 5.

We have hitherto been in the domain of mere tradition and non-contemporary documents, the reliability of which can be called in question. Contemporary evidence for the existence of this Christian dynasty is, however, afforded by some writers of the 15th century. In 1439 Pope Eugene IV sent envoys to the Christian king of Malabar with a letter which commenced as follows :—"To my most beloved son in Christ, Thomas, the Illustrious Emperor of the Indians, Health and the Apostolic Benediction :—There often has reached us a constant rumour that Your Serenity and also all who are the subjects of your Kingdom are true Christians." This letter is given at page 60 of Wadding's *Annales Minorum*. Vide *Travancore Manual*, Vol. II, p. 147. (Ed. 1906.)

It may be this same King Thomas that Poggio Bracciolini, Secretary to the above mentioned pontiff, refers to in his *Historia De Varietate Fortunæ*, Lib. IV, written in 1438 or a little later. Says he, "while preparing to insert in this work, for the information of my readers, the various accounts respecting the Indians related to me by Nicolò, ...there arrived another person from Upper India, towards the north. . . . .He says that there is a kingdom twenty days ' journey from Cathay, of which the king and all the inhabitants are Christians, but heretics, being said to be Nestorians." Vide *India in the 15th Century*, Nicolò Conti, p. 33 (Hakluyt, 1857).

The meaning of the term Upper India can be gathered from an account of the journey of Hieronimo Di Santo Stefano, a Genoese merchant who visited Calicut on a mercantile speculation at the close of the century with which we are dealing. "In this city" (of Calicut) says Santo Stefano, "there are many a thousand houses inhabited by Christians, and the district is called Upper India." *Ibid*, Santo Stefano, p. 5.

Far better than all these, there is in the present writer's possession a tracing of an unpublished Malayalam inscription[1] in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters, found at Diamper already mentioned in the passage quoted from Moens' *Memorandum*, paragraph 4 above. It runs as follows :—Râjâ Thômma of Villârvaṭṭam, who resided at Chênnamangalam, died 2-1-1450." This Chênnamangalam was in those days and is even now the seat of the family of Pâliyat Achchan. to whom the Christian Kingdom is said to have passed.

In 1330 Pope John XXII sent Bishop Jordanus to Quilon with a letter which began as follows :—"Nobili viro domino Nascarinorum et universis sub eo Christianis Nascarinis de Columbo. . . ." The chief of the Nazarene Christians here referred to *may* have been a predecessor of the above King Thomas.

The earliest contemporary reference to this dynasty is, as far as the present writer's information goes, in a copper plate sale-deed of 1290, which is stated in the document to have been executed in the presence of a king of the Villiyârvaṭṭam dynasty. The record gives no clue as to whether the king was Hindu or Christian at that time.

In the chronicles of the Tṛippûṇittura archives of the Maharaja of Cochin it is recorded that the youngest branch of that royal family "adopted the Villiyârvaṭṭam dynasty. . . and sheltered the Portuguese in Cochin." It can be inferred from the context that the adoption was due to the absence of heirs in that dynasty and really meant an annexation or absorption of territory. For, in the same record, just one sentence before, we find that "the Mâṭattinkîḻ dynasty was adopted into the youngest branch because *the former* became extinct and thus the branch prospered more and more" on account of the vast territory

[1] Since sending this article to the Editor it has been ascertained by careful scrutiny and after a thorough discussion in the Malayalam papers, that this inscription is spurious—T. K. J.

and powerful relatives possessed by that dynasty. Very probably it is this adoption that is referred to in the last sentence of our first passage taken from Moens' *Memorandum* above cited. The year "about 1600 A.D." above quoted as the time of the extinction of this dynasty appears to be nothing more than a very rough approximation.

Postscript by the Editor.

The above remarks have an important bearing on the traditions regarding the Apostle St. Thomas in India, because one of the clearly outstanding facts in the Malabar tradition about the beginnings of Christianity in that country is that crosses were set up for worship in every one of the seven places where churches were founded by the Apostle St. Thomas. It is known, however, that the practice of setting up crosses in churches did not come into vogue in the first century of the Christian era. The inference from this circumstance would therefore be that Christianity in Malabar does not date from the first century A.D. and that it was not St. Thomas who brought the religion into that country.

THE HISTORY OF THE NIẒÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AḤMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR WOLSELEY HAIG, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E

(*Continued from page* 39.)

CI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE CHARACTER OF MURTAẒA NIẒÂM SHÂH.

Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh excelled all his predecessors in justice, valour, and generosity, the three best characteristics that a king can possess. He was so just that in his reign the whole face of the country was swept clean of tyranny and oppression, that no ruthless hand was laid on the collar of any poor wretch, and the turbulent and violent could not even see the form of injustice in the mirror of their imagination. His generosity was so great that when he found that his treasury was exhausted by his gifts to the poor and worthy, he went into retirement, and shortly after the beginning of his reign he completely emptied the treasury. While Sayyid Shâh Jamâl-ud-din Ḥusain was *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* he reported to the king that the whole of the cash in the treasury had been exhausted by his munificent gifts and that the turn of the vessels and valuable utensils had now come, and the servants had begun to break them up and distribute the pieces. He, therefore, advised the king that moderation in alms-giving would tend to the good of the country. The king told him to dissuade the poor, if he could, from representing their needs before the throne, for that he could not find it to be in consonance with the principles of generosity to repulse beggars.

One day the topic of the conversation at court was the lofty spirit of kings, and one of the courtiers praised the lofty spirit of the king Ismâ'il Ḥaidar Ṣafavî, as an instance of which he related the following story: One day a *qalandar* chanced to come before the king in Iṣfahân, the capital of 'Irâq, and the king promised to fulfil all that he asked. The *qalandar*, emboldened by the king's great bounty, begged three days' kingship of the king. Although this was a request that few would have preferred, the king's word had been passed, and the *qalandar* was permitted, for the space of three days, to reign over all the realm of Persia and its subjects. Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh then said "If he took back the kingdom from him again he acted ignobly, for to take back what had once been given is not the part of a generous man."

They say also that one day when the king was out riding an Arab stopped him and begged of him. He had a piece of cotton cloth tied to a stick and was begging in his own tongue. The king asked what he wanted, and the grasping Arab said "I have come from my own country to this land on hearing the report of your generosity and I wish to fill the purse of my avarice and cupidity from the river of your majesty's generosity." The king asked wherewith, and the Arab said in a low voice "With all necessaries." The king ordered the officers of the treasury to comply with all the Arab's demands and then send an officer with him to his most convenient seaport to put him on board a ship for his own country. Indeed the king was so bountiful that many described his bounty as wastefulness.

Although many wise men and philosophers have pronounced Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh to be a madman and have attributed his actions to insanity, yet all his other actions and words, and especially the theological and philosophical questions which he asked of the learned men of the court, some of which have been recorded, are evidences of his understanding acumen, sanity, and well ordered mind. One of the king's immediate attendants, who was well acquainted with his condition and affairs, has related that in the latter days of life, when he was afflicted with sickness, he repeatedly wrote to the great officers of state ordering them to see that there was no delay in the execution of orders issued by him in the first half of the month, but to hold over any orders issued by him in the second half of the month, as he was not then himself,—but God knows the truth of the matter.[296]

CII.—An Account of the Prince's Accession to the Throne of his Father and Grandfather.

When the *amîrs* and officers of state had finished the obsequies of the late king they enthroned the prince Mîrân Ḥusain and admitted all, both small and great, to the hall wherein he was enthroned, and caused favours and rewards to be bestowed on both gentle and simple.

On the third day after the death of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, when Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh had gone to his tent with the *amîrs*, *vazîrs*, and officers of the army for the *khatm*, spies brought news of the approach of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh and his army, which was then encamped at Pâtorî. On hearing this news Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh, taking every precaution, marched towards the 'Âdil Shâhî camp, and leaving Aḥmadnagar behind him, halted near the Faraḥ-bakhsh garden to distribute arms to his army and to prepare it for battle.[297]

296 Few will agree with the fulsome Sayyid 'Alî that Murtaẓâ's deeds and words were evidence of his understanding, acumen, sanity, and well ordered mind. They were those of a lunatic, but a parasite belauds from policy the profusion of a maniac.

297 Firishta's account of these events is far more probable. Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II was, in fact, marching on Ahmadnagar to assist in deposing Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh II and raising Husain II to the throne. When he reached Pâthardî he heard that Husain had imprisoned his father and ascended the throne. Ibrâhîm sent him his congratulations and proposed to visit him and his wife Khadîjah Sultân, who was Ibrâhîm's sister. Before an answer to this message could be received news arrived that Husain had put his father to death. Ibrâhîm wrote him a bitterly reproachful letter, saying that he had come with the intention of raising him to the throne and in the belief that he would content himself with sending his father to some port where he could spend the rest of his life in religious retirement. If this were not sufficient he himself would have undertaken to keep Murtaẓâ in safe custody, or might even have blinded him; but now that Husain had murdered his father he had no desire to see him and would have nothing to do with him. He threatened him with the divine vengeance and prophesied that he would not reign for long, and having dispatched this letter returned to his own country. F. ii, 114, 115.

When Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh heard that Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh had distributed arms to his army and was marching to meet him he repented of his enterprise and sent a message to Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh saying that as that day was the *khatm* of the late king he had come with all his army to celebrate it at the mosque of Jaichand's village, but that as he had heard that Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh took his coming ill, and had assembled his army and distributed arms to them, he was starting at once on his return journey to his own country. He marched in such haste that he allowed nothing to stop him until he reached Bîjâpûr. When the army crossed the Beora, that river was in spate and many elephants and horses, and much property, baggage and camp equipage were swept away.

After Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh had retired without venturing to meet him, Ḥusain Niẓâm, Shâh seated himself on the throne with full power, and proceeded to devote his time to enjoyment. He confirmed Mîrzâ Khân in the office of *vakîl*, and also conferred on him the office of *imârat hînî*, or commander-in-chief, which was formerly held by Saif Khân, one of Mîrzâ Khân's friends, and thus added very largely to his power and influence. It had been foretold that the prince Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh would not enjoy his power for long, and he had no taste for the cares and duties of kingship and no ambition for the conquest of kingdoms, and therefore left all public business in the hands of Mîrzâ Khân while he abandoned himself to the circulation of the wine cup, the enjoyment of music and sensual pleasures ; indulging in his morning cup and drinking all day long. The kingdom of the Dakan had fallen into his hands without difficulty and without his being called upon to endure any hardship, and he therefore failed to appreciate its value, and contented himself with lewdness and wantonness.

Ismâ'il Khân, when he was vainly endeavouring to raise a party for Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, had summoned all the Foreigners. Mîrzâ Khân now sent Ṣalâbat Khân back into confinement[298] and made Muẓaffar Khân Mâzandarânî commandant of the fortress in which he was confined, and also expelled Ḥabîb Khân from the city and sent him to the seaport.

Most of the Dakanî and African *amîrs*, however, became suspicious of Mîrzâ Khân, owing to his dismissal of Saif Khân, in spite of his former great friendship with him, and conspired to compass his downfall. By means of the female servants of the *ḥaram* they reported to the king that Mîrzâ Khân meditated rebellion, and had privily brought Mîrân Shâh Qâsim from the fortress of Sinnâr and kept him concealed in his house with a treasonable motive.[299] Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh, in spite of his youth, was not misled by the words of these sowers of strife, and kept the engagement into which he had entered with Mîrzâ Khân, but set men to watch him, set himself to inquire into the reports which had been made to him, and sent a swift messenger to the fortress of Sinnâr to inquire regarding Mîrân Shâh Qâsim. When Mîrzâ Khân became aware of the machinations of his enemies, he set himself to establish his innocence and, having approached the king through Yâqût Khân, son of the old Farhâd Khân, who was now in the king's service, he complained that his enemies had slandered him to the king and that their lies had some effect on the king's mind, but that as God was his witness, he was free of all blame.[300]

[298] Ṣalâbat Khân was now sent to the fortress of Kherla, in Berar, situated in 21° 56′ N. and 78° 1′ E.

[299] Qâsim was a younger brother of Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh I and uncle of Husain II. He had been imprisoned in the fortress of Sinnâr, in 19° 50′ N. and 74° E. F. ii, 289.

[300] According to Firishta Husain II imprisoned Mirzâ Khân on suspicion, but released him and restored him to favour on being convinced of his innocence. The fate of the prince, Mîrân Qâsim, is not mentioned by Sayyid 'Alî. Firishta says that Mirzâ khân, in order to remove, once for all, any ground for the suspicion that he wished to raise him to the throne, proposed to Husain II that he should be put to death. The king assented and Qâsim and his sons, and apparently some of his brothers, whose names have not been recorded, were murdered at Sinnâr.

Husain Niẓâm Shâh, in his good nature and trustfulness, reassured Mîrzâ Khân and promised to bestow further favours on him, and when the person who had been sent to make inquiries about Mîrân Shâh Qâsim returned and reported that what Mîrzâ Khân's detractors had said was a lie, he summoned Mîrzâ Khân and bestowed upon him fresh honours and favours. But Mîrzâ Khân, in order to remove the reproach that had been cast on him and to silence his slanderers, asked to be allowed to resign the office of *vakîl* and *pîshvá* and recommended that the duties of the post should be entrusted to a commission consisting of Qâsim Beg, the physician, Sayyid Mîr Sharîf Jîlânî, and Sayyid Muḥammad Samnânî, and that they should dispose of all civil and revenue matters, in order that he might be delivered from the wiles of his enemies and serve the king with a peaceful mind. Mîrzâ Khân's proposal was approved by the king and the three persons mentioned were summoned and appointed to perform the duties of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*, being invested with robes of honour on the occasion. Although these three persons were, by the royal command, appointed to perform the duties of the office of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ*, yet they did not take up any matter without Mîrzâ Khân's consent, and they had not sufficient power or independence to concern themselves in any matter without first consulting him.

Mîrzâ Khân employed himself in acquiring popularity among all classes and distributed the king's bounty and favours to all, both gentle and simple, in accordance with their ranks and degrees. Thus he promoted Mîr Sayyid Murtaẓâ, the son of Mîr Shîrvânî, who had long been intimate with him, to the rank of *amîr*, or rather of *amîr-ul-umarâ*, and bestowed on him in *jâgîr* the province of Bîr, which is the most fertile and populous of all the provinces of the Dakan. He raised Mîrzâ Muḥammad Ṣâliḥ, entitled Khânkhânân, above his fellows, by promoting him to the rank of an *amîr*, and by giving to him the appointment of *Sar-i-sar-i-naubat* of the right wing. He also released Jamshîd Khân, who had been imprisoned since the defeat of Sayyid Murtaẓâ Sabzavârî and made him one of the chief *amîrs*. Sayyid Ḥasan, the writer's brother, received the appointment of *Sar-i-naubat*. He conferred on Farhâd Khân the African, who had been imprisoned and again released, the same rank and the same districts as he had before. He raised Bahâdur Khân Gîlânî also to the rank of *amîr*, and made Amîn-ul-Mulk, who had long held that rank and office under Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, a *vazîr*.

Mîrzâ Khân thus administered the affairs of the kingdom unexceptionally and shewed great generosity to all. The king also having regard to the friendships of early days, promoted some of his immediate and favourite courtiers, such as Akbar Khân and Yâqût Khân, who were well known as the king's most intimate associates, to the rank of *amîr*, and thus raised them from the lowest to the highest rank. The king passed all his time in the pursuit of pleasure in company with these men, indulging in the satisfaction of his youthful passions and in drinking from morning to evening and from evening to morning. He would spend the nights in the bazars in company with the lowest, and in his presence nobody was more honoured than this vile gang.

Thus Mîrzâ Khân and all the rest of the Foreigners, through envying Ankas Khân's and 'Ambar Khân's access to the king, stirred them up to act against this gang, and the gang,[301] owing to the deeply implanted hatred which existed between them and the Foreigners, were ever plotting to bring about their downfall, and slandering them to the king, and the quarrel between these two factions led to such ill results that it may be said to have ruined a world, brought a whole people to execution or slaughter, and plunged a world into grief, distraction, and destruction, as will be seen.

(*To be continued.*)

301 The gang consisted of the young king's low companions from the bazars, who were Dakanîs.

BOOK NOTICES.

A GUIDE TO NIZAMU'DDIN (Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 10), by MAULVI ZAFAR HASAN, B.A. XI Plates. Calcutta Government Press, 1922.

This valuable monograph has several points for recommendation. It is based partly on very rare authorities: it deals with one of the most interesting groups of Muhammadan sepulchral monuments in India: it is carefully prepared, and it is beautifully illustrated.

Every visitor to Delhi, indeed every globe-trotter in India, goes or is taken to view the village of Nizâmu'ddin (Soldier of the Faith), especially the romantic and very beautiful grave, rather than tomb, of Jahânârâ, the devoted poetess daughter of Shâhjahân, and to see men and boys take the big dive of 60 feet into the *bâoli* or well there, off the roof of the Chinî-kâ-Burj.

The village takes its name from the most popular of the mediæval saints known to fame all over India as Nizâmu'ddîn Auliâ, round whose tomb and shrine Mughal Royalties, notables and wealthy personages have been buried, in Muhammadan fashion, century after century. Consequently some of the buildings erected are amongst the best of their kind, and in true Indian style have been neglected, and also restored and enlarged and cared for, right up to the present day, by kings, princes and notables. So that one has here collected together neglected ruins, often occupied by very poor people and so destroyed as far as possible, and also graves, tombs and buildings fully preserved. It is good to learn that the Imperial Government has the whole place in hand.

Such a place is an epitome of many phases of Indian Muhammadan history, and is alive with the varied associations of centuries in every corner of it. Famous men and women, and events of the most interesting and incongruous character are here recalled everywhere, and one can hardly imagine a place more worth explaining to the visitor, and I may add more difficult to explain to the non-expert in a manner that will not bore him. This monograph is an excellent attempt.

The surroundings are thoroughly Indian and are filled with the families of a poverty-stricken and not very desirable class of people (*pîrzâdas*, children of the saint), who derive an unworthy livelihood out of the memory of by-gone worthies of special sanctity or social standing, with whom they have or claim a family connection. It will take time, tact and money to remove them to a more useful sphere, but for the sake of themselves and the historical associations of the renewed capital of the Indian Empire it will be worth doing.

Many and many a great name, event, legend and story comes to mind on going over the ground and learning who they were that have here found their last resting place. It is literally studied with memories.

Khwâja Mu'ayyinu'ddin (Mu'inu'ddin) Chishti [1] of Ajmer, buried there in a similar enclosure and equally well worth a monograph, was the founder of the famous Chishtiya Order of Saints about 1200 A.D. and was succeeded by Qutb Shâh of Mehrauli, who passed on the insignia of saintship to Shêkh Farîd of Pâkpatan, the preceptor of Nizâmu'ddîn Auliâ of Budâûn and later of Delhi. In the above list alone we have a galaxy of holy men, round whom endless legend has collected. But in addition, the Sayyid ancestors of Nizâmu'ddin himself, Sayyid 'Ali al-Bukhârî and Sayyid Khwâja Arab, both of Budâûn, respectively the paternal and maternal grandfathers of Nizâmu'ddîn, are great heroes of legend on their own account.

Nizâmu'ddîn was born at Budâûn in 1238 A.D. and went to Delhi in 1254 to study under Khwâja Shamsu'ddin (afterwards Shamsu'l-Mulk), *wazir* (minister) of Ghiyâsu'ddin Balban, the "Slave King." Here he secured the friendship of Shêkh Najibu'ddin Mutawakkil, brother of the great Shêkh Farîd, and under his influence became the latter's disciple in 1257, and then in 1265 his successor in the saintship, settled near Delhi. Here his life was mixed up with the Khilji Dynasty of Delhi and great by-gone names of that line come before us,—'Alau'ddin, Mu'izzu'ddin, Jalâlu'ddin, Qutbu'ddin—, together with changes in the capital round about, Delhi,—Ghiyâspur, Nizâmpur, Kilûkhri—and later, Tughlaqâbâd, Shâhjahânâbâd. With some of the rulers he was in high favour, but others were inclined to distrust him, and there are numerous aggrandising stories of the usual more or less miraculous kind as to the assistance or the reverse given them by him. Old tales of the day are forcibly brought to mind in these legends: *e.g.*, the famous raid of Malik Kâfûr into Southern India (Wârangal) for 'Alâu'ddin Khilji, and incidentally we sometimes hear, in connection with the saint, of the names, characters and doings of some of the sons of the old kings, which are not otherwise familiar to history. Thus, we find that Khizr Khân, the unfortunate son of 'Alau'ddin Khilji, who, with his brother Shâdî Khân, was blinded by Malik Kâfûr, on his father's death, built the well-known Jamâ'at Khâna (Hall of Congregation), now a mosque for Nizâmu'ddîn's followers.

After the Khiljis, the Tughlaqs were closely connected with Nizâmu'ddin, and the well-known proverb, to give it its modern non-literary form, "*Dillî dûr hai*, Delhi is a long way off," arose out of the reply the saint gave to Ghiyâsu'ddin Tughlaq, when the latter demanded a certain sum of money alleged to have been deposited with him and said

1 "Christi," according to a book by a globe trotting English lady about 50 years ago!

he was coming to fetch it. It was so far off that he was killed on his way to the saint by the fall of a house at Tughlaqabad, whether accidentally or otherwise is a matter of some doubt, but at any rate the saint had no hand in his death. Hence the proverb recalls a prophecy. This was the last reported deed of Nizâmu'ddîn, for he died soon afterwards in 1325, aged 87, passing on the insignia to Shêkh Nasîru'ddîn, Chirâgh-i-Delhî (the Lamp of Delhi). Before he died Nizâmu'ddîn had founded a Sub-Order of the Sûfîs, the Chishtiya Nizâmiya.

All about the shrine of the Saint pious Muhammadans of means, men and women, lie buried, but many of them were far from being people of historical importance, even when the memorials left are prominent, as in the case of the Chînî-kâ Burj itself, which is the monument of "a woman of no importance," one Zuhra, and in that of Bâî Kokaldî, daughter of Mulayam Khân, and otherwise unknown to fame. But close by we find a less pretentious structure of 1379 with an important connection, as it was built by Malik Ma'rûf, the chamberlain of the great Firôz Shâh Tughlaq.

The tomb of the Saint itself is not of much architectural consequence, but all sorts of names are connected with its construction and repair, including that remarkable madman Muhammad Tughlaq, Firoz Shâh Tughlaq, Akbar's son Murâd (1597) through Lal Beg his 'paymaster,' Shâhjahân through Khalilu'llah Khân, his governor of Shâhjahânâbâd, and 'Alamgir II (1755). In the same enclosure, too, are some beautiful tombs, that of Jahânârâ, with its well-known inscription of 1681, being the most visited. Many are the stories connected with this devoted woman, that of the recovery from a severe burn through the skill of Gabriel Boughton of the East India Company, with all the subsequent consequences, being one of them. Close by is the grave of a very different personage: the decadent Mughal Emperor, Muhammad Shâh, the victim of Nâdir Shâh, whose massacre of Delhi (1739) is still a troubled memory of the past, and beside him, by a sort of historical irony, lie Sâhiba Mahal, the wife of Nâdir Shâh himself, and her infant daughter, side by side also with Muhammad Shâh's grandson. Here we have before us a tragedy of the oppressor in the very home of the oppressed.

Near by, too, are other records of the days of decadence: the tombs of Mirzâ Jahângir, the mad son of Akbar II (1821), whom Mr. Seton, the British Resident, had to place in confinement at his father's request. It is a sign of those times that neither his tombstone, nor that of his brother Mirzâ Bâbur, were originally meant for them. His was meant for a woman, now unknown, and his brother's belonged in the first instance to one Mir Muhammad who died in 1579! In this neighbourhood lies Mîrzâ Bâbur's wife. Not far off is the tomb of Khwâja 'Abdu'r-Rahmân, a disciple of Nizâmu'ddîn. Thus do saint and sinner, princely heroine and wealthy noble, lie here in close proximity, as happens elsewhere.

Passing over some well-inscribed graves of less importance, we come to that of Amîr Khusrû (1253-1325), the great Indian 'Persian' poet and Nizâmu'ddîn's favourite disciple. As might be expected, this memorial has drawn the attention of princes at all times—Muhammad Tughlaq, Bâbur through his brother-in-law, Mahdî Khwâja, Humâyûn, Akbar through Shahâbu'ddin Ahmad Khân, Jahângir through Khwâja 'Imâdu'ddin Hasan. But the rulers with whom Amîr Khusrû was mostly connected in his lifetime were Jalâlu'ddîn Khiljî and Ghiyâsu'ddîn Tughlaq. Near his grave is a *dâlân* or hall, containing four tombs, one of which is that of 'Ikrâm Mîrdaha ('Corporal' 'Ikrâm) of the reign of Shâh 'Alam II and dated 1801. Outside it is a grave attributed to Ziyâu'ddîn Barani, the historian of Firôz Shâh Tughlaq, who, like many others of note, was a disciple of Nizâmu'ddîn. Here again we have a queer mixture of great and small collected round the shrine of the famous saint.

Outside Amîr Khusrû's enclosure are the mosque and grave of one of the Khân Daurân Khâns, most probably those of the great noble of that title in the days of the Emperors Farrukhsîyar and Muhammad Shâh, who was killed in action in 1739, and the memorial of Atga Khân. This last recalls not only an interesting point in history, for he helped Humâyûn to escape after his defeat by Sher Shâh Sûr, but also an interesting point in Imperial Mughal manners, for he was, as his name infers, the husband of Akbar's wet-nurse, Jiji Anaga. His title as Imperial foster-father stuck to him despite his much higher title of 'Azam Khân, on his defeat for the Emperor of the great Bairâm Khân. His son, Mirzâ 'Azîz Kôkaltâsh, Akbar's foster-brother, again as his name implies, built his tomb and lies himself not far off. This last was a clever turbulent noble, often in trouble with both Akbar and Jahângir owing to his freedom of speech, but of great ability. Between him and his father are the tombs of Bahrâm Shâh, son of Shâh 'Alam II, and his wife, Bi Jân (1807-10).

We now return to the days of the "Slave Kings," the Khiljis, and the Tughlaqs in the ruins of the Lâl Mahal, attributed both to Ghiyâsu'ddin Balban and 'Alâu'ddin Khiljî, and of the mosque of Khân Jahân Maqbûl or Tilangânî and Khân Jahân Jauna, father and son, successively the *wazîrs* (ministers) of Firôz Shâh Tughlaq. The story of the first is of great interest, as he was reputed to be a Hindu (Telugu) prisoner of importance, brought away in the raid on Wârangal under Muhammad Tughlaq in 1321, who 'verted' and became a disciple of Chirâgh-i-Dehli. Hence the presence of his remains in the neighbourhood of Nizâmu'ddîn. The latter of these two remarkable

men had for a long while the proud title of Khân Jahân *bîn* Khân Jahân, but after a long service and much building for Islâm, including the Kalân Masjid at Shâhjahânâbâd, he was eventually murdered in 1387.

Such are the associations of a wonderful spot, the details of which are to be found in this excellent memoir by Maulvî Zafar Hasan. One or two other minor matters in it are also worth notice. On p. 1, in talking of Nizâmu'ddîn himself, the author says: "The original home of his ancestors, who were *Sayyid by caste*, had been Bukhâra." He thus shows how deeply the idea of caste has bitten into the Indian Muhammadan mind, even in the case of "doctors" of Islâm. On p. 11 the Maulvî catches Prof. J. N. Sarkar tripping, and remarks: "At the head of the grave [of Nizâmu'ddîn] on a wooden stand is placed a manuscript copy of the *Qurân*, which is oddly described by Professor J. N. Sarkar as having been written by the Emperor Aurangzeb. The manuscript is dated 1127 A.H. (1715-16 A.D.), some nine years after the death of that Emperor, and there is no internal or external evidence to indicate that Aurangzeb or any other Mughal Emperor was in any way connected with it The attendants at the shrine relate that the copy of the *Qurân* has been there for a very long time, but they have no knowledge of its origin." Lastly, he seems to trip himself in remarking on p. 14 that "the language of this inscription [of 'Alamgîr II], which is *Old Urdu* deserves special notice." But it is dated 1755, and so why is it called "*Old Urdu*"? Perhaps "antiquated" Urdu would be more appropriate. In vol. XXXV, pp. 141, 142, 169, 178, 203 ff. of this *Journal* are quoted many specimens in 1654 and earlier.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BUDDHÂ IN DER ABENDLÜNDISCHEN LEGENDE. von HEINRICH GÜNTER. Haessel, Leipzig. 1922, pp. XII. 305 and [1].

The author of this work, who is Professor of History at Tubingen, disclaims the quality of Indologue, but claims that sufficient Buddhist texts for his purpose are available in translations, whereas an Indologue would have needed for the treatment of the topic a disproportionate amount of reading of Christian legendary matter. He has naturally had recourse mainly to the literature of story, *Jâtakas*, *Avadânas*, etc., taking account of the comparisons which have been made by previous scholars, such as Kuhn, Speijer, Zachariae and Garbe.

The old question of the interchange of fable and legend between the East and West has of late years been rather dormant than extinct. In the meanwhile the tendencies in the treatment of art, architecture and ritual have been in the direction of recognizing common or parallel developments and reciprocal influences. What was lacking was the discovery of channels and lines of communication. The disinterment of the Central Asian Civilization of the centuries immediately following the Christian epoch, and the intermingling of religions and cultures which it reveals is a new fact of considerable import, as is also the realization of the widespread influence of Byzantine art. In the Parthian and Sassanian empires also Christianity, Manichaeism and Buddhism were intermingled, and if they failed to influence each other, this must have been due to a protective quality inherent in the nature of religion.

Professor Günter's conclusions are mainly negative. He denies that St. Eustachius and St. Christopher have any proved connection with Brahmadatta and Paṭâcârâ and with the Mahâsutasoma Jâtaka respectively: and while acknowledging that Joasaph in the Story of Barlaam and Joasaph is the Bodhisattva, he denies that the story of the Bodhisattva is here that of Buddha. It is not until the 12th and 13th centuries that he allows even the slightest indications of Indian motifs in the west, and anything like literary influence he postpones to the end of the middle ages and the epoch of the modern age. What there is in common between India and Classical and early Christian story he would trace back to common Indo-European inheritance, parallel development, and the original Aesop.

In his second part Professor Günter considers more generally the sources of the resemblances between the stories of saints in the two religions. These he classes under three heads, adaptations of primitive stories, features springing from community of saintly type due to community of theory of saintship, and actual experiences of life evoked by the struggle to attain that ideal. Here we find much that is interesting and reasonable, and it can hardly be denied that the causes thus defined are true causes. The monks and saints of Buddhism and Christianity were not born amid surroundings having no psychological background; their ideals led to deductions in regard to their procedure under supposed conditions and to practical encounters in the world of experience.

It must be admitted, moreover, that in seeking for parallels between east and west we are in need of the corrective which Professor Günter supplies. Fixing our attention upon one or two striking

resemblances, we are too apt to contract our view to the particular case. For instance, we compare the infant Christ and the infant Krishṇa, and we forget that there are many other infants in religious story, whether they be Buddha or Hercules or Zeus; and thus we may mistake a matter of large human psychology for a particular historical transmission. The alternative method is not without its perils: if we select a particular motif and try to trace it through a wide area of the religious world, we are apt to drop one by one in the course of our adaptations all the distinctive features of the story, until we are left with a thread of connection too slender to have any significance. The critics, also, of theories of borrowing may display a not really helpful method when they merely swamp the propounded identification with a deluge of parallels culled from miscellaneous sources. The only means of reaching solid results is to take a more or less compact body of matter and with full regard to the historical and geographical conditions to see whether we can construct a more or less solid causeway from point to point. This was not Professor Gunter's task and it cannot be said that he has greatly furthered it.

It must also be urged that the conclusion presented by Professor Gunter is of that kind which may be termed the miraculous. First of all during long centuries practically no contact at all; then in the 12th and 13th centuries some inklings; and finally towards the close of the middle ages a definite beginning of literary intercourse. A gap we are prepared to admit; for we can name the cause, that is the intervention of the Islamic block, so impenetrable to religious influences from outside and so crushing to communities of other faiths enclosed within its terrain. But in the pre-Islamic centuries other conditions prevailed, and if there was then no lack of obstacles to communion between distant lands, these were rather such as to render communications slow and stagnant than to constitute a definite block. Above all at the time which in the highest degree excites our interest, in the period beginning with Asoka's despatch of missionaries to the west, the period when it would be most fascinating to know of Buddhist ideas in the intellectual life of Syria, Palestine and Egypt, the medium was receptive and the ways were moderately open. What we need now, especially after the elaborate discussions by Bergh van Eysinga and Garbe, is new facts such as those we owe to that great scholar Ernst Kuhn. Two lines of new discovery are in such a matter worth more than volumes of indecisive discussion.

F. W. THOMAS

THE JAINA GAZETTE published by the Jaina Gazette Office, 21, Parish Venkatachala Iyer Street, Madras, 1922.

From the issues of the *Jaina Gazette* for May and June, 1922, it appears that this monthly organ of the All-India Jaina Association has been in existence for three years. Like one or two other Madras publications, however, its regular appearance has been prevented by a printers' strike and other symptoms of industrial unrest.

The May number contains a useful article by Professor A. Chakravarti on "Idols of Indian Research," which draws pointed attention to the manner in which that old bane of Indian Literature, *odium theologicum*, even in these days, reacts detrimentally upon historical research "What is still more unfortunate," he writes, "is that this defect (religious rivalry) is not obsolete, but quite alive even unto the present day. It is within the knowledge of several students that facts epigraphical and literary which are likely to advance the worth of a particular sect are very often suppressed or twisted in interpretations by other sects. This deplorable lack of academic openness of mind vitiates research in South Indian history."

One catches an echo of this sectarian rancour in the proposal to establish in Madras a Central Jain Press and Library, which will counteract the machinations of "the jealous opponents of Jainism." The latter are alleged to have destroyed many of the great Jain scriptures in past centuries, and to have wrongfully attributed the authorship of other Jain works to Hindus. The suggestion that the Jain faith is merely an off-shoot of other religious systems is not accepted by the *Jaina Gazette*. The general attitude of the journal forms a curious comment upon the claim occasionally advanced in political circles that India is now "a nation" and that the "cleavages of religion, race and caste," which have always threatened her solidarity, have ceased to be of primary importance.

The journal publishes an account of the proceedings of the Jain Political Conference, from which we learn that some of the leading members of the community were closely identified with the Non-co-operation movement and have been imprisoned for failing to give security for good behaviour. The list of "Books of the Hour," advertised as procurable at the office of the journal, contains publications by Messrs. C. R. Das, B. G. Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, C. F. Andrews, Bernard Houghton, and Mahatma Gandhi. Apart from this, the paper contains some useful notes on Jain philosophy and religious beliefs. Some of the advertisements strike one as hardly suitable for a publication dealing largely with the history, literature, and science of the Jain religion.

S. M. EDWARDES.

SOME DISCURSIVE COMMENTS ON BARBOSA.

(*As edited by the late* M. LONGWORTH DAMES.)[4]

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from page* 139.)

I throw out these suggestions in the hope that someone will investigate further. That well-informed, and as far as quaint spelling is concerned, truly delightful volume, the *Madras Manual of Administration*, vol. III, *s.v.* Cannanore, remarks : "The descendant of the old Cannanore Moplah Sultans, Ally Rajah, resides in the East of the Bay."

The following extract from Mr. H. E. A. Cotton's *Castes and Customs in Malabar* in the Proceedings of the East India Association (published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1922, p. 245) seems to confirm the suggestion that the term Ali Râja represents Ilaya Râja or Junior Râja :—"The chief secular potentate of the community is the Ali Râja of Cannanore in North Malabar. According to tradition, the first of the line was a Nâyar at the Court of the Kollattiri Râja, who embraced Islam about the end of the eleventh century A.D. His successors became the hereditary ministers of the Kollattiri and attained a position of considerable power. At one time they were lords of the Laccadive Islands which contain a Moplah population, and possessed their own fleet. But they are now merely landowners. The succession goes in the female line, and the Waliya Bibi, or Senior Lady, was formerly an important personage. In 1824 she was 'regularly supplied with a guard of honour from the military station at Cannanore,' says Major H. Bevan in his *Thirty Years in India*, and was 'very strict in exacting this homage to her rank.'" In regard to the Kollattiri Râjas, Mr. Cotton writes : "This family, which is one of the most ancient and honourable in Malabar, is now represented by the Râja of Chirakkal. It is closely allied with the ruling house of Travancore, with which it observes 'community of pollution,' and ladies have been adopted from it to prevent that dynasty from extinction."

While describing the neighbourhood of Cannanore, Barbosa makes a remarkable slip in this version of his work, in talking of the cocoanut as "a great fruit which *they* call *cocos*," while the versions in Ramusio and of the Spaniards are more correct in saying "which *they* call *tenga* [Malayâlam form] and *we* call *cochi* [cocoas]." Barbosa is not often caught tripping like this (p. 90). On p. 92 he correctly describes the *areca* nut (Malayâlam, *adakka*) under that name. The term *poonac* (coco-nut oilcake) used in note 1, p. 90, wants investigation. The Sanskrit term is *puṁnâga*, and any South Indian similar term would be a borrowing . Has this been the case ?

At p. 36 is a note by Mr. Thorne to which I wish to draw attention. Barbosa is describing the Śrîkôvil or Great Temple of Calicut, and remarks "without the church [read "temple"] is a stone of the height of a man." On this Mr. Thorne notes : "This is the *mandapam*, a stone platform with a tiled canopy, in front of the Śrîkôvil, but within the four walls of the temple enclosure. Only Brahmans may use the *mandapam*, on which prayers are said by the worshippers." In editing *Peter Mundy*, vol. III, pt. i, pp. 75-6, who had remarked : "We lay . . . in a Pagode. It seems they serve here [Bhatkal] to harbour passengers in their Cources round aboutt (like to the Saraes aboutt Guzaratt) as well as For Devotion," my annotation to the passage was : "Mundy means that they rested in the open porch (*mantapam*) of a temple (*kôil*) near Bhatkal, often used by travellers for that purpose." I made this note because I had so rested myself, notably, I recollect, at the Seven Pagodas, Mâvalivaram (Mahâbalipuram). I see that the *Madras Manual*, above quoted, has : "*Mantapam* (*mandapa* San. ; *mandef*, Hind.). . . any square or rectangular hall with a flat roof supported by pillars, open at the sides ; particularly the porch (*toranam*) of a temple (*coil* [*kôil*])." Mr. Thorne's note seems to indicate another sense of the term *mandapam-mantapam* in Malayâlam.

[4] *The Book of Duarte Barbosa, Translated from the Portuguese text, first published in* 1812. Edited and annotated by M. L. Dames, Vol. I, 1918; Vol. II, 1921. London, Hakluyt Society.

The above note leads one to the derivation of "pagoda," a very old puzzle. I said as much in *Peter Mundy*, vol. III, p. 199 n. Monsenhor Dalgado has discussed all the old suggestions : Chinese *pao-t'ah* and *poh-kuh-t'ah*, Portuguese *pagão* ; Singhalese *dâgaba* through *bâgada* and *pagode* ; Persian *bût-kadah* : and Sanskrit *bhagavat*. He rejects all of them except *bhagavat*, and I suppose *bhâgavata*. On this I would remark in favour of the old suggestion *dâgaba*, that the Indo-Chinese *pagoda*, as a matter of fact, is a true *dâgaba*, or reliquary, and that the forms *pagod*, *pagode*, and *pagoda* may, like many terms common to objects in Europe, India, and the Far East, have a multiple origin, Eastern and Western, owing to similarity in sound of terms of totally different origin for the same or like objects in the East and West. Instances that occur to me are Hindustani *rasîd* and English *receipt* ; European *taffeta* and Persian *tâfta* ; European *dimity* and Oriental *dimyâtî* ; and so on. As regards the derivation from *Bhagavat*, the Adorable, or its derivative form *bhâgavata*, the adorer or adored, it is *primâ facie* not clear why an interpreter should choose such a term to describe a structure having common descriptive names of its own everywhere. Assuming, however, such to be the case, then on the fact of the Dravidian, like the German, difficulty in clearly distinguishing between surds and sonants, we might proceed to look for a sequence such as this : *bhâgavat*, *bhagwat*, *bagwat*, *bagaut*, *bagôt*, *pagôt*, *pâgôd*, *pâgôda*. I suspect, however, that the old travellers really said to themselves *pâgôd*, *pâgôda*, in which case the sequence would start with *bhâgavata*. But no such sequences have been actually traced as yet.

At pp. 120-121 Barbosa has a remarkable passage relating to the boat, well known as the *sampan*. He says : "A land belonging to the King of Coulam [Kollam, Quilon], and to other lords who are subject to him, which is called Quilicare [Kilakkarai, in the Madura district opposite Ceylon] wherein are many and great towns of the Heathen, and many others with havens on the sea where dwell many Moors, natives of the land. Its navigation is carried on in certain small craft, which they call *champanes*, in which Moors come to trade there and carry thither the goods of Cambaya. Here certain horses are of great value, and they take cargoes of rice and cloth and carry them to Malabar." What did Barbosa mean by *champanes*, the *sampan* of modern times ? I have very often been in a *sampan* ; it certainly could not go round to Malabar or Cambay with cargo. Barbosa may have meant generally that these "Moors," *i.e.*, Labbâîs or Lubbays of Madura or Ceylon, a naturalised and half-indigenous population like Navâyats and Moplahs, traded about India. But the point is that in the early sixteenth century the *sampan* was used by Muslim sea-coast people between Southern India and Ceylon under that name. Dames says, following Dalgado and Yule seemingly, that it "is Malay and apparently ultimately Chinese," I have always seen them with eyes painted on either side of what may be called the bows, which predicate a purely Chinese origin. The word would mean in dialectic Chinese "three planks," just as the Tamil catamaran (*kattumaram*) is of three planks corded and sewn together, and I cannot see any Malay origin for the *sampan* in design or form. M. Noel Peri, in *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française de l'extrême Orient*, t. XIX, No. 5, discusses the term at length, but he says that it is doubtful whether it is in common use beyond Japanese and Far Eastern ports. It is common enough, however, in Burmese, Nicobarese, Malayan, and Singhalese harbours, and, as we have seen above, in South East Indian harbours too. His desire, backed by Professor Bloch, is to show that it is (American) Columbian, and introduced thence to the East by the Portuguese, but his quotations are not early enough. I am afraid that the Chinese derivation is not upset yet.

When Barbosa is off Java, amongst the islands to the south of it, he notes (p. 195) "that the women wear *surures*," and on this Dames remarks that "this name for a garment has not been traced elsewhere, and is not given in the Spanish version or in Ramusio. It may very probably be a form of the Malay *sarong*." As a matter of fact the word has only lately come

to light (see *ante*, vol. L. Supp., p. 11). It has been taken for *sârî*, but wrongly. There are steady quotations for it from 1604 to 1661 in various forms, but usually *sarasses*. It meant the highly-figured cotton skirt or petticoat of the Malay women, and the material for it. It was often used in conjunction with *tappi* (*tappi-sarasses*), meaning a skirt (Malay-Jav. *tapeh*). *Serâsah* appears to be the Malay-Jav. form of the imported Persian term *sarâsar*, brocade, but the material was cotton. Europeans used it for any kind of cotton cloth. To make confusion worse confounded, *tappi-sarasses* got mixed up with *tappiceels* and *tapseiles*, plain and striped silk and cotton cloths, arising out of the Persian *tafsîla*, a rich silken stuff ; and even with other cloths and materials with which I need not trouble my present readers.

As regards "*patolas* (that is to say Cambaya cloths)," p. 198, found at Banda, there are quotations in the early seventeenth century which seem to identify them with *sarasses*, manufactured at Surat for Batavia and Bantam, and with a garment of cotton called *tapchindie*, *i.e.*, a *chindie*-skirt, for which also there are a good many quotations.

Barbosa has an appendix on precious stones, opening up so many questions as to words and terms that I will not attempt to examine it here.

Ethnology.

Barbosa is of course acute in his observations as to customs and is not often in serious error, but in describing the marks on the foreheads of some Hindus as being made to denote 'caste,' he falls into a mistake which Dames corrects. It cannot be too clearly understood that they mark 'sect' not 'caste,' and it is interesting to note that the error, commonly made by Europeans to this day, dates as far back as Barbosa.

I would like here to express a high appreciation of the annotation of Messrs. Dames and Thorne on the account of the Zamorins and also of the Nâyars to which clan they belong, and of their history, manners, customs and rites, especially as regards the matriarchate and consequent heredity in the female line. They go a long way towards finally accurate knowledge on perhaps one of the most interesting old-fashioned dynasties of modern times. It is as well to note here that Barbosa's account of them is still, after 400 years, the best foreign first hand description yet given.

The well known South Indian matriarchal rule of succession passing to the sister's son is, in the case of the successor of a Zamorin, an instance of a social custom defeating any practically useful end. The succession goes to the eldest male heir alive in the direct female line, whoever his mother may have been. The result is that each Zamorin succeeds at a time when he is "too old to administer his estate or property well : he holds the title a year or so, and is then succeeded by another old man." Another instance of a social custom defeating any practical end is to be found amongst the Karens of Burma. Among Sgaw and Pwo Karens, in times of general danger, the girls of allied villages are given in exchange as brides, to become hostages for the good faith of the villagers towards each other. This explains a curious set of customs. Sawtungs may only marry among cousins residing in specified villages, and then not without the consent of the elders. The area of choice is so small that many aged bachelors and spinsters exist, and it results in great irregularity of age in the married couples, both ways—in men in regard to wives and in wives in regard to men. This is carried to an extreme extent by the Banyoks of Banyin in Loi Seng, where the field of choice is among six families at the choice of the chief official of the district (*taungsû*). Five and twenty years ago it had nearly wiped out the [illegible]

The ways of the Zamorins are always interesting, and the installation oath on the lamp and gold ring to protect by the sword is more than noteworthy. One would like to know further what the instruments were which were used at the ceremony and were "like unto a sheath of brass." Were they gongs ? It may be mentioned here too that on pp. 29-32 several other oaths and ordeals worth examining are detailed.

One installation custom, which must cause unstable administration, is that of changing all or most of the public offices at each of the frequent accessions of succession, as the Zamorins, like the Presidents of the United States in this respect, followed each other at short intervals. Incidentally, this custom accounts for the present day numerical strength of the Menon Caste of the Nâyars, which is made up of the descendants of those who at one time or another have been clerks to a Zamorin. Their documents were written, or rather inscribed, on strips of palm-leaf (*ôla*), and this habit was so much in vogue even 50 years ago that the present writer's washing and similar bills were made out on *ôlas*, when he was in the neighbourhood of Calicut about 1873.

Barbosa is so well informed about the modern Malabar Coast (I say "modern" because long after his time the term "Malabar" was often applied to the East as well as to the West Coast of S. India), that one is tempted to comment indefinitely on his observations. Perhaps the most interesting of these is the following (p. 37) :—"These Bramenes hold the number three in great reverence ; they hold that there is a God in three persons, who is not more than one ; their prayers are all ceremonials ; they honour the Trinity and would as it were desire to depict it. The name which they give it is Bermabesma Maceru,[5] who are three persons and only one God, whom they confess to have been since the beginning of the world. They have no knowledge nor information concerning the life of our Lord Jesus Christ. They believe and repeat many truths, yet do not tell them truly."

How much more Barbosa knew of educated Hinduism than many who followed him even 300 years later ! To my mind, however, the notable thing about this passage is that Barbosa does not in it allude to the image of the Trimûrti or Hindu Triad, but to the fact that they "honour the Trinity" and "hold that there is a God *in* three persons, who is not more than one." He is clearly talking here of the Southern form of the Hindu religious philosophy as related to him by obviously educated people. And when he goes on to say that the Trinity is called Bermabesma Maceru (the last an easy error in transcription for Maçeçu), that is, Brâhmâ, Vishnu and Śiva (Maheśvara), and that they are "three persons and only one God," he proves that he had been sitting at the feet of professors of Southern Vaishnavism, presumably of monistic Bhâgavatas. For this is precisely what they strongly held—that there is only one God *and* three representative forms of Him, the one God being Bhagavat or Bhagavân, the Adorable. This is not precisely the Christian Trinity (three persons *in* one God), but very near it, and the remarkable thing is that this first European observer of Hinduism should have got so much nearer the actual facts about the belief of the modern educated classes of Hindus than most of the European writers who have come after him.

It is remarkable, too, that he should have observed (p. 37) that certain ascetic orders of Hindus bury and do not burn their dead. No doubt he alludes to the Lingâyats, who by his time had become numerous and well established in the Malabar regions, and bury their dead. On this same page (p. 37) Barbosa mentions a custom that amounts to a mild form of *couvade*.

From religion Barbosa passes on to the social customs of the Nâyars and the notes thereon are invaluable. In the course of these I am very pleased to see a remark by Dames that the Code of Manu (*Mânava Dharma Śâstra*) "never did and does not now correspond to the

[5] Brahma-Vishṇu-Mahêśvara.

facts in any part of India," with the absurd result that such classes in the South as the Nâyars have been ranked by the orthodox as Śûdras and have so been held to be inferior. I have often wondered how much harm has been done in the ages right up to the present day by assuming the Code to consist of anything but mere monastic "councils of perfection." On pp. 55, 66, Barbosa has a few remarks in connection with the Nâyars on South Indian "Devil-worship" and on the Hindu Doctrine of Rebirth, which are not quite correct, though left unannotated.

The Nâyars are essentially a military body by tradition and extraordinarily arrogant where inferior castes are concerned; and both Barbosa's and Mr. Fawcett's (p. 49) remarks on their former and present treatment of "Low-castes" contain a lesson to those who would accuse the European in India of arrogance towards the native Indians of any degree. There has never been anything in the actions of Europeans in this respect approaching that of one native Indian towards another.

In another sense it may be remarked that well known to the Nâyars were both the boycott and the strike—very old social weapons in India, noticed incidentally by many travellers—and Barbosa's accounts of the methods adopted by Nâyar soldiers to recover arrears of pay would spell terror if applied by European armies for a like purpose, though it is possible that similar practices were in vogue when mercenary forces were the fashion.

Barbosa has on p. 57 a remark which is more than merely interesting, as the earliest European instance of an observation, common more than three centuries later on, with quite as much error in it. He is talking of the "Cuiavem" or potters (Kuswan or Kûyavan). He says "They do not differ from the Nayres (Nâyars), yet by reason of a fault which they committed, they remain separate from them." This kind of folk-genealogy to bolster up a claim to "better days" in the past is very common in India and in the middle of the last century there was brought about the accidental collection of many such instances as that quoted unwittingly by Barbosa. Someone in high office directed Settlement (of Land Revenue) officials to find out the origin of caste names in the course of their enquiries into tenant right. The result was the record in innumerable *Reports*, in the Panjab at any rate, of childish accounts of caste origin, based on absurdly false etymology, and put forward in every case in order to raise the social status of the narrators. Anyone interested can collect them for himself from the official *Settlement Reports* of the period. It is very interesting to find that this particular method of gulling the inexpert European enquirer is as old as Barbosa himself. That the Kûyavan *did* differ from the Nâyar comes out naïvely in a remark in Ramusio's version of Barbosa: "Those who are sprung from them may not adopt any other caste or occupation" (p. 57).

On the whole Barbosa's observations on such castes as Kûyavan Vannathân and Châliyan, when compared with the modern *Gazetteers*, seem to infer that they and the Nâyars have an origin similar to that of the Râjpût clans further North.

Indeed, I am tempted here to note as a possible contribution to the ethnology of the Coast, that what we know of the Nâyars, the soldiers and "middle class" of the West Coast—the Kuswans or Kûyavans, the potters, the Cuiavem of Barbosa—the Vannathâns (p. 58), special washermen for the Nâyars who thus avoid caste pollution—and the Châliyans (p. 59) weavers, whose presence does not pollute the Nâyars—all connected with them in the business of life—shows that they form together what further North would be called a Râjpût Clan and their followers. In fact, I am inclined to look upon the Nâyars as *indigenous* Râjpûts (there are others in India) and the rest as their followers in true Râjpût fashion, although the very

strong Brahmanical influence of the South has succeeded in including the Nâyars themselves among the Sûdras, putting on that term a complexion very different from its original sense.

After describing the Nâyars, Barbosa goes through the whole gradation of castes with wonderful accuracy, drawing many valuable notes from his annotators, including a fine comparative table of caste nomenclature on p. 71.

Going further along in his accounts, we find Barbosa twice alluding to a variant of the old European custom which is the subject of Sir James Fraser's *Golden Bough:* once at "Quilicare" (Kilakkarai in the Madura District) and once at Pasay in Sumatra (pp. 121, 185). Hamilton (1727) transferred it to the Zamorins. It is worth while noting these two variants of a widely spread legend of the compulsory murder of the priest-king by his often unwilling successor.

Before parting with the engrossing subject of the Zamorins and their people, I would note that Barbosa's annotators have an appendix dealing with native accounts of them, containing information not to be found elsewhere. In the course of it there is mention (p. 254) of a world-wide folk-custom, giving it a rational explanation: "As they go they turn and throw rice and other things over their shoulder. This ceremony is intended to avert the evil eye, and with this the investiture of the Sthanis [the Five Râjas] is complete."

After dealing at great length with the South-Western Hindus, Barbosa turns his attention to the Moors, as he calls them in the fashion of his day, *i.e.*, the Muhammadans of the Malabar Coast, both those that had become naturalised and those still strangers in the land. This leads him to speak with his accustomed acuteness of those jovial ruffians, the Moplahs (Mâpillas), and in regard to them he is often informing and makes but few mistakes.

As regards Barbosa's observations on Further India, that on pp. 150-152 (one fancies by hearsay), of a custom in Arakan of selecting brides by the smell of their perspiration in clothing, which reads as if it were apocryphal, may have an explanation in the custom of smelling for kissing prevalent in Burma and elsewhere in the Far East.

In annotating Barbosa's remarks on Pegu, Dames writes accurately regarding the White Elephant. Except in pictorial representations it was anything but white, and that captured during the Third Burmese War, at Mandalay, from the Burmese Court in 1885, of which the present writer had charge for a while officially, was, properly speaking, not even piebald. It had, however, on it certain marks in the arrangement of the hair, etc., which constituted it a holy object and a "white elephant" according to a set of carefully recorded and observed rules: just as has the child chosen to become the Dalai Lama in Tibet. Barbosa's statements also as to there being "many very proper nags, great walkers" in Pegu is accurate, if for "walkers" we translate "amblers." The Pegu pony (really from the Shan uplands) is still a remarkable ambler. I had one (13½ hands) for some time in Mandalay, a good weight-carrier, on which I have successfully kept pace for a long distance with a horse at a smart canter. These ponies can keep up a quick amble almost indefinitely and are comfortable to ride at that pace.

Barbosa has a remark on Ambam or Amboyna in the Malay Archipelago, which is of unusual interest (p. 199), when he says that every man collects as many "Cambaya cloths" as he can to provide a ransom in case he is captured and enslaved. In parts of the Nicobars it is also the custom to collect white and red cotton cloths by the piece, but for a very different purpose, *viz.*, for wrapping round the owner's corpse as part of the funeral ceremonies. One wonders if Barbosa understood rightly

Barbosa several times mentions the large size of the bells, drums and gongs of the Malay Archipelago (*e.g.*, pp. 198, 202, 203). This is common to the whole of the Far East, where they are put to many uses, including currency.

In describing Siam, Barbosa gives a circumstantial account of the ceremonial eating of dead relatives and friends as part of funeral ceremonies. This he attributes to a people "in the interior towards China where there is a Heathen Kingdom subject to Anseam [Siam]." Dames identifies them with the Gueos, which argues that they were probably [Gwê] Shâns and not Wâs, as Sir George Scott has suggested. These ceremonial cannibals may be therefore taken to have been Shâns of some kind, in respect of whom such cannibalism has often been reported, as it has also been attributed to Wild Wâs who belong to the Mon Race and the Kachins who belong to the Tibeto-Burman Race. I have myself known of a case where the body of a Shân rebel said to have been a great sorcerer was dug up by a local chief and boiled down into a decoction, some of which it was proposed to send to the British Chief Commissioner (the late Sir Charles Crosthwaite). It was probably the same case as that reported in the *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, pt. I, vol. II, p. 37, as occurring in 1888. It will be seen here that the cannibalism was purely ceremonial and due to a desire to secure extraordinarily supernatural powers by a sort of sympathetic magic. The funeral ceremony told to Barbosa may have been a garbled report of similar occurrences. Ceremonial cannibalism of the same kind is said to have existed among the Nicobarese.

I must wind up this very long discursive survey of one of the most informing books among the many of the same kind produced of late years by a note showing the care with which it has been edited. In describing the kingdom of Cochin, Barbosa alludes to the Court politics there of his day, of which the Portuguese accounts that have come down to us are scarcely intelligible, were it not for Mr. Rama Varmaraja's *Contributions to the History of Cochin*, Trichur, 1914. The quotations from this local publication in a long footnote (p. 94) set this matter straight, and provide a strong instance of the importance of placing the editing of such works as Barbosa's in the hands of competent annotators possessing the requisite knowledge.

A pathetic interest attaches to these comments on a great book. Just as they were ready for the press, there came to me news of the death of the writer, putting an end to a friendship of forty years standing.

A CHINESE EXPEDITION ACROSS THE PAMIRS AND HINDUKUSH, A.D. 747.*

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.

(*Continued from page* 145.)

Well could I understand the reluctance shown to further advance by Kao Hsien-chih's cautious "braves," as from the top of the pass I looked down on 17 May 1906, through temporary rifts in the brooding vapour into the seeming abyss of the valley. The effect was still further heightened by the wall of ice-clad mountains rising to over 20,000 feet, which showed across the head of the Yasin valley south-eastwards, and by the contrast which the depths before me presented to the broad snowy expanse of the glacier *firn* sloping gently away on the north. Taking into account the close agreement between the Chinese record and the topography of the Darkot, we need not hesitate to recognize in *T'an-chü* an endeavour to give a phonetic rendering of some earlier form of the name *Darkot*, as accurate as the imperfections of the Chinese transcriptional devices would permit.

* Reprinted from the *Geographical Journal* for February 1922.

The stratagem by which Kao Hsien-chih met and overcame the reluctance of his troops, which threatened failure when success seemed assured, looks characteristically Chinese. The forethought shown in preparing this ruse is a proof alike of Kao Hsien-chih's judgment of men and of the extreme care with which every step of his great enterprise must have been planned. But such a ruse, to prove effective, must have remained unsuspected. I believe that, in planning it, full advantage was taken of the peculiar configuration of the Darkot, which provides, as seen, a double route of access to the pass. If the party of men sent ahead to play the rôle of the "barbarians of Little P'o-lû" offering their submission was despatched by the Baroghil and Rukang route, while the troops marched by the Showitakh-Showar-shur route, all chance of discovery while on the move would be safely guarded against. As I had often occasion to note in the course of my explorations, Chinese military activity, from antiquity down to modern times, has always taken advantage of the keen sense of topography widely spread in the race. So Kao Hsien-chih was likely to take full account of the alternative routes. Nor could it have been particularly difficult for him to find suitable actors, in view of the generous admixture of local auxiliaries which the Chinese forces in Central Asia have at all times comprised.[27]

The remaining stages of Kao Hsien-chih's advance can be traced with equal ease. The three marches which brought him from the southern foot of the pass to "the town of A-nu-yüeh" obviously correspond to the distance, close on 30 miles, reckoned between the first camping ground below the Darkot to the large village of Yasin. The latter, by its position and the abundance of cultivable ground near by, must always have been the political centre of the Yasin valley. Hence it is reasonable to assume that we have in *A-nu-yüeh* a fairly accurate reproduction of the name *Arniya* or *Arniah*, by which the Dards of the Gilgit valley know Yasin.

The best confirmation of this identification is furnished by the statement of the Chinese record that the bridge across the River So-yi was situated 60 *li* from A-nu-yüeh. Since the notice of Little P'o-lü contained in the T'ang Annals names the River So-yi as the one on which Yeh-to, the capital of the kingdom, stood, it is clear that the Gilgit river must be meant. Now, a reference to the map shows that, in a descent of the valley from Yasin, the Gilgit river is reached at a distance of about 12 miles, which exactly agrees with the 60 *li* of the Chinese account. It is evident also that, since the only practicable route towards Gilgit proper and the Indus valley leads along the right, or southern, bank of the Gilgit river, the Tibetan reinforcements hurrying up from that direction could not reach Yasin without first crossing the river. This explains the importance attaching to the bridge and the prompt steps taken by the Chinese leader to have it broken. As the Gilgit river is quite unfordable in the summer, the destruction of the bridge sufficed to assure safe possession of Yasin.[28]

27 The T'ang Annals specifically mention in the account of Shih-ni, or Shighnan, on the Oxus that its chief in A.D. 747 followed the Imperial troops in their attack on Little P'o-lu, and was killed in the fighting: cf. Chavannes, *Turcs occidentaux*, p. 163.

28 The biography of Kao Hsien-chih calls this bridge "pont de rotin" in M. Chavannes' translation, *Turcs occidentaux*, p. 153. But there can be no doubt that what is meant is a "rope bridge," or *jhula*, made of twigs twisted into ropes, a mode of construction still regularly used in all the valleys between Kashmir and the Hindukush. Rope bridges of this kind across the Gilgit river near the debouchure of the Yasin valley were the only permanent means of access to the latter from the south, until the wire suspension bridge near the present fort of Gupis was built in recent years.

It still remains for us to consider briefly what the biography in the T'ang Annals tells us of Kao Hsien-chih's return from Little P'o-lü. After having secured the king and his consort and pacified the whole territory, he is said to have retired by the route of "the shrine of the red Buddha" in the eighth (Chinese) month of A.D. 747. In the ninth month (October) he rejoined the troops he had left behind at Lien-yüan, *i.e.*, Sarhad, and by the end of the same month regained "the valley of Po-mi," or the Pamirs.

Reference to the map shows that there are only two direct routes, apart from that over the Darkot and Baroghil, by which the upper Ab-i-Panja valley can be gained from Gilgit-Yasin. One leads up the extremely difficult gorge of the Karambar or Ashkuman river to its headwaters east of the Yarkhun river sources, and thence by the Khora-bhort Pass over the main Hindukush range and down the Lupsuk valley to the Ab-i-Panja. This it strikes at a point close to Karvan-balasi, half a march below the debouchure of the Little Pamir, and two and a half marches above Sarhad.[29] The other, a longer but distinctly easier route, leads up from Gilgit through the Hunza valley to Guhyal, whence the Ab-i-Panja headwaters can be gained either *via* the Kilik and Wakhjir passes or by the Chapursan valley. At the head of the latter the Irshad pass gives access to the Lupsuk valley already mentioned, and down this Karwan-balasi is gained on the Ab-i-Panja.[30] All three passes are high, close on or over 16,000 feet, but clear of ice and comparatively easy to cross in the summer or early autumn.

Taking into account the distinct statement that Kao Hsien-chih left after the whole "kingdom" had been pacified, it is difficult to believe he should not have visited Gilgit, the most important portion of Little P'o-lü. In this case the return through Hunza would have offered manifest advantages, including the passage through a tract comparatively fertile in places and not yet touched by invasion. This assumption receives support also from the long time, one month, indicated between the start on the return march and the arrival at Lien-yün. Whereas the distance from Gilgit to Sarhad *viâ* Hunza and the Irshad pass is now counted at twenty-two marches, that from Gilgit to the same place by the Karambar river and across the Khora-bhort is reckoned at only thirteen. But the latter route is very difficult at all times and quite impracticable for load-carrying men in the summer and early autumn, when the Karambar river completely fills its narrow rock-bound gorge.

The important point is that both routes would have brought Kao Hsien-chih to the same place on the uppermost Ab-i-Panja, near Karwan-balasi, which must be passed by all wishing to gain Sarhad from the east, whether starting from Hunza, Sarikol, or the Little Pamir. This leads me to believe that the "shrine of the red Buddha," already mentioned above as on the route which Kao Hsien-chih's eastern column followed on its advance to Sarhad, must be looked for in this vicinity. Now it is just here that we find the small ruin

29 Regarding Karwan-balasi and the route along the Oxus connecting Sarhad with the Little Pamir, *cf. Desert Cathay*, i. pp. 72 *sqq.*

30 The Hunza valley route was followed by me in 1900. For a description of it and of the Kilik and Wakhjir passes, by which it connects with the Ab-i-Panja valley close to the true glacier source of the Oxus, see my *Ruins of Khotan*, pp. 29 *sqq.*

The branch of this route leading up the Chapursan valley and across the Irshad pass, was for the most part seen by me in 1913. The Chapursan valley is open and easy almost throughout and shows evidence of having contained a good deal of cultivation in older times; see my note in *Geographical Journal*, 48, p. 109. On this account, and in view of the fact that this route is some 18 miles shorter than that over the Wakhjir and crosses only one watershed, it offers a distinctly more convenient line of access to the Oxus headwaters from Gilgit than the former branch.

known as *Karwan-balasi,* which has all the structural features of a Buddhist shrine, though now reverenced as a Muhammadan tomb.[31] We have here probably another instance of that continuity of local cult, which has so often converted places of ancient Buddhist worship in Central Asia and elsewhere into shrines of supposed Muhammadan saints.[32]

According to the Annals the victorious general repaired to the Imperial capital, taking with him in triumph the captured king Su-shih-li-chih and his consort. The Emperor pardoned the captive chief and enrolled him in the Imperial guards, *i.e.*, kept him in honourable exile, safely away from his territory. This was turned into a Chinese military district under the designation of *Kuei-jên,* and a garrison of a thousand men established there. The deep impression which Kao Hsien-chih's remarkable expedition must have produced in all neighbouring regions is duly reflected in the closing remarks of the *T'ang-shu :* "Then the Fu-lin (Syria), the Ta-shih (*i.e.*, the Tazi or Arabs), and seventy-two kingdoms of divers barbarian peoples were all seized with fear and made their submission."

It was the greatness of the natural obstacles overcome on Kao Hsien-chih's victorious march across the inhospitable Pamirs and the icy Hindukush, which made the fame of this last Central Asian success of the T'ang arms spread so far. If judged by the physical difficulties encountered and vanquished, the achievement of the able Korean general deserves fully to rank by the side of the great alpine feats of commanders famous in European history. He, for the first, and perhaps the last, time led an organized army right across the Pamirs and successfully pierced the great mountain rampart that defends Yasin-Gilgit, and with it the Indus valley, against invasion from the north. Respect for the energy and skill of the leader must increase with the recognition of traditional weakness which the Annals' ungarnished account reveals in his troops.

Diplomatic documents reproduced from the Imperial archives give us an interesting glimpse of the difficult conditions under which the Chinese garrison, placed in Little P'o-lü, was maintained for some years after Kao Hsien-chih's great exploit. As I have had occasion to discuss this curious record fully elsewhere, it will suffice to note that the small Chinese force was dependent wholly upon supplies obtained from Kashmir,[33] exactly as the present garrison of Indian Imperial Service troops has been ever since it was placed in Gilgit some thirty years ago.

In view of such natural difficulties as even the present Kashmir-Gilgit road, an achievement of modern engineering, has not succeeded in removing, it is not surprising to find that before long resumed Tibetan aggression threatened the Chinese hold, not merely upon Gilgit-Yasin, but upon Chitral and distant Tokharistan too. A victorious expedition undertaken by Kao Hsien-chih in A.D. 750 to Chitral succeeded in averting this danger.[34] But the fresh triumph of the Chinese arms in these distant regions was destined to be short. Early in the following year Kao Hsien-chih's high-handed intervention in the affairs of

[31] Regarding the ruin of Karwan-balasi, cf. *Desert Cathay,* i. pp. 76 *sqq.*, ; *Serindia,* i. pp. 70 *sq.*

[32] For references, see *Ancient Khotan,* i. p. 611, *s.v.* "local worship" ; also my "Note on Buddhist Local Worship in Muhammadan Central Asia," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* 1910, pp. 839 *sqq.*

[33] Cf. *Ancient Khotan,* i. pp. 11 *sqq.*; for the official documents embodied in the 'Tsê fu yuan kuei' (published A.D. 1013), see Chavannes, *Turcs occidentaux,* pp. 214 *sqq.*

In the former place I have pointed out the exact parallel which the difficulties experienced since 1890 about the maintenance of an Indian Imperial garrison in Gilgit present to the conditions indicated by the Chinese record of A.D. 749. The troubles attending the transport of supplies from Kashmir necessitated the construction of the present Gilgit Road, a difficult piece of engineering.

[34] Cf. Chavannes, *Turcs occidentaux,* pp. 158, 214 *sqq.*, 296.

Tashkend, far away to the north, brought about a great rising of the populations beyond the Yaxartes, who received aid from the Arabs. In a great battle fought in July 751, in the plains near Talas, Kao Hsien-chih was completely defeated by the Arabs and their local allies, and in the ensuing *débâcle* barely escaped with a small remnant of his troops.[35]

This disaster marked the end of all Chinese enterprise beyond the *Imaos*. In Eastern Turkestan Chinese domination succeeded in maintaining itself for some time amidst constant struggles, until by A.D. 791 the last of its administrators and garrisons, completely cut off long before from contact with the Empire, finally succumbed to Tibetan invasion. Close on a thousand years were to pass after Kao Hsien-chih's downfall before Chinese control was established once again over the Tarim basin and north of the T'ien-shan under the great emperor Ch'ien-lung.

THE PROBLEM OF THE SANKHYA KARIKAS.

BY SHRIDHAR SHASTRI PATHAK.

IN his edition of Iśvarkṛishṇa's *Śâṅkhya Kârikâs* with Gauḍapâda's *Commentary* thereon, Wilson, while commenting on the seventy-second *kârikâ*, makes the following observation:—"We have here in the text reference to seventy stanzas as comprising the doctrinal part of *Śâṅkhya*. In fact, however, there are but sixty-nine, unless the verse containing the notice of *kapila* be included in the enumeration, and in that case it might be asked, why should not the next stanza at least, making mention of the reputed author, be also comprehended, when there will be seventy-one verses? The scholiasts offer no explanation of the difficulty."

The three stanzas referred to above, beginning with the 70th in Wilson's edition, run as follows:—

एतत् पवित्रमग्र्यं मुनिरासुरयेऽनुकम्पया प्रददौ ।
आसुरिरपि पञ्चशिखाय तेन च बहुधा कृतं तन्त्रम् ॥ ७० ॥
शिष्यपरम्परयागतमीश्वरकृष्णेन चैतदार्याभिः ।
संक्षिप्तमार्यमतिना सम्यग्विज्ञाय सिद्धान्तम् ॥ ७१ ॥
सप्तम्यां किल येऽर्थास्तेर्थाः कृत्स्नस्य षाष्टितंत्रस्य
आख्यायिकाविरहिताः परवादविवर्जिताश्चापि ॥ ७२ ॥

Gauḍapâda's *Commentary*, as observed by Wilson, stops at the end of the sixty-ninth *kârikâ*, but in its concluding verse quotes 'seventy' as the number of *Âryas* (*Yatraitah Saptatirâryah, etc.*)

In an article in "*Sanskrit Research*" the late Mr. B. G. Tilak, accepting Wilson's view regarding the existence of some incongruity in the number of *kârikâs*, proceeds to show that a *kârikâ* is actually missing from the present text, and even claims to have discovered it in a passage of Gauḍapâda's *Commentary*. This passage is a part of the *bhâshya* on the sixty-first *kârikâ* and contains a discussion on the nature of the first cause of creation. In Mr. Tilak's opinion it must have originally formed Gauḍapâda's *Commentary* on a distinct *kârikâ* following the sixty-first, and was somehow left out of the body of the text. Selecting suitable excerpts from the passage and putting them together, he gets the following as the missing *kârikâ*.

कारणमीश्वरमेके पुरुषं कालं परे स्वभावं वा ।
प्रजाः कथं निर्गुणतो व्यक्तः कालः स्वभावश्च ॥

[35] *Cf.* Chavannes, *Turcs occidentaux*, p. 142, note 2. M. Chavannes, p. 297, quotes the closely concordant account of these events from Muhammadan historical records.

The sixty-first *kârikâ* itself runs as follows :—

प्रकृतेः सुकुमारतरं न किञ्चिदस्तीति मे मतिर्भवति ।
या दृष्टास्मीति पुनर्न दर्शनमुपैति पुरुषस्य ॥ ६१ ॥

However ingenious this solution of Wilson's difficulty may be, there are serious objections to it, which tend to show clearly that the whole theory of a missing *kârikâ* is both untenable and unnecessary. Our objections to Mr. Tilak's solution of Wilson's difficulty are :—

(1) In the concluding or seventy-second *kârikâ* (which we have already quoted above) Iśvarkṛishṇa, the author, distinctly says the subjects treated in the seventy *kârikâs* are those in the whole of the *Shashṭitantra,* exclusive of illustrative tales and omitting controversial texts (*paravâdanîvarjitâh*). The verse discovered by Mr. Tilak contains in its first half four different views regarding the cause of creation, and in the second a refutation of these. It is inconceivable that a couplet so distinctly controversial in its character could have escaped the author's notice, when he stated at the end that he had omitted all controversial matter. This fact alone, in our opinion, constitutes strong and sufficient ground for rejecting Mr. Tilak's *kârikâ* as the missing one.

(2) Besides being controversial in character, and therefore out of place in a plain statement of the *Śâṅkhya* doctrines, Mr. Tilak's *kârikâ* does not fit the context well. Let us consider what the context actually is :—After having described the twofold creation, personal and intellectual, the author comes (in the 55th verse) to the main object of the system, *viz.,* the final dissolution of the connection of soul and body. In the creation the sentient soul experiences pain arising from decay and death until it be released from its person. The part played by *Prakṛiti* or Nature in this process of *Purushavimoksha*, or the freeing of the soul, is the subject treated from the fifty-sixth to the sixty-third *kârikâ.* The *kârikâ* proposed by Mr. Tilak as the missing one, however, bears upon an altogether different matter, namely the proving of *Prakṛiti* to be the sole first cause of creation. While discussing the passage in the *Commentary* which has been made by Mr. Tilak to yield his *kârikâ,* Wilson could not help observing, "Gauḍapâda has gone out of his way rather to discuss the character of a first cause." This remark of Wilson is particularly important, when we remember that it was he who was the first to notice what seemed to him an incongruity regarding the number of *kârikâs.* If the substance of the *Commentary* on the sixty-first *kârikâ* had been in keeping with the context, it could not have escaped his notice that it might appertain to some *kârikâ* missing from the text. Here we may notice an argument put forward by Mr Tilak to support his theory. He says that "Alberuni, quoting from a *Śâṅkhya* book in the form of a dialogue dwells upon the same essential doctrines of the *Śâṅkhya* philosophy," that is to say, "the doctrine not to recognize any cause of the world subtler than the *Prakṛiti.*" This Mr. Tilak regarded as independent evidence from which it would, he says, be unreasonable to suppose that the doctrine was not mentioned in the *Śâṅkhya kârikâs.* Now Alberuni's statement refers only to the *Śâṅkhya* doctrine of *Prakṛiti* being the subtle cause of the universe, not to any refutation of the other causes in the *Śâṅkhya kârikâs.* In stating the doctrine of *Śâṅkhya,* the author would naturally say "there is no cause subtler than *Prakṛiti,*" *i.e., Prakṛiti* is the subtlest. But if he proceeds to say that *Îśvara* or *Kâla* or *Svabhâva* is not subtler than *Prakṛiti,* he is no longer stating a doctrine, but replying to an objection to his doctrine. This latter is not essential in a statement of the *Śâṅkhya* system, especially one which professedly avoids a controversy.

(3) Not only is Mr. Tilak's *kârikâ* controversial in character and out of place in the context, but it is also defective as a refutation of other views regarding the first cause of creation. As stated by Îsvarkrishṇa in the last (72nd) *kârikâ*, the *Sâṅkhya kârikâs* are a compendium of the *Shashṭitantra*, an older and larger work on the *Sâṅkhya* system. Though the latter work is not extant, a synopsis of its contents is found in the *Ahirbudhnyasaṁhitâ* of the *Pâñcharâtra Âgama* (edited for the Adyar Library by Mr. D. Ramaniyacharya). We quote the following from it :—

षष्टिभेदं स्मृतं तन्त्रं सांख्यं नाम महामुने।
प्राकृतं वैकृतं चेति मण्डले द्वे समासतः ॥
प्राकृतं मण्डलं तत्र द्वात्रिंशद्भेदमिष्यते ।
तत्राद्यं ब्रह्मतन्त्रं तु द्वितीयं पुरुषांकितम्।
त्रीणि तन्त्राण्यथान्यानि शक्तेर्नियतिकालयोः ॥
गुणतन्त्राण्यपि त्रीणि तन्त्रमक्षरपूर्वकम् । etc., etc.

Here we have a reference to chapters on the refutation of *five* different views regarding the first cause of creation, respectively advocating *Brahma, Pûrusha, Śakṭi, Niyati* and *Kâla*. As against these five Mr. Tilak's *kârikâ* gives only four, namely, *Îśvara, Purusha, Kâla* and *Svabhâva*. Identifying *Brahma* with *Îśvara* and *Niyati* with *Svabhâva*, we are still left without anything to correspond to *Śakṭi* in the *kârikâ*, which thus fails to fulfil the very object it has in view, *viz.*, the establishment of *Prakriti* as the only first cause of creation by disproving all others.

(4) The passage of the *Commentary*, from which the excerpts are chosen to form Mr. Tilak's *kârikâ*, is obviously based on a far-fetched, if not erroneous, interpretation of the word *sukumâratarам* in the sixty-first couplet. All commentaries, excepting that of Gauḍapâda and the *Matharvṛitti*, explain the word by *salajja, atipeśal, purushadarshanasahishṇu*, etc., *i.e.*, bashful, modest, unable to bear the gaze of the soul, etc. The propriety of the adjective as applied to *Prakṛiti* in the first line of the couplet is fully brought out in the second line, which says **या दृष्टास्मीति पुनर्न दर्शनमुपैति पुरुषस्य**. In fact, the plain meaning of the *kârikâ* is "methinks nothing is more gentle (modest, bashful, etc.) than Nature; once seen by the soul it ever shrinks from its gaze": that is to say, Nature being once understood by the soul, ceases to act. This meaning is in full conformity with that of the two preceding *kârikâs*, one of which likens *Prakṛiti* to a dancer who desists from the dance after having exhibited herself to the spectators. It is clear, therefore, that there is no need to interpret the word *sukumâratara* in another way, in order to justify its application to *Prakṛiti*. Gauḍapâda's *Commentary* on the sixty-first *kârikâ* first gives the above plain meaning, but later proceeds to dilate upon the word *sukumâratarам*. As Wilson says, he goes out of his way "to discuss the character of a first cause, giving to *sukumâratara* a peculiar import, that of 'enjoyable,' 'perceptible,' (*subhogyatara*), which Nature eminently is, and is therefore according to him the most appropriate source of all perceptible objects, or in other words of creation". This far-fetched interpretation would take all force out of the metaphorical illustration implied in the couplet.

(5) Further, the sixty-second verse, *viz.*:

तस्मान्न बध्यते नापि मुच्यते नापि संसरति कश्चित् ।
संसरति बध्यते मुच्यते च नानाश्रया प्रकृतिः ॥ ६२ ॥

which draws a sort of conclusion from the description of the ways of *Prakṛiti* in the process of liberation of the soul, will not appropriately follow Mr. Tilak's verse, which only contains a discussion of the first cause of creation and has nothing whatever to do with

Purushavimoksha, which is the subject under treatment. To any one who reads the *kârikâs* beginning with the fifty-sixth and ending with the sixty-second, both with and without Mr. Tilak's *kârikâ* between the sixty-first and sixty-second, it will be quite clear how the new *kârikâ* introduces a digression and cannot therefore have formed part of the original text.

(6) Having given above the grounds on which the proposed *kârikâ* ought to be rejected, we shall now proceed to show that the passage in the *Commentary* on which it is based, shows unmistakable signs of either being corrupt, or wrongly interpolated in its present place. The same also is the case with *Mâṭharavṛitti* which is cited in support of the new *kârikâ*. The text of Gauḍapâda's *Commentary* on the sixty-first *kârikâ*, as it stands at present, begins thus :—

लोके प्रकृतेः सुकुमारतरं न किंचिदस्तीत्येवं मे मतिर्भवति । येन परार्थ एवं मतिरुत्पन्ना । कस्मादहमनेन पुरुषेण दृष्टास्मीत्यस्य पुंसः पुनर्दर्शनं नोपैति पुरुषस्यादर्शनमुपयातीत्यर्थः ।

This practically explains the whole *kârikâ*. The words येन परार्थ एवं मातिरुत्पन्ना, "Since Nature thus thinks of another's advantage", seek to bring out the propriety of the word *sukumâratarам* (gentle, soft), though, as a matter of fact, the second half of the couplet is in itself sufficient to justify the epithet. But the explanation does not conflict with the general tenour of the description of *Prakṛiti's* part in the work of freeing *Purusha*. Having however given this explanation, it is inconceivable that Gauḍapâda should proceed to give another and more far-fetched interpretation, in which it is necessary to interpret the word *sukumâratarам* as *kàraṇam* (अतः प्रकृतेः सुकुमारतरं सुभोग्यतरं न किंचिदीश्वरादि कारणमस्तीति etc.), for which there is no authority whatever, and which is so far removed from the implied comparison between *Prakṛiti* and a shy damsel. The repetition of the words न पुनर्दर्शनमुपयाति पुरुषस्य near the end of the *Commentary* on the *kârikâ* and of other words, too, clearly indicates that a passage so loose and rambling in character, and so replete with incoherent interpretations, cannot be relied upon for the purpose of building up a *kârikâ*. Its presence in the text seems to be due to some such circumstance as the careless transcription of a reader's marginal notes on a manuscript into the body of the text.

(7) In the *Mâṭharâvṛitti* also, which follows Gauḍapâda's *Commentary*, we have मे मतिर्भवतीति पुरुष आत्मानं ब्रवीति । मे मतिर्भवतीति पुरुषस्य etc., in which the writer asks us to understand *Purusha* by the word मे. It is clear here, however, that the pronoun मे can have reference only to Îśvarkṛishṇa and not to *Purusha*, for as a rule the pronoun cannot precede the noun for which it stands. In fact, the whole interpretation of the *kârikâ* would thus be entirely wrong, and we cannot but conclude that the passage which contains it is a corrupt form of the original. Such sentences again as एवं प्रकृतिः परमात्मना पुरुषेण ज्ञानचक्षुषा दृष्टा, which contains the epithet *Paramâtman* applied to *Purusha*, could not have been written either by a Vedântist or a follower of the Sâṅkhya philosophy, for the former with his conception of the omniscience of the supreme soul would never endanger the *Sarvagñyatva* of the *Paramâtman* by keeping him in the darkness of ignorance before he has seen the nature of *Prakṛiti*, while the latter would never attribute the epithet *Paramâtman* to his *Purusha*. To say, therefore, that the passages in question in the *Commentary* and the *Mâṭharâvṛitti* really form part of the original texts, amounts to saying that the learned authors of the commentaries were either ignorant or careless in the extreme. We have the authority of Vâchaspatimiśra, the author of the *Sâṅkhyatatvakaumudi*, in rejecting all this superfluous discussion about *Prakṛiti* as the prime cause of creation. Mr. Tilak suggests that it must have been a Vedântist who attempted to explain the *Sâṅkhya kârikâs* consistently with the

doctrines of the Vedânta. But this is entirely groundless. He even cites the instance of Vidnyânabhikshu in support of his suggestion; but herein he misrepresents facts, because Vidnyânabhikshu clearly held the two systems to be separate and made no attempt to identify them with one another. For instance, he writes :—

ब्रह्ममिमांसायां त्वयं विशेषो यत्परमात्मविवेकशेषत्वम् । सांख्यशास्त्रे तु सामान्यात्मविवेकशेषत्वम् ।

Having thus stated our grounds for the rejection of the proposed *kârikâ*, we shall now briefly show that it is not necessary to have any new *kârikâ* at all to make up the number seventy. The seventieth *kârikâ* as it stands gives the *Guruparamparâ*, as is often the practice in old works. Thus the *Brihadâranyaka* concludes with a chapter that gives a fairly long list of succession from preceptor to pupil. The *Shashṭitantra*, which is the source of the *Sâṅkhya kârikâs*, must have given this *Guruparamparâ*, and therefore there cannot be the least objection to counting the present seventieth *kârikâ* among the seventy, which are referred to in the seventy-second verse (सप्तम्यां किल येऽर्थास्तेऽर्थाः कृत्स्नस्य षष्टितन्त्रस्य). This is the most natural ... It did not occur to Wilson, probably because it did not strike him that the ...*parâ* formed an integral feature of the promulgation of doctrines in Indian works. ... also partly due to the fact that Gauḍapâda's *Commentary* stops at the end of the ...ty-ninth *kârikâ*; but this is easily explained by the fact that the seventieth *kârikâ* is too easy to need any comment. When Îśvarakṛishṇa writes that his seventy *kârikâs* contain all matters that are treated in the whole of *Shashṭitantra*, he does not include only the purely doctrinal part in the words "the whole of *Shashṭitantra*," but also the *Guruparamparâ*, which we have every reason to believe formed the concluding part of it. It does not seem therefore necessary, when such a simple and natural explanation of the existence of the seventy *kârikâs* is available, to search for a new *kârikâ* in the first place, and to build up a theory on a loose and insecure foundation, so entirely discordant with the general aim and particular context as Mr. Tilak's proposed *kârikâ* has been shown to be.

Now the 71st *kârikâ* is one of the two concluding *kârikâs* of the book *Sâṅkhya kârikâ*. It states :—"Iśvarkṛishṇa (*i.e.*, I myself) brought into a short compass by means of these *aryas* all the principles of Sânkhya philosophy." Wilson asks why *this* stanza also should not be included in the seventy? (सप्तम्यां किल etc.) But it is fairly clear from what we have said above that the doctrinal part and the *Guruparampara* of the *Shashṭitantra* are to be found in the seventy *aryas*, while the seventy-first which is concerned with Iśvarkṛishṇa, the author himself of *Sâṅkhya kârikâs*, can have formed no part of the *Shashṭitantra*, which is a far older work.

DÊVÎCHANDRAGUPTAM

or

Chandragupta Vikramâditya's Destruction of the Śaka Satraps.

(A glimpse into Gupta history from Sanskrit Literature.)

BY A. RANGASVAMI SARASVATI, B.A.

THE great military achievement of the greatest of the Gupta emperors, Chandragupta Vikramâditya, was his final destruction of the Śaka power in Malwa and Guzerat and the annexation of its territories. The last[1] date on the coins of these Satraps is 310, which is found on the coins of Svâmi Rudrasiṁha, son of Svâmi Satyasiṁha. The inscription on

[1] *JRAS.* 1890, p. 639, and 1899, p. 357. and Ann. Rep. of the Watson's Museum of Antiquities, Rajkot.

these coins runs '*Râyño Mahâkshatrapasa Svâmi Satyasimhasa Putrasa Râgño Mahâkshatrapasa Svâmi Rudrasimhasa.*' Soon after the date which is found on these coins, *i.e.*, Śaka 310 or A.D. 388, the Śaka dominions were incorporated in the Gupta Empire.

A short passage in Bâna's *Harshacharita*, first brought to the notice of scholars by the late Dr. Bhau Daji,[2] wherein the hero, Śrî Harsha, after learning of his brother's death, is offered condolence by his friend Skandagupta, seemed to afford to archæologists a glimpse into an episode in the history of the final overthrow of the Satraps by Chandragupta. The portion of the passage referring to the particular incident runs:—

अरिपुरेचपरकलत्रकामुकं कामिनीवेशगुप्तश्चचन्द्रगुप्तः शकपतिमशातयत् ॥

This has been translated 'In the enemy's city, the king of the Śakas, while courting another man's wife, was butchered by Chandragupta in his mistress's dress.'[3] The reference in this passage has rightly been thought to indicate Chandragupta Vikramâditya, the Gupta Emperor's killing the last Satrap Rudrasimha. Historians thought that the information afforded by this passage had nothing historical in it and that the tale was merely "scandalous tradition."[4] Śankara, the commentator of *Harshacharita*, has the following note referring to this passage:

'शकानामाचार्यः शकाधिपतिः चन्द्रगुप्तभ्रातृजायांध्रुवदेवींप्रार्थयमानः चन्द्रगुप्तेनध्रुवदेवीवेषधारिणास्त्रीवेषजन परिवृतेन रहसि व्यापादितः[5]

This note adds a little more to our knowledge of the event than the original text. It says that the *ruler of the Śakas*, who is also called *their Âchârya* (preceptor), was secretly killed by Chandragupta, while he was making advances of love towards *Dhruvadêvî, the brother's wife of Chandragupta*, in the disguise of a woman and surrounded by soldiers dressed as women. This note makes it certain that the Chandragupta referred to by Bâṇa is the Gupta emperor of that name, on account of the mention of the name Dhruvadêvî. Dhruvadêvî is known to historians to be the name of Chandragupta Vikramâditya's wife and the mother of his son and successor Kumâragupta. But there arises a small difficulty. This is the statement of Śankara, the commentator, that Dhruvadêvî was the brother's wife 'भ्रातृजाया' of Chandragupta. Evidently there is some mistake in the statement of the commentator.

The information thus afforded is augmented from an unexpected source. One of the works discovered by the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library of Madras, the *Śṛngâraprakâśa*,[6] contains several significant passages which add to the knowledge of scholars on this point. These passages, like a large number of similar ones in the work, are quotations from many Sanskrit works, some of which are entirely forgotten, while others are known only by name.

The author of this interesting work is Bhoja and seems to be identical with the King of Dhârâ of that name, who was a great patron of letters and who was the author of the work on Rhetoric, *Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa*. The passages are given below and are taken from the eighteenth *adhyâya* of this work.[7]

[2] *The Literary Remains of Dr. Bhau Daji*, pp. 193-194. *Harshacharita*, Trans. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 94.

[3] *Harshacharita*, Translation by Cowell and Thomas, p. 194.

[4] V. A. Smith, *Early History*, p. 292 (Third Edition).

[5] Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, Nos. 10 and 12.

[6] *Rep. of the Peripatetic part of the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras*, 19.

[7] I owe the extracts to the courtesy of my friend Mr. M. Ramakrishnakavi, M.A., of the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras. He has not only discovered these works for the Library, but has made a collection of extracts similar to the above. He has since published some of these in a learned article on Daṇḍin, in a Telugu literary journal, the *Kalâ*.

i—स्त्रीवेषनिह्नुतः **चन्द्रगुप्तः** शत्रोः स्कन्दावारं **अळिपुरं शकपति** वधायागमत्॥

ii—**देवीचन्द्रगुप्ते**विदूषकंप्रति**चन्द्रगुप्तः** ॥

सद्वंश्यान्पृथुवर्ष्मविक्रतबलान्दृष्ट्वाद्भुतान्दान्तिनः
हासस्येवगुहामुखादभिमुखंनिष्क्रामतः पर्वतात्।
एकस्यापिविधूतकेसरजटाभारस्य भीतामृगाः
गन्धादेवहरेर्द्रवन्तिवहवो वीरस्यकिंसंख्यया॥

iii—**देवीचन्द्रगुप्तेवसन्तसेना**मुद्दिश्यमाथवस्योक्तिः

आनन्दाश्रुसितेतरोत्पलरुचोराबध्नतानेत्रयोः
प्रत्यंगेषुवराननेपुलकिषुस्वेदंसमातन्वता।
कुर्वाणेननितंबयोरुपचयंसंपूर्णयोरप्यसौ
तेनाप्यस्पृशताप्यथोनिवसनग्रन्धिस्तधोच्छासितः॥

These passages are said to have been taken from a now forgotten drama देवीचन्द्रगुप्तं, whose author is not known. The first passage proves clearly that the subject matter of this drama is the same as what we findin Bâṇa's reference in the *Harshacharita*. It says that Chandragupta managed to enter the camp of his enemy at *Aḷipura* in the guise of a woman, for the purpose of killing the Lord of the Śakas. Here the place where the Śakapati's camp, स्कन्दावार, was laid is called *Aḷipura*. The identity of this place deserves to be established. Its name has not been read correctly in the manuscripts of the *Harshacharita*. Dr. Bhau Daji, who first discovered the *Harshacharita* for archæologists found the reading *Naḷinapura*[8] for the name of the place. But soon he found in another manuscript the reading *Aripura*, the enemy's town, which has since been accepted among scholars. This extract from the *Śṛṅgâraprakâśa* gives the name as *Aḷipura*, which appears to be the correct form, and which could very easily have been misread both as *Naḷinapura* and *Aripura*.

The second extract above quoted is more interesting and gives us some more information of the drama. In this, Chandragupta is made to reply to the *vidûshaka* (*clown*), when the latter criticized him for his rash behaviour in endangering his life in the midst of his enem Chandragupta says that the danger does not matter much, and that the number of his surrounding enemies need not deter him from embarking on heroic deeds. He says that the enemies will be scattered like the herds of animals (elephants) at the very smell of the lion, issuing out of his den on seeing many elephants of high breed. If the information afforded by this extract is historical,—there is absolutely no reason to doubt it—the actual incidents in the war between Chandragupta and the Śaka sovereign seem to be an invasion by the former of the territory of the enemy, where, by an accident, the queen of Chandragupta, Dhruva Dêvî, fell into the hands of the enemy, the Śaka sovereign. The latter, whatever his name may have been, most unchivalrously made advances of love towards her. Chandragupta managed, along with a few select followers in the guise of women, to enter the enemy's camp. There he, disguised as his own queen, Dhruva Dêvî, managed to get an interview with the Śaka King and killed him. This incident more than any other seems to have given Chandragupta the title Vikramâditya, *a title which was first used by the famous* sovereign, who set aside for the time the rule of the Śungas, defeated and brought under subjection the Andhra kingdom, and beat back, though temporarily, the advancing tide of the Śaka invasion.[9] One of the other titles of this great hero was

8 *The Literary Remains of Dr. Bhau Daji*, p. 193.

9 This information will be published in the form of an article soon.—A.R.S.

Sàhasâṅka, distinguished for daring, and from what we know of him, his daring was of a special sort. By his exploit in the enemy's camp, Chandragupta seems to have got the popular title Vikramâditya.

The next extract above quoted affords some more interesting information about *Devî-Chandraguptam*. This verse is addressed by a character called Mâdhava to his beloved Vasantasênâ in the enemy's camp. It is not known whether Mâdhava and Vasantasênâ were real historical characters. From the verse no new historical information can be gleaned, but the nature of this verse, as well of that of the one previously quoted, is such that it leaves in the mind of the reader a feeling of sorrow that he is unable to know more of the story and of the fortunes of the love between Vasantasênâ and Mâdhava.

From the discussion in the above paragraphs one would be inclined to think that Bâṇa was referring to the subject matter of this drama, when he quoted the incident in his work. May it not be that Bâṇa was merely referring to several other historical dramas and poems, when he was recounting the fates of the sovereigns, who lost their lives by treachery or by their own folly ? The nature of the subject matter of these dramas being personal, they would not be particularly interesting to generations who came long after them, and as a consequence the works fell out of use. Only a few of the most popular, like the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, *Mudrârâkshasa*, *Pratigñâyavgandharâyana*, *Svapnavâsavadattâ*, *Avimâraka* and the *Mâḷavikâgnimitra*, have been preserved, or rather rescued from oblivion, on account of their special merit or the nature of their subject matter.

COMMEMORATION OF THE KAININS OR MAIDENS IN THE AVESTA.

BY SHAMS-UL-ULMA DR. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., PH.D., C.I.E.

MR. KALIPADA MITRA's paper entitled "About Buddhist Nuns," *ante* Vol. **LI**, p. 225 ff., has suggested to me the subject of this brief note. Mr. Mitra's paper, and the preceding paper of Mr. Lakshman Rao which it criticizes, and other writings show that in ancient India there existed both a class of married women and a class of unmarried women or maidens, who were poetesses and seers, and who, dedicating their lives to public good, formed as it were a class of public benefactresses. Among these, those belonging to the latter class, *viz.*, the maidens, were spoken of as *bhikkhunis*, *samanis* and *pabbajitas*.

What was the case in ancient Iran ? Asceticism had no place in the religious and social circles of Iran ; but still there were public benefactresses, both married and unmarried, whose names have been commemorated in the long list of the calendar of Iranian saints. The *Farvardin Yasht* (Yt. XIII) treats of the Fravashis or Farohars, who stand fourth in the spiritual Hierarchy of the Avesta. Every man has a Fravashi of his own. These Fravashis are, like the Pitris of the Hindus, as it were the deified souls of the dead. Thus, the *Fravardin Yasht*, which speaks of the Fravashis of the dead, enumerates the names of the departed worthies of Iran who had served their country well. This part is, as Prof. Darmesteter says, "like a Homer's catalogue of Mazdeism." It contains as it were a calendar of all Iranian saints. In this *Yasht* we also find at the end the names of women who had served their country well and were sanctified or canonized. In this list of women, at first, we find the names of married women, and then those of *kainins* or maidens. Two sections of the *Yasht* (ss. 141 and 142) contain names of nine *kainins* or maidens who were sanctified or canonized for good deeds. The following formula illustrates the way in which these worthy maidens are commemorated :

"Kainyâo vadhûto ashaonyâo fravashôm yazamaidê," *i.e.*, We commemorate (or invoke) the *fravashis* of the holy maid Vadhut.

Unfortunately, we are not in a position to find from extant literature what the worthy deeds were, for which they were sanctified.

As to the period to which these names belong, we may say that they all belong to the pre-Parthian period of the Persian ruling dynasties. The calendar seems to have been generally closed with the invasion of Alexander. A few names are here and there identified with some known Parthian names. The name Gaôtama (गौतम) is identified by some with that of the founder of the Buddhist religion. Some take this Gaôtama to be one of the Rishis. Some scholars like Spiegel and Geldner take the word to be a common noun and not a proper noun. However, in all the circumstances, we can safely say that unmarried women or maidens were, like men, canonized or sanctified in olden times in Persia for their pious and charitable deeds.

MISCELLANEA.

PALAUNG = FARINGI.

A puzzling corruption of the Oriental term Faringi (= Frank) for a Western European is noted incidentally by Mr. San Baw U in an article entitled "My Rambles among the Ruins of the Golden City of Myauk-u" (in Arakan) in Vol. XI, p. 165, of the *Journal of the Burma Research Society*. The Palaungs are a well known people in Burma, but in Arakan the name may have quite a different meaning, thus: "The Portuguese invaders were known as Palaungs, probably a corruption of the name 'Feringhis.' At that time [1534 A. D.] a son was born to the king [Min Bah or Min Bin of Arakan] and to mark the victory [over the Portuguese on their first attack on Arakan] he was named Palaung by his father and later he was known as King Min Palaung [the builder of the famous Urittaung Pagoda at Ponnagyun]."

R. C. TEMPLE.

A HUMAN SCAPEGOAT AND HIS ANTIDOTE.

The following description of a human scapegoat in Tibet is from an account of Gyantse by Capt. J. B. Noel of the Mount Everest Expedition in *The Times* of the 2nd October 1922. It will be seen that a human being acts the part of the sin-transferrer and ponies as the converse, *viz.*, as luck-bringers.

"At the Tibetan New Year is enacted at the Temple the annual ceremony of purifying the city of the evils of the outgoing year. The Lamas produce a beggar man who is willing, through fanaticism and promise of eternal merit, to risk his life in the strangest of ceremonies. Naked, he clothes himself in the putrid entrails of animals, with the vile, bloody intestines coiled round his head, neck, arms and body.

He represents the evil, the disease, the ill-luck, and the bad things of last year. He runs out of the Temple door, and the mad populace beat drums and blow trumpets to frighten away the devil in him. They hurl stones and beat the beggar with sticks. They chase him through the streets out into the open country, if he does not get killed before!

After they have disposed thus of the troubles of last year the people seek omens for good fortune in the coming year. Each man leads his pony to a starting point outside the city. The ponies find their own way home without riders, and those that make their way straight home bring good fortune with them. Last year the Kung—one of the high officials of Lhasa—was in Gyantse. Nobody could dream of allowing his horse to go astray, so it was helped in by faithful servants, who ran behind it firing guns and yelling. So the horse came in all right, and good luck was assured to the Kung."

R. C. TEMPLE.

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD BY EXPOSURE.

The following note by Capt. J. B. Noel of the Mount Everest Expedition in *The Times* of the 2nd October 1922 gives yet another description of disposal of the dead by exposure. This time in Tibet.

"The most gruesome custom one can see at Gyantse is the disposal of the dead. At daybreak the body is carried to the crest of a low hill, a mile from the city. After a Lama has said prayers and incantations over the naked corpse, the professional butchers slice the body up with knives, cutting off, separately, the legs and arms, and lastly the head.

They hack and smash each member into pulp on a rock, with hatchets, and throw it to the vultures, who stand waiting only 5 feet away. The birds consume every particle of the flesh and the crushed bone. One man stands by to beat off the ravens, for the raven is unclean to the Tibetan, and only the vulture may eat his flesh. Although I had my cinematograph with me when I saw this burial, I refrained from photographing this custom. The thing was simply too awful and soul-stirring to photograph.

But the Tibetans thought nothing of it. The dead are naught to them, since the spirit has left and become reborn in another being, following its Wheel of Life and its eternal weary path to far off Karma. The relatives of the dead man consumed *chung* afterwards, and all became drunk."

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK NOTICE.

(1) BÂLACARITA (DIE ABENTENER DES KNABES KRISCHNA), SCHAUSPIEL VON BHÂSA. TEXTA HERAUSGEGEBEN VON DR. H. WELLER. pp. [V]. IX. 105. (Haessel) Leipzig, 1922.

(2) DIE ABENTENER DES KNABES KRISCHNA, SCHAUSPIEL VON BHÂSA ÜBERSETZT VON HERMAN WELLER. pp. 99. The same.

The former of these two works is a lithographed edition of the text from Dr. Weller's autograph, with Preface and notes; the second is a printed verse translation similarly equipped. The translation we may pass over briefly with the observation that it is well done, being both accurate in rendering the sense and readable as literature. The notes to it are mainly concerned with explanations of mythological and historical matters, dramatic terminology and the like. In the Introduction we have first an account of the discovery of the drama by Mahâmahopâdhyâya Gaṇapati Śâstrî, a discussion of its date, partly in comparison with the plays of Aśvaghosâ, of whom in this respect the author does not come for short, and a suggestion that the early neglect of this dramatist may have been caused by his comparative freedom of method and simplicity of style. The idea is one which naturally presents itself and in itself has an undeniable verisimilitude. It is ingeniously suggested that the title of the *Bâlacarita* points to Bhâsa's having worked in Mathurâ,—an undoubted early centre of the Kṛishṇa drama,—since elsewhere the reference to Kṛishṇa would not have been so obviously given by the word *bâla*.

As regards the drama itself, Dr. Weller calls attention to such negative features, *e.g.*, the absence of erotic motive, as indicate an early version of the Krishṇa story, and explain some points, the person of Kâtyâyanî, the reckoning of Krishṇa as the seventh, and not the eighth, son of Devaki, certain features of a popular character and others suggestive of Buddhist influence. He finds a local historical nucleus in the adventures of the Kṛishṇa of Mathurâ. As regards the poetic and dramatic quality of the work, he rightly emphasizes the impressiveness of the opening night scene and of the dialogue of Kaṃsa with the Chaṇḍâla girls, the dream, the impersonated weapons and so forth, some of which have a quite Shakespearean tone. The play fulfils the technical requirements of an Indian *nâṭaka*. It gives no countenance to the hypothesis of Christian traits in the Kṛishṇa story. To most of these judgments we should subscribe. But perhaps even more stress might have been laid upon the fresh and unconventional spirit which breathes perhaps more strongly in the *Bâlacarita* and *Avimâraka* than in any of the plays and is after the literary testimony the best argument for their authenticity.

The text given in the second work is, of course, based almost entirely upon that elicited by Mahâmahopâdhyâya Gaṇapati Sâstrî, whose emendations and his *chdyâ* are for the most part reproduced. In a number of passages Dr. Weller has introduced corrections of his own or has followed some valuable suggestions of Professor Jacobi. To a certain extent he has regularized the Prakrit spellings. He admits as many as three varieties of the Śaurasenî dialect, which he attributes respectively to the women, the cowherds, and to the cowherd-maidens with the wrestlers respectively. They differ chiefly in the use of *s*, *ś*, *ṣ*, and of *l*, *ḷ* and *r*. In the verses he has allowed forms like *vaḍḍhaî* and *udiä* for *vaḍḍhadi* and *udida*, to stand. Such changes and abstention from change are methodological; but they do not add to our knowledge or carry their own certainty. Our manuscripts are too remote in date from the supposed time of composition; and if we look to the inscriptions of that period, we shall find no lack of inconsistencies. It may be doubted whether any Indo-Aryan language except Sanskrit, and in a certain degree Pali, has ever been spelled or pronounced with tolerable consistency.

There are some interesting grammatical features in the Bâlacarita. We may mention *mâ* with the infinitive (*mâ pavisiduṃ*, Act IV, p. 55) and with the participle (*mâ aṇuhûarânam*, Act I, p. 10); extension of the participle (e.g., *madaḷia* = *mṛta*) or noun (*gehaḷassiṃ*) by a hypocoristic *l*, as elsewhere in Prâkrit and its descendants; *paṃkhu* = *pâṃśu*, *cokkha* = *śauca*, *diśânâm* = *diśâm*, and so forth. We may note the use of *guṇa* in the sense of 'favour' or 'service,' p. 12 and p. 28 (*guṇasaṃgrâha*) recognition of favour, which should not be altered with Professor Jacobi to °*saṃgrâmo*, as the sense is found elsewhere. In the verse 18 *imâṃ nadîṃ*, etc., we may suspect that the original ending was *siddhir yadi daivate sthitam* 'if success [is to be],' depends upon fate; *vahâmi* too has the sense of 'traverse' the river. The sentiment (p. 33) that 'for girls the mother has a stronger love [than for boys]' recurs in *Harṣacarita* with 'parents' in place of 'mothers.' We may note the miswritings *papûda* for *paṣûda* (p. 14) and *mahâtmyât* for *mâ*° (p. 34, v. 16).

F. W. THOMAS.

THE APABHRAMŚA STABAKAS OF RĀMA-ŚARMAN (TARKAVĀGĪŚA).

BY SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E.

(*Continued from page* 8.)

Indexes.

In the following Indexes, the few words found in the Vrācaḍa section (the third *Stabaka* of the third *Śākhā*) have the numeral iii (in Roman figures) prefixed to the verse-numbers. Other words, occurring in the main *Stabaka* (ii) dealing with standard Apabhraṁśa, have only the verse-numbers of that *Stabaka* quoted, without any prefixed "ii."

Prakrit-Sanskrit.

a, ca, 27.
aāhĩ, āyānti, 27.
aēhi (?), adhunā, 31.
akkha-, ācakṣ-, 30.
aggi, agniḥ, 8; **aggī**, agniḥ, 8.
amu, asau, adaḥ, amum, 20.
amu-, amu-, 20.
amha, mama, 23.
amha (? **amhahaṁ**), asmāt, 23.
amhaïṁ, vayam, 23, 26; vayam, asmān, 23.
amhasu, asmāsu, 23.
amhahiṁ, asmābhiḥ, 23.
amhāsu, asmāsu, 23.
amhē, asmābhiḥ, 23.
amhēhi (? **amhēhiṁ**), asmābhiḥ, 23.
asiēṇa (?), asinā, 16.
asiēhiṁ, asibhiḥ, 16.
āṇāva-, ānāyaya-, 30.
āruṇṇa- (? **dhāruṇḍa-**), āśiṣ- (? āśliṣ-), 29.
āliṇgaï, āliṅgati, 9.
imu, ayam, idam, imam, 20.
isuēhiṁ, iṣubhiḥ, 16.
uccu (?), uccaḥ, 10.
ē, ēṣaḥ, 21.
ēthu (?), atra, 10.
ēsu, ēṣaḥ, 9.
ēha, ēṣaḥ, ētam, 21.
ēha-, ēta-, 20.
ēhī, amībhiḥ (? ēbhiḥ), 31.
ēhu, ēṣaḥ, 28 (bis); ēṣaḥ, ētam, 21.
ēhē, ēṣaḥ, ētam, 21; ētasmin, 21.
ēhō, ēṣaḥ, ētam, 21.
kaïṁ, kasmin, kasyām, 19.
kaṁ, kam, kām, kim, 19.
kaṇṭhē, kaṇṭhē, 6.
kaṇha, kṛṣṇaḥ, 9, 27, 28; kṛṣṇam, 9.
kaṇhu, kṛṣṇaḥ, 10.
kara-, kṛ-, 30.
kasu, kasya, kasyāḥ, 19.
kassu, kasya, kasyāḥ, 19.
kāṇaṇhaṁ, kānanēbhyaḥ, 13.
kāṇaṇahuṁ, kānanēbhyaḥ, 13.
kāṇaṇahō, kānanasya, 13.
kāmahuṁ (?), kariṣyāmaḥ, 28.
kāmiṇīdu, kāminī, 7.
kāsu, kasya, kasyāḥ, 19.
kīlantu, krīḍan, 9; krīḍantī, 9.
kē, kē, kāḥ, kāni, 19; kān, kāḥ, kāni, 19.
kēsu, kēṣu, kāsu, 19.
kēha-, kīdṛśa-, 6.
kēhī, kīdṛśī, 5.
kō, kaḥ, kā, kiṁ, 19.
kkhu, khalu, 25.

khaṇḍuṁ, khaḍgaḥ, iii, 3.
khōḍaṁ (? **thōḍaṁ**), stōkam, 5.

gandhavvahō, gandharvāḥ, 18.
gāhuli- (? **lāhuli-**), (?) "vastraprâpta-," "laghu-", 4.
guṇha-, grah-, 30.
gōrī, gaurī, 9.
gōlaḍi, gaurī, 6.

caranti, caranti, 10.
cāri, catvāri, 31.
cāva- (? **ṭhāva-**), sthāpaya-, 29.

chappā (?), siprā, 3.
chuṇḍaga-, śuṇḍaka-, 3.

jadru, yasya, yasyāḥ, yasmin, yasyām, 20.
jadrū (?), yam, yām, yat, 19.
jāraha, jārasya, 7.
juāṇu, yuvā, 10.

judu, yutam, 27.
jē, yaḥ, 21.
jēṇa, yēna, 16.

ṭhā-, sthā-, 29.
ṭhāva- (? cāva-), sthāpaya-, 29.

ḍasaṇa-, daśana-, iii, 3.

ṇa, na, 26.
ṇaïē, nadyām, 17.
ṇaïu, nadyaḥ, nadīḥ, 11.
ṇaïhaṁ, nadībhyaḥ, 13.
ṇaïhē, nadyāḥ, 13.
ṇaïhō, nadyaḥ, 18.
ṇaraō, narakaḥ, 9.
ṇarō, naraḥ, 9.
ṇāalahē, (?) nāgarāḥ, 10.
ṇō, asmākam, 23.

tadru, tasya, tasyāḥ, tasmin, tasyām, 20.
tadrū (?), tam, tām, tat, 19.
tāṇṇa (? teṇṇi), tēṣām, 31.
tāsu (?), tasya, 16.
tāsu, tasya, 27.
tiṇṇi, trīṇi, 31.
timma-, tim-, 29.
tujjha (? **tumbha**), tava, tvāt, 22.
tumbha (? **tujjha**), tava, tvāt, 22.
tumbhaïṁ, yūyam, yuṣmān, 22.
tumha, tava, tvāt, 22.
tumhahiṁ, yuṣmābhiḥ, 22.
tumhē, tava, tvāt, 22 ; yūyam, 27.
tulahu, tōlayatha, 27.
tuha, tava, tvāt, 22.
tuhaṁ, tvam, 22.
teṇṇi (? **tāṇṇa**), tēṣām, 31.
tē (? **sē**), saḥ, 21.
tēraṁ, tvadīyaṁ, 5.
tēhiṁ, tasmin, tasyām, taiḥ, tābhiḥ, tēṣu, tāsu, 12.
tō, tvām, 31.
tōharaṁ (?), tvadīyam, 5.

thakka-, sthā-, 29.
thōḍaṁ, (? khōḍaṁ), stōkam, 5.

darasa-, darśaya-, 29.
dākkha-, darśaya-, 29.
dui, dvē, 31.
dekkha-, dṛś-, 29.
devvahō, daivāt, 25.
dēivvahō, daivāt, 25.
dēvā, dēvāḥ, 27.
dēsu, dēśam, 27.
dēhi, dadāsi, 27.

dhaṇāï, dhanāni, 27.
dhāruṇḍa, (? āruṇṇa-), āśiṣ- (? āśliṣ-), 29.

païṁ, tvām, tvayā, tvayi, 22.
païsadi (?) praviśati, iii, 2.
païsava-, praviś-, 29.
paṇālië, praṇālyā, 12.
padidu, patitaḥ, 2.
parāsuēṇa, paraśunā, 16.
pasaṇṇaṁ, prasannam, 6.
pahava-, prabhū-, iii, 4.
pukkara-, puṣkara-, 3.
pumma-, dṛś-, 29.
purisē, puruṣēṇa, puruṣaiḥ, puruṣāt, puruṣasya, puruṣē, 15.
pellē, pātayati, 27.
ppaāsu, prayāsam, prakāśam, or pravāsam, 27.
priya-, priya-, 4.

bālaü, bālakaḥ, 28 ; bālāḥ, 25.
bāladu (?), bālā, 7.
bālāu, bālā, 10 ; bālāḥ, 25.
bālāō, bālāḥ, 25.
bālāhiṁ, bālāyām, bālābhiḥ, bālāsu, 12.
bolla-, vad-, 30.
brō-, brū-, iii, 4.

bhallaṁ, bhadram, 5.
bhūdu, bhūtaḥ, iii, 4.
bhicca-, bhṛtya-, iii, 2.
bhō-, bhū-, iii, 4.

maïṁ, mām, mayā, mayi, 23.
maṁ, mām, 9.
makkara-, maskara-, 3.
macca-, mṛtyuḥ, 16.
majjha, mama, māt, 23.
majjhu, mama, māt, 23.
maha, mama, māt, 23.
mālāu, mālāḥ, 11.
mua-, muc-, 30.

mukka-, muc-, 30.
mṛga-, mṛga-, 4.
mella-, muc-, 30.
mēraṁ, madīyam, 5.
mēradu (?), madīyā, 7.
mō, mām, 31.
mōharaṁ (?), madīyam, 5.

yochalahīa, chalabhītaḥ, iii, 2.

rakkasamugha- (?), rākṣasamukha-, 3.
rayjjē, rājyē, iii, 2.
rāhīu, rādhā, 10.
rīṇa, vana-, 4.
rukkha, vṛkṣāḥ, 18.
rukkhaü, vṛkṣaḥ, 25.
rukkhasu, vṛkṣasya, 14.
rukkhahassa, vṛkṣasya, 14.
rukkhahu, vṛkṣaḥ, 10.
rukkhu, vṛkṣaḥ, 16, 25.
rukkhō, vṛkṣaḥ, 25.

laggu, lagnā, 6.
lāhuli- (? gāhuli-), (?) "vastraprâpta-", "laghu-", 4.
lōgu, lōkaḥ, 2.

vacca-, sthāpaya-, 29.
vañca-, vraj-, 29.
vaṇaïṁ, vanāni, 11.
vaṇaē, vanēna, 12.
vaṇaḍaṁ, vanam, 8.
vaṇahaṁ, vanasya, 13 ; vanānām, 14.
vaṇahē, vana !, 17.
vaṇahō, vanāni, 18.
vaṇāiṁ, vanāni, 11.
vaṇāḍaṁ, vanam, 8.
varha-, vṛṣ-, iii, 4.
vahūu, vadhvaḥ, vadhūḥ, 11.
vahūē, vadhvā, 12 ; vadhvām, 17.
vahūhaṁ, vadhūnām, 14.
vahūhĩ, vadhvām, vadhūbhiḥ, vadhūṣu, 12.
vahūhuṁ, vadhvāḥ, 13; vadhūbhyaḥ, 13.
vahūhuṁ (?), vadhūnām, 14.
vahūhē, vadhu !, 17.
viiṇṇa (?), vidīrṇāḥ, 16.
viruaṁ, viruddham, 3.
vrāḍi, vyāḍiḥ, 4.
vrāsu, vyāsaḥ, 4.

saala-, sakala-, 2.
saṁrakkhiō (? **saṁkappiō**), saṁrakṣitaḥ (? saṁdāritaḥ), 16.
saṁkappiō, see the preceding.
siā, śrīḥ, 6.
suarō, sukaraḥ, 25.
sughu, sukham, 2.
sē (? **tē**), saḥ, 21.
sō, saḥ, 26.
sōji, saiva, iii, 3.
sōdhu, śōthaḥ, 2.

hatthi, hastinam, 27.
hamu, ahaṁ, 23.
hasahuṁ, hasāmaḥ, 26.
hasihii, hasiṣyati, 28.
hasīsaï, hasiṣyati, 28.
hasēdi, hasati, 26.
hiaḍā, hṛdayam, 6.
hojjaï, bhavēt, 25.
hossaï, bhaviṣyati, 28.
hōjjaï, bhavēt, 25.

Sanskrit-Prakrit.

agniḥ, aggi, aggī, 8.
atra, ēthu (?), 10.
adas ; **amu-**, amu-, 20; **asau**, amu, 20; **adaḥ**, amu, 20 ; **amum**, amu, 20 ; **amībhiḥ** (? **ēbhiḥ**), ēhĩ, 31.
adhunā, aēhi (?), 31.
asiḥ ; **asinā**, asiēṇa (?), 16; **asibhiḥ**, asiēhiṁ, 16.
asmad ; **aham**, hamu, 23; **mām**, mō, 31 ; maṁ, 9 ; maïṁ, 23 : **mayā**, maïṁ, 23 ; **māt**, majjha, 23 ; majjhu, 23 ; maha, 23 ; **mama**, majjha, 23 ; majjhu, 23 ; maha, 23 ; amha, 23 ; **mayi**, maïṁ, 23 ; **vayam**, amhaïṁ, 23, 26 ; **asmān**, amhaïṁ, 23 ; **asmābhiḥ**, amhahiṁ, 23; amhēhi (? amhē, hiṁ), 23; amhē, 23; **asmāt**, amha (? amhahaṁ), 23; **asmākam**, ṇō, 23 **asmāsu**, amhasu, 23; amhāsu, 23.

idam ; **ayam**, imu, 20 ; **idam**, imu, 20; **imam**, imu, 20.
iṣuḥ,; **iṣubhiḥ**, isuēhiṁ, 16.

uccaḥ, uccu (?), 10.

ētad ; **ēta-**, ēha-, 20; **ēṣaḥ**, ē, 21 ; ēsu, 9 ; ēha, 21 ; ēhu, 21, 28 (bis) ; ēhē, 21 ; ēhō 21; **ētam,** ēha, 21 ; ēhu, 21 ; ēhē, 21 ; ēhō, 21 ; **ētasmin,** ēhē, 21 ; ? **ēbhiḥ**, ēhiṁ (31).

kaṇṭhē, kaṇṭhē, 6.
kānanam ; **kānanasya,** kāṇaṇahō, 13 ; **kānanēbhyaḥ**,kāṇaṇahaṁ, 13; **kāṇaṇahuṁ**, 13.
kāminī, kāmiṇīdu, 7.
kim ; **kaḥ**, kō, 19 ; **kā,** kō, 19 ; **kim,** kō, 19; **kam**, kaṁ, 19 ; **kām**, kaṁ, 19; **kim**, kaṁ, 19 ; **kasya**, kassu, 19; kāsu, 19 ; kasu, 19 ; **kasyāḥ** kassu, 19 ; kāsu, 19 ; kasu, 19 ; **kasmin,** kaïṁ, 19; **kasyām**, kaïṁ, 19 ; **kē**, kē, 19 ; **kāḥ**, kē, 19 ; **kāni**, kē, 19 ; **kān,** kō, 19 ; **kāḥ,** kē, 19 ; **kāni,** kē, 19 ; **kēṣu**, kēsu, 19 ; **kāsu,** kēsu, 19.
kīdṛśa-, kēha-, 6 ; **kīdṛśī**, kēhī, 5.
√**kṛ-,** kara-, 30 ; **kariṣyāmaḥ,** kāmahuṁ (?), 28.
kṛṣṇaḥ, kaṇha 9, 27, 28 ; kaṇhu, 10 ; **kṛṣṇam,** kaṇha, 9.
√**krīḍ-**; **krīḍan,** kīlantu, 9 ; **krīḍantī**, kīlantu, 9.
khaḍgaḥ, khaṇḍuṁ, iii, 3.
khalu, kkhu, 25.

gandharvāḥ, gandhavvahō, 18.
gaurī, gōrī, 9 : gōlaḍī, 6.
√**grah-**, guṇha-, 30.

ca, a, 27.
√**cakṣ-**; **ā-cakṣ-**,'akkha-, 30.
√**car-** ; **caranti,** caranti, 10.
catvāri, cāri, 31.
chala-bhītaḥ, ycchala-hīa, iii, 2.

jārasya, jāraha, 7.

tād : **saḥ,** tē (? sē), 21 : sō, 26 ; **saiva,** sōji iii, 3 ; **tam,** tadrū (?), 19 ; **tām,** tadrū (?), 19 ; **tat,** tadrū (?), 19 ; **tasya**, tāsu, 27 ; tāsu (?), 16 . tadru, 20 ; **tasyāḥ,** tadru. 20 ; **tasmin,** tadru, 20; tēhiṁ, 12 ; **tasyām**, tadru. 20 ; tēhiṁ, 12 ; **taiḥ**, tēhiṁ. 12, **tābhiḥ**, tēhiṁ, 12; **tēṣām**, tāṇṇa (? teṇṇi) ; 31 : **tēṣu**, tēhiṁ, 12 ; **tāsu**, tēhiṁ, 12.
√**tim-**, timma-, 29.

√**tul-**; **tōlayatha**, tulahu, 27.
trīṇi, tiṇṇi, 31.
tvadīyam, tēraṁ, 5 ; tōharaṁ (?), 5.

daśana-, ḍaśaṇa-, iii, 3.
√**dā-**; **dadāsi**, dēhi, 27.
√**dṛś-**; dekkha-, pumma-, 29 ; **darśaya-** darasa-, dākkha-, 29.
dēvāḥ, dēvā, 27.
dēśam, dēsu, 27.
daivāt, devvahō, dēivvahō, 25.
dvē, dui, 31.

dhanāni, dhaṇāī, 27.

na, ṇa, 26.
nadī ; **nadyāḥ**, ṇaīhē, 13; **nadyām**, ṇaïē, 17 ; **nadyaḥ**, ṇaīhō, 18 ; ṇaīu, 11 ; **nadīḥ**, ṇaīu. 11; **nadībhyaḥ**, ṇaīhaṁ, 13.
naraḥ, ṇarō, 9 ; **narakaḥ,** ṇaraō, 9.
nāgarāḥ (?), ṇāalahē, 10.
√ **nī-**; **ā-nāyaya-,** āṇāva-, 30.

patitam, padidu, 2.
paraśunā, parāsuēṇa, 16.
puruṣaḥ ; **puruṣēṇa,** purisē, 15 ; **puruṣāt,** purisē, 15 ; **puruṣasya,** purisē, 15 ; **puruṣē,** purisē, 15 ; **puruṣaiḥ**, purisē, 15.
puṣkara-, pukkara-, 3.
pātayati, pellē, 27.
prayāsam (? **prakāśam**, or **pravāsam**), ppaāsu, 27.
praṇālyā, paṇālië, 12.
prasannam, pasaṇṇaṁ, 6.
priya-, priya, 4.
bālakaḥ, bālaü, 28.
bālā, bāladu (?), 7 ; bālaü, 10; **bālāḥ**, bālāu, 25, bālaü, 25; bālāō, 25 ; **bālāyām**, bālāhiṁ, 12 ; **bālābhiḥ**, bālāhiṁ, 12 ; **bālāsu**, bālāhiṁ, 12,
√**brū-**, brō-, iii, 4.
bhadram, bhallaṁ, 5.
√**bhū-**, bhō-, iii, 4 ; **pra-bhū-**, pa-hava-, iii, 4 ; **bhavēt**, hojjaï, 25 ; hōijjai, 25 ; **bhaviṣyati**, hossaï, 28 ; **bhūtaḥ**, bhūdu, iii, 4.
bhṛtya-, bhicca-, iii, 2.
madīyam, mēraṁ, 5 ; mōharaṁ (?), 5 ; **madīyā**, mēradu (? , 7.
maskara-, makkara-, 3.

mālāḥ, mālāu, 11.
√**muc-**, mua-, mukka-, mella-, 30.
mṛga-, mṛga-, 4.
mṛtyuḥ, macca, 16.

yad ; **yaḥ**, jē, 21 ; **yam**, jadrū, 19 ; **yām**, jadrū, 19 ; **yat**, jadrū, 19 ; **yēna**, jēṇa, 16 ; **yasya**, jadru, 20 ; **yasyāḥ**, jadru, 20 ; **yasmin**, jadru, 20 ; **yasyām**, jadru, 20.
√**yā** ; **ā-yānti**, aāhĩ, 27.
yutam, judu, 27.
yuvā, juāṇu, 10.
yuṣmad ; **tvam**, tuhaṁ, 22 ; **tvām**, tō, 31 ; païṁ, 22 ; **tvayā**, païṁ, 22 ; **tvāt**, tuha, 22 ; tumha, 22 ; tumhē, 22 ; tumbha, (? tujjha), 22 ; **tava**, tuha, 22 ; tumha, 22 ; tumhē, 22 ; tumbha (? tujjha), 22 ; **tvayi**, païṁ; 22; **yūyam**, tumhē, 27; tumbhaïṁ, 22; **yuṣmān**, tumbhaïṁ, 22 ; **yuṣmābhiḥ**, tumhahiṁ, 22.

rākṣasamukha-, rakkasamugha- (?), 3.
rājyē, rayjjē, iii, 2.
rādhā, rāhīu, 10.

lagnā, laggu, 6.
"**laghu-**", lāhuli- (? gāhuli-), 4.
√**liṅg-**; **ā-liṅgati**, āliṅgaï, 9.
lōkaḥ, lōgu, 2.

√**vad-**, bolla-, 30.
vadhūḥ ; **vadhvā**, vahūē, 12 ; **vadhvāḥ**, vahūhuṁ, 13 ; **vadhvām**, vahūhi, 12 ; vahūē, 17 ; **vahu** !, vahūhē, 17 ; **vadhvaḥ**, vahūu, 11 ; **vadhūḥ**, vahūu, 11; **vadhūbhiḥ**, vahūhi, 12 ; **vadhūbhyaḥ**, vahūhuṁ, 13 ; **vadhūnām**, vahūhaṁ, 14 ; vahūhuṁ (?), 14 ; **vadhūṣu**, vahūhi, 12.
vana-, rīṇa-, 4 ; **vanam**, vaṇaḍaṁ, vaṇāḍaṁ, 8 ; **vanēna**, vaṇaē, 12 ; **vanasya**, vaṇahaṁ, 13 ; **vana** !, vaṇahē, 17 ; **vanāni**, vaṇaïṁ, vaṇāiṁ, 11 ; vaṇahō, 18 ; **vanānām**, vaṇahaṁ, 14.
"**vastraprāpta-**" (?), lāhuli- (? gāhuli-), 4.
vidīrṇaḥ, viiṇṇa (?), 16.
viruddham, viruaṁ, 3.
viś-; **pra-viś-** païsava-, 29 ; **pra-viśati**, païśadi (?), iii, 2.
vṛkṣaḥ, rukkhu, 16, 25 ; rukkhō, 25 ; rukkhahu, 10 ; rukkhaü, 25 ; **vṛkṣasya**, rukkhasu, 14 ; rukkhahassa, 14 ; **vṛkṣāḥ**, rukkha, 18.
√**vṛṣ-**, varha-, iii, 4.
vyāḍiḥ, vrāḍi, 4.
vyāsaḥ vrāsu, 4.
√**vraj-**, vañca-, 29.

√**śiṣ** (? √**śliṣ-**) ; **ā-śiṣ-** (? **ā-śliṣ-**), dhāruṇḍa- (? āruṇṇa-), 29.
śuṇḍaka-, chuṇḍaga-, 3.
śōthaḥ, sōdhu, 2.
śrīḥ, siā, 6.
√**śliṣ-**, see √śiṣ-.

saṁrakṣitaḥ (? **saṁdāritaḥ**), sāṁrakkhiō (? saṁkappiō), 16.
sakala-, saala-, 2.
saṁdāritaḥ, see saṁrakṣitaḥ.
siprā, chappā (?), 3.
sukaraḥ, suarō, 25.
sukham, sughu, 2.
stōkam, khōḍaṁ (? thōḍaṁ), 5.
√**sthā-**, ṭhā-, thakka-, 29 ; **sthāpaya-**, cāva (? ṭhāva-), vacca-, 29.

hastinam, hatthi, 27.
√**has-**; **hasati**, hasēdi, 26 ; **hasāmaḥ**, hasahuṁ, 26 ; **hasiṣyati**, hasihii, hasīsaï, 28.
hṛdayam, hiaḍā, 6.

EARLY HISTORY OF INDIAN FAMINES.*

BY P. N. RAMASWAMI, B.A.

(*With an Additional Note by* L. M. ANSTEY.)

(*Continued from page* 150.)

II. Mediaeval Hindu Kingdoms, from the death of Harsha in A.D. 650 to the Muhammadan Conquest, A.D. 1200.

Age of Rajput Ascendency, A.D. 600 to 1200.

During the five and a half centuries intervening between the death of Harsha and the rise of Muhammadan power, India, released from the control of a vigorous central government, had reverted to her normal condition of anarchical autonomy. The death of Harsha having loosened the bonds which held his empire together, the experiences of the third and sixth centuries were repeated, and a rearrangement of kingdoms was begun, of which the record is obscure. It is impossible to say exactly what happened in most of the provinces for a considerable time after his disappearance from the scene. Generally speaking, a medley of petty states with ever varying boundaries was ceaselessly engaged in dynastic wars. It might be gathered from this circumstance, even if we had no more conclusive evidence from other sources, that famines and epidemics, destructive to an extent of which we can hardly form an adequate idea, devastated the country.

The history of famines during this period is however marred by two serious limitations. First, our information is incomplete. It is true that for Southern India we have ample epigraphic evidence, but the history of Northern India is remarkable for its paucity of records. Secondly, it is impossible after the unity of Indian history has been lost, to relate the history of Indian famines in a single continuous narrative arranged in strict chronological order. At best a bird's-eye view can be taken.

In A.D. 879 a universal famine affecting several parts of the world was also felt in India (*Chamber's Encyclopædia*, Art. 'Famines'). The history of a great famine in Kashmir in A.D. 917–918 is recorded in ample detail in the metrical chronicle called the *Râjatarangini* written in the twelfth century by a learned Brahman named Kalhana, which has been admirably edited and translated by Sir M. A. Stein. Kalhana refers to a famine in Kashmir in A.D. 445; but the date is not definitely known. The awful famine which occurred in A.D. 917 is thus described: "One could scarcely see the water in the Vitasta (Jhelum) entirely covered as the river was with corpses soaked and swollen by the water in which they had long been lying. The land became densely covered with bones in all directions until it was like one great burial ground causing terror to all beings. The king's ministers and the Tantrins (household troops) became wealthy as they amassed riches by selling stores of rice at high prices. The king would take that person as minister who raised the sums due on the Tantrins by selling the wretched subjects...." "This gruesome picture," says Mr. V. A. Smith, "might give cause for reflection to some critics of modern methods of relief." The *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Art. 'Famines') records a famine in India in A.D 941 "in which entire provinces were depopulated and men driven to cannibalism." It also records another severe famine in A.D. 1022 (*vide* Balfour, *Cyclop. of India*, vol. I). Farishta says that the year A.D. 1033 "was remarkable for a great drought and famine in many parts of the world. The famine was succeeded by a pestilence (Joodry Plague) which swept off many thousands from the face of the earth; for in less than one month 40,000 persons died in Ispahan alone. Nor did it rage with less violence in Hindustan where whole countries were entirely depopulated." (Briggs, *Hist. of the Rise of Muhammadan Power*, vol. I, p. 103). *Chambers Encyclopædia*

* See foot-note 1 in page 107.

refers to a famine which raged in Northern India from A.D. 1052 to 1060. Mr. Loveday (*Hist. and Economics of Ind. Famines*, App. A, p. 135 and fol.) notices a famine which devastated the Deccan and Burhanpur for three years, A.D. 1116–1119. Miss Mabel Duff (*Chron. of India*, p. 135) refers to "the great flood and famine that devastated Kashmir in A.D. 1099 and the following year." In A.D. 1148–1159 there was an eleven years' famine in India. In A.D. 1162 the universal famine affecting different parts of the world found an echo in this country. There is a legend that a famine lasting twelve years visited Bombay in A.D. 1200 (Loveday, *Ind. Famine*, p. 135). So much for the series of famines that affected Northern India from A.D. 650 to 1200.

The Kingdoms of the Peninsula.

For the history of famines in the kingdoms of the Peninsula from A.D. 650 down to the Muhammadan conquest, we have two chief sources of information, *viz.*, epigraphic and literary. The epigraphic records of Southern India show that famines during all this period were of frequent occurrence. Speculation in grain and the sale of children in time of famine are referred to in two proverbs. A famine in the seventh century due to "absence of rain followed by floods in the Cauvery" is mentioned in the *Periyapurâṇam* (Navalar's edition, p. 115). It was on this occasion that the holy Appar and Sambandhar were helped by Siva to relieve the distress (*Tanjore Gazetteer*, chap. XV, p. 240). Another famine is recorded in the *Epigraphica Carnatica* (vol. IV, No. 108 of 1540). At that time grains sold at 7 *mana* (maunds) for one *hana* (fanam) and men ate men (*manusa manusara tindaru*). "Things," as Mr. Rice curtly remarks (*Mysore and Coorg*, ch. III, p. 179) "were apparently left to their own course."

Famines were sometimes caused by excessive rainfall. A terrible famine occurring in the Chôḷa-ṇadu in A.D. 1124 is referred to in several inscriptions. A Thiruvaṭhûr inscription (*Ep. Rep.*, 1900–2, No. 276 of 1901 and No. 404 of 1902) refers to the distrainment of lands for non-payment of taxes caused by the utter destruction of all crops by a severe inundation; and similar references are made in the Tiruvadi inscription (*ibid.*). Famines in Chôḷa times seem to have been frequently caused by inundations; hence the name "Punal-ṇâdu" (land of floods) given to the Chôḷa-ṇâdu. Further details of these famines are given in Mr. Gopinath Rao's *A Brief History of the Chôḷa Dynasty.*

But it would be manifestly inaccurate to ascribe famines solely to droughts and floods. More frequently still they were brought about through the ravages of war. In those days wars were frequent and peace was almost unknown. The innumerable petty dynasties that ruled in Southern India were perpetually fighting, some for their very existence, some for mastery over their neighbours. These wars were attended by the greatest cruelties. One of the Pâṇḍyan kings in an inscription boasts, among other exploits, of having set Tanjore and Uraiyûr (the Chôḷa capitals) on fire; of having demolished the houses, high walls, storied houses and places; caused the sites of the buildings to be ploughed over by asses and sown with cowries, etc. One of the Chôḷa kings in his turn in like manner humbled the Pâṇḍyans and assumed the title of Madurâṇtaka (death of the Madura city). Similarly in the *Pattinapâlai* (cf. *St. Joseph's Coll. Magaz.*, Sept. 1918, p. 135) the ravages of Karrikala Chôḷa are described. No wonder then that famines are frequently mentioned in the annals of the kings of South India.

The *Tanjore Gazetteer* (ch. VII, p. 147) alludes to a famine in the Chôḷa-ṇâdu in A.D. 1055 of which the Epigraphist's *Annual Report* for 1899, ch. IX, gives the following details: "During the reign of this king (Rajendra) in A.D. 1055 a terrible famine in consequence of some default on the king's part occurred." This famine, as the Âlaṇgudi inscription

shows, was caused by the constant warfare of king Rajendra, which dried up the resources of the kingdom and terribly enhanced the taxes. In the south of Kumbakônam, at Kôvilâdi, "times became bad, the village was ruined and the ryots fled" (Epigraphist's *Ann. Rep.*, 1899). Apparently there was no great loss of life on this occasion.

The evils of famine, which were provoked in several instances by exorbitant taxation, were accentuated by the indebtedness of the peasantry, the prevailing high rate of interest, the absence of secure communications, and the want of an effective co-ordinating central authority. The highways were very unsafe, and caravans of merchants travelled from town to town escorted by soldiers (*Kanakasabai*, ch. IX, p. 109). From an inscription recorded by Mr. Venkayya (*Arch. Surv. Rep.* for 1903) we learn that the current rate of interest was 15 per cent. But higher rates were not unknown. In one of the famous Ukkal inscriptions (Hultzch, *S. I. Inscriptions,* vol. 3, part I, p. 9) the rate of interest recorded is 50 per cent. per annum. The exorbitant taxation which crushed the people and which must have frequently contributed to bring about severe famines, needs more detailed explanation.

"There is ample evidence," as Dr. Burnell in *South Indian Palæography* has pointed out, "to show that Manu's proportion of one-sixth was never observed, and that the land tax taken not only by the Muhammadan but Hindu sovereigns also was fully one half of the gross produce." Even when the land tax was maintained at the traditional one-sixth rate, kings like Harihara of Vijayanagar made up the deficiency by a multitude of vexatious cesses, reckoned in the case of Vijayanagar by Wilks as twenty. In Appendix A will be found three extracts which may give the reader some idea of the multitude of those vexatious cesses. The Chola, Hoysala and Pandya kings, the native dynasties of the Northern Circars and the famous kings of Vijayanagar, all of them exacted 50 per cent. of the gross produce.

Regarding the other taxes we need only mention that they can be divided into classes—namely, taxes on various professions and incomes, octroi duties, customs, and pearl fisheries. The professional tax was singularly elaborate and inquisitorial. It evidently reached every class of the population and every art of life. The weaver had to pay a small tax on each loom, the merchant had to pay a certain proportion of his profits, and the keeper of a mill, of his earnings; goldsmiths and masons, barbers and labourers of all sorts, had to pay their share. The all pervading nature of this taxation can be realised from the fact that the washerman had to pay something for the use of the stones on which he washed his clothes in tanks and rivers. To use the expressive language of Nelson, "every weaver's loom paid so much per annum; and every iron smelter's surface, every oil-mill, every retail shop, every house occupied by an artificer; and every indigo vat. Every collector of wild honey was taxed; every maker and seller of clarified butter; every owner of carriage bullocks. Even stones in the beds of rivers, used by washermen to beat clothes on, paid a small tax" Contributions were levied from the merchants (*settis*), the weavers (*kaikkolars*), the shop-keepers (*vanigars*), the oil-*vanigars* and classes who formed the "eighteen communities." The *idengai* and *valangai varis* were paid by the people of the right and left-hand castes respectively; the police rate, by all communities. Again, the purchase and sale of cattle, the manufacture of salt, the catching and sale of fish in tanks and rivers, the cutting of fuel in forests, all these were subject to taxation. Every marriage was a source of income. Every labourer was bound to serve the king freely for a period in the year. That the king attached a good deal of importance to free service (*vetti-vari*) is clear from an inscription of the fifteenth century at Tirukkaṭṭupalli, which says that the king gave away to the temple of the place about 40 to 45 different taxes, which appear to have been generally collected by the

palace at that period, except the *vetti-vari.* Nor is this surprising in an age when the construction of public works was a criterion of royal greatness and popular prosperity, and when there was a mania for such works among kings and governors, Polygars and petty chiefs.

The octroi duties and land customs were evidently levied at fixed places and on all merchandise. "All kinds of goods, even fire-wood and straw, paid these duties." The rates must have varied with variations of weight, of commodities, and of the distance travelled. They were also liable to constant enhancements at the ruler's discretion. From stray and incidental notices in the chronicles, we find, as Nelson did, that the usual octroi duty on paddy was one *fanam* for every eight *padis* or bags (*i.e.*, a duty of 2¼d. on every 400 lbs). Similarly, coastal towns levied sea-customs. An exceedingly interesting regulation regarding maritime enterprise by king Ganapati Deva of Warangal in the thirteenth century is given in the *Ep. Rep*, 1910, p. 107. It is not improbable that a similar policy guided other powers in later times; but no definite and dogmatic statement is possible. The vexatious imports and exports and duties, besides the innumerable tolls during the transport of goods, must have clogged considerably the ancient South Indian industry and trade, which besides were also subject to other vexatious restraints.[8]

The pearl fisheries, which were an object of greedy competition among foreign exploiters, were a royal monopoly and naturally proved a lucrative source of revenue.

Such heavy and oppressive taxation, which undoubtedly contributed much to the often recurring famines in Southern India, is after all quite in consonance with the traditions of the country. From Vedic times (B.C. 2000–1500), when the Heaven-world is spoken of as a place where no taxes are paid by the weak to the mighty, we have an unbroken record of oppressive taxation. The Epic literature (B.C. 1500–800) furnishes abundant evidence of this statement. The literature of the Age of Laws and Philosophy is replete with devices for scientifically rack-renting the people; and the art of fleecing both nobility and commons attains perfection in the Kautilyan *Arthasâstra*. Readers of the *Arthasâstra* (tran. R. Shama Sastri) will agree with the remark of L. D. Barnett (*Antiquities of India*, ch. III, p. 104) that the Kautilyan *Arthasâstra* "depicts a society choking in the deadly grip of a grinding bureaucracy. On every branch of industry lay the dead hand of taxation." We have given a brief extract describing Kautilyan taxation in Appendix B. We do not however wish to convey the impression that taxation in India was never of a mild or more reasonable character. Good Epic kings who were content to tax their subjects lightly were not unknown; and the Chinese travellers, Fa Hien (*A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, ch. XVI, tran. Legge) and Hiuen Tsang (Beal, *Records of the Western World*, ch. X) tell us that taxation in India at their time was not onerous. It is useless to give more instances. What is maintained here is that Ancient Indian History furnishes a continuous tradition of oppressive taxation which accentuated the evils of famine, and not unfrequently was so enhanced as even to provoke famine.

We shall now pass on to the second source of information respecting this period, *viz.*, the literature of the time, with the caution however that such literature is, generally speaking, largely coloured, and due precaution must be exercised in 'distilling history' out of its exaggerated descriptions.

I shall first take up the religious literature of Southern India. The *Tiruvilaiyâdal Purâṇam* which professes to be a chronicle of the Pâṇḍyan kings, contains several references to famines and droughts. In the fourteenth *Miracle* it is said that on account of the displacement

[8] The above two paragraphs are largely based on the extremely valuable article of Prof. V. Rangacharya on "the History of the Naik Kingdom of Madura" (*Ind. Antiquary*, vol XLV, 1916).

of the Nine Planets, no rains fell, there was no harvest and no fodder, and the people suffered terribly from famine. The Pâṇḍyan king Ugravîra, with his brother kings, the Chera and the Chôḷa monarchs, whose subjects were equally a prey to this terrible calamity, went to consult the sage Agastya as to the best means of averting the drought and famine, etc. The fifteenth *Miracle* records another great drought in the time of Ugravîra Pâṇḍya, when "owing to scarcity of rain the rivers dried up; the king without adequate resources was unable to protect his subjects; and suffering greatly like a mother for the illness of her children, the king consulted the astrologers, who told him that on account of some adverse planets no rain would fall for one year, etc." The thirty-first *Miracle* tells us that in the days of Kulablîshana Pâṇḍya a great drought and famine occurred, which caused many people to migrate to neighbouring countries. The thirty-eighth *Miracle* mentions the ravages of floods in Pâṇḍyanâdu. We might easily multiply such instances, but these will suffice for our purpose.

The *Kaṇḍapurâṇa* gives several instances of droughts occurring in the land of the Tamilians. The *Tirutoṇḍar Periya Purâṇa*, in the Kotpuḷi Nayanâr *charitra*, mentions a great famine that devastated the Chôḷanâdu; and other similar allusions to famines can be instanced from the *Tiruvâdavûradigaḷ Purâṇa.*

But after quoting from the religious works, we may pass on now to the secular works of Tamil poets and other writers, and see what they have to say on the subject of droughts and famines. Want of space compels me to confine myself to the *Sacred Kuraḷ*. In this work the introductory chapter on God is followed by one on Rain; and in regard to this Glover (?) (*The Folk-Songs of Southern India*, p. 221) remarks: "Rain is the greatest requirement of a tropical country. Without it man and beast must perish; with abundance of rain all nature smiles, plenty fills every garner, poverty becomes bearable, for there is the certainty of food. Most of the ancient vernacular books therefore follow the invocation of the Deity, usually Gaṇêsa or Sarasvatî, with the praise of rain." The remarks of the great Tamil scholar, Mr. G. U. Pope (*Sacred Kuraḷ*, p. 5) are to the same purpose: "It seems strange to European readers that the introductory chapter on God should be followed by one on rain. This is very usual however in Tamil literature, the idea being that neither virtue, wealth nor pleasure could exist without rain......"

The *Chilappadhikâram* tells of a grave miscarriage of justice in the Pâṇḍyan kingdom; and how from that day when an innocent man was unjustly condemned and beheaded, there was no rain in the country; and famine, fever and small-pox smote the people severely. Veru-Veḷ-Chelya the king, who held his court at Korakai, believing that these misfortunes were brought about by that grave miscarriage of justice, performed many expiatory ceremonies. Copious showers of rain then fell, and famine and pestilence disappeared from the kingdom. Kosar, king of Kongu, Gajabâhu, king of Lanka, and Peruṇk-kiḷḷi Chôḷa also performed several ceremonies. and their kingdoms were blest with never-failing rain and abundant crops.

Thus not infrequently "the clouds changed their nature and the lark which always sings their praise gasped for the little drop which the clouds withheld" (*Paṭṭinapâlai*). "That land [was to be discovered] whose peaceful annals knew nor famine, force, nor wasting plague, nor ravage of foe" (*Sacred Kuraḷ*, p. 102). The kings were held responsible by the poets as well as by the common people for the occurrence of these famines.[9] As Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar remarks (*Ancient India*, ch. IV, p. 69), the ideal set before the kings was

[9] Where King from right deflecting makes unrighteous gain,
The seasons change, the clouds pour down no rain.
Where King, who righteous law regards, the sceptre wields.
There fall the showers, there rich abundance crowns the fields.—(*Sacred Kuraḷ*).

something unattainable. "Oh the King! he is to blame if the rains fail; he is to blame if the women go astray, etc."

Some kings, inspired by the wholesome fear that they would be held responsible for these calamities, spared no pains to avert the horrors of famine. They kept throughout the land granaries stored with grain to be distributed in times of scarcity; and they carried out a very liberal programme of irrigational works.

Meadows Taylor (*History of India*, ch. XIV, p. 67) offers some interesting remarks on the great irrigational activities of the Southern Kings. "In these Southern Kingdoms, as an almost higher proof of their civilisation, may be adduced that artificial irrigation of the soil that had been commenced upon a scale of extended usefulness, which existed probably in no other country except Babylon. The exact period at which the system was commenced is not known; but existing inscriptions relate to periods shortly after the Christian era, and it is not improbable that it had then been long in operation. In this particular the Southern people of India left the Northerners "far behind." Of such useful works upwards of 50,000 are still in working order in the Madras Presidency, and the total number of these enduring monuments of past ages must be immense.

Besides the kings, the village assemblies frequently strove to fight against famines. A South Indian inscription of about 1054, for instance, records how in a certain village visited by famine the assembly, expecting no succour from the king, themselves moved in the matter of providing relief for the people. They secured a loan of 1011 *kalangu* of gold and 464 *palam* of silver in jewellery and vessels from the local temple, to which they mortgaged 8¾ *vêli* of the common lands of the village, from the produce of which the interest on the loan was to be paid (*Madr. Ep. Rep.*, 1899–1900, p. 20). Another case of self-help is reported in the reign of Kulôttuṅga Chôḷa III in Inscriptions Nos. 274 and 279 of 1909 (*Madr. Ep. Rep.*, 1909–10, p. 95) when the assembly of Tirukkachur borrowed 15 *kasu* of a generous individual, and for interest gave him a piece of land belonging to the village, the government dues on which they themselves paid. Inscription No. 397 of 1913 records a similar case where, in a period "of bad time and scarcity of grain," a loan was arranged for by the village assembly to tide over the distress. One more interesting case is recorded in Inscription No. 353 of 1909. Râjêndra Dêva (A.D. 1052) paid some gold to a village for building a stone temple. They had already built 5 *angas* of the temple for half the money, when a famine occurred and the people could neither complete it nor return the money. The temple authorities complained of them to the king, and they were eventually let off on supplying an image of the god that was needed in the temple.

It is refreshing to read of such beneficent activities on the part of the villagers themselves. Nevertheless owing to deficient means of communication and transport, absence of effective co-ordination, etc., it is very unlikely that the people were able to neutralise altogether the horrors of famine. The overtaxed, ignorant and apathetic rural classes, largely given to drink, sunk in indebtedness and earning a precarious livelihood, remained always a ready prey to famine. Although there existed in those days an active maritime trade, it may be doubted whether foreign trade provided labour and sustenance to any considerable portion of the population. It is often forgotten that our foreign trade[10] consisted chiefly of a few articles of luxury like pepper, pearls, beryls, sandalwood, peacock's feathers, etc. The trade was chiefly in the hands of a small capitalist class, and it is very unlikely that it could absorb the surplus population. The teeming millions of India were then, as now, engaged in agriculture, and were exposed to all the vicissitudes of periodically recurring famines. Now and then beneficent kings and local communities attempted to relieve the people; but such efforts were necessarily on a small scale and were productive of very limited results.

(To be continued.)

10 *Cf.* Rawlinson's *Intercourse between India and the Western World*; Mookerjea, *History of Indian Shipping*; Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, ch. III, pp. 10–39.

A FEW REFLECTIONS ON BUCKLER'S POLITICAL THEORY OF THE INDIAN MUTINY.[1]

By S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I, C.V.O.

MR. BUCKLER possesses a genius for academic discussion, and apparently a certain bias against the men who laid the foundations of British Rule in India. If we are to accept the spirit and teaching of his pamphlet on the "Political Theory of the Indian Mutiny", we must perforce assume, not only that contemporary writers were deceived as to the real causes of the outbreak of 1857, as some of them may well have been, but also that every student of Indian history since that date has likewise been misled as to the *fons et origo* of the Sepoy Revolt. We must further acquiesce in the view that this fundamental error is the direct product of the consciously dishonest propaganda of the East India Company, which in pursuance of a desire to justify itself in the eyes of the British public of past centuries, deliberately concocted a fictitious history for home consumption, and in so doing, if I apprehend his meaning correctly, deliberately deceived also the potentates and people of India. Whatever grounds there may be for the view that opinion in England was bemused from 1750 to 1857 by the specious tales woven by this Macchiavellian body of East India merchants, no writer who has lived in India and studied at first hand the acute perceptive power of its peoples, could solemnly suggest that up to 1857 the Indian territorial leaders and the general body of the people suffered themselves to be misled by the alleged duplicity of the Company and actually to believe that for some years prior to 1857 the Company still regarded itself in fact, and wished to be regarded, as the vassal of the Mughal Emperor.

Yet this assertion is one of the main props of Mr. Buckler's novel theory regarding the cause of the Indian Mutiny; and it seems to me to display a fundamental and profound ignorance of the mentality of the people of India, both Hindu and Muhammadan. Mr. Buckler has presumably studied the period of Indian history immediately preceding the Mutiny with great care: he has read and digested all documents relating to the trial of Bahadur Shah II, to which the English student can obtain access in the tranquil surroundings of his own country. But I feel bound to remark that his arguments disclose an inadequate acquaintanceship with the psychology of the people of India, and that his apparent bias against the East India Company in no small degree vitiates an otherwise clever academic disquisition. Indeed, had this pamphlet been published at the time when Vinayak Savarkar was compiling his *War of Indian Independence*, 1857, one can imagine that the Brahman rebel would have welcomed Mr. Buckler's theory, as affording some support to the views underlying his seditious publication.

Mr. Buckler's main contention, which rests upon a close study of the record of the proceedings of the trial of the King of Delhi, is that the Mutiny was primarily, if not wholly, the result of the treasonable behaviour of the East India Company towards the Mughal Emperor. The Company, in his view, was simply a vassal of the Emperor, and had become so overbearing and mutinous that the Native Army was obliged to come to its sovereign's assistance and punish its rebel officer. "Hence," in Mr. Buckler's words, "if in 1857 there was any mutineer, it was the East India Company," which by policy and act had deliberately flouted its legal suzerain—the miserable and powerless representative of the house

[1] By F. W. Buckler, M.A., F.R. HISTS., reprinted from the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th Series, vol. V, pp. 71—100.

of Akbar. Before referring to the arguments adduced in support of this contention, it may be observed that the author apparently finds corroboration of his theory in the "outstanding fact that between the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 and the outbreak of the year 1857, there was no sign of concerted opposition to the British in India, save the attempts made by Haidar Ali and his son Tipu."

Assuming the correctness of this statement, surely there is nothing very remarkable in the apparent absence of concerted opposition to the Company, at any rate for a considerable portion of the period. In the first place, the only powers which could have led a mass attack upon the British position in India were the Mughal Emperor, and later the Maratha Confederacy. But from 1707 onwards the Mughal Empire fell rapidly into ruin, and the Emperor himself became a mere phantom and *roi-fainéant.* Aurangzeb's policy fatally weakened Mughal dominion, and one by one the Viceroys and Subahdars of the Empire fell away from their allegiance and began to carve out independent states for themselves. As early as 1715 the English envoys to Delhi were able to remark the rottenness of the Empire—"a Mughal army in open revolt in the streets of the capital and the Emperor himself a mere tool in the hands of unscrupulous ministers." In Bengal the Nawabs became independent; Bombay and Madras witnessed respectively the rise of the Maratha power and of the Nizamu'l-mulk. On all sides the English company watched from its factories an empire sinking into decrepitude, "great nobles carving kingdoms out of the remnants, and the turbulent Maratha hordes growing yearly in strength and devoting all their resources to predatory war." Thus down to 1780 the decadent Mughal Empire was too weak, and the new principalities were far too busy with their scramble for power, to organize combined opposition to the English merchants in India.

Secondly, it is doubtful whether the Company's actions or policy, down to 1750, provided any ground whatever for concerted hostilities on the part of the Indian powers. And if this be true, there is surely nothing very remarkable in the absence of such opposition. In the first half of the eighteenth century the English were still bent only on trading: all they desired was peaceful commerce, and in their capacity as traders they had the sympathy of the Indian trading classes, who profited not a little from their activities. Mr. Roberts in his *History of British India* has pointed out that the revolution of 1756-57 in Bengal was not primarily the conquest of an Indian province by a European trading settlement, but was rather the overthrow of a foreign (Muhammadan) government by the trading and financial classes, both Hindu and British. Bengal was governed by a Nawab, nominally owning the suzerainty of the Mughal: but for many years the Nawabs had been practically independent. They were men of Mughal, Persian and Afghan race, ruling over a Hindu people, who owned most of the wealth of the country and were united by a community of trading interests with the English. By 1750 the Hindus were seen to be less tolerant than before of the Muhammadan minority and were seeking a chance to free themselves from the yoke; while the English were irritated by arbitrary restrictions upon their trade. Siraju'd-daula's impolitic actions pressed equally hardly upon both European trader and Hindu subject, and directly paved the way for the battle of Plassey in 1757.

It can hardly be contended that up to the date of Plassey any real cause existed for concerted action against the Company, and Mr. Buckler's argument seems scarcely relevant. But thereafter the position changed, in consequence of the political power acquired by the English in Bengal. Haidar Ali, the Marathas and the Nizam were all striving for power, and they alternately courted the Company or combined together to threaten its existence

By 1780 Bombay and Madras had so embroiled themselves with the native powers of Central and Southern India that " the foundations of British Rule were shaken to their base." When we recall the fact that in 1780 Mysore, Hyderabad and Poona, supported by all the Maratha chiefs except Baroda, were joined together for a desperate attack upon British power in India ; when we recall Warren Hastings' own admission that he had to face " war either actual or impending in every quarter and with every power in Hindustan," it is impossible to understand Mr. Buckler's assertion that between 1707 and 1857 there was no sign of concerted opposition to British Rule in India.

Again, Mr. Buckler's theory that the Native Army mutinied in 1857 as an overt protest against the insubordinate behaviour of the East India Company towards their beloved suzerain, the Mughal phantom at Delhi, is surely discounted partly by the fact (*a*) that previous mutinies had occurred, which had no concern whatever with Mughal suzerainty, *e.g.*, one in 1764, a second at Vellore, and a third at Barrackpore in 1824, and partly by the fact (*b*) that various sections of Indians other than the soldiers of the Native Army and various non-Moslem interests were implicated in the attempt to overthrow British power in 1857. The alleged grievance against the Company for its cavalier treatment of the descendant of Akbar may perhaps have served to bring the emperor, his entourage, and a section of Muhammadans into overt hostility to the English : but I do not believe for a moment that this consideration carried any weight with Nana Sahib, Tantia Topi, the Rani of Jhansi, or with that large body of the civil population who feared that the British intended to " Christianize " the country. Babu Ramgopal Ghose, a contemporary witness, declared that the notion that their religion was at stake was foisted on the native public by design, and that this notion was at the root of the revolt. Briefly, the Mutiny, far from being merely a Muhammadan attempt to punish the Company for its alleged infidelity to the throne of Delhi, was really the outcome of that fundamental Hindu antagonism to Western civilization and Western materialism, which in more recent times has formed one of the mainsprings of anarchical conspiracies and non-co-operation movements.

Mr. Roberts in chapter XXIX of his *History of British India* and Mr. Holmes in his *History of the Indian Mutiny* give a *résumé* of the various causes underlying the outbreak of 1857, which obliges one to be extremely cautious in accepting Mr. Buckler's new-fangled theory. On his own admission, it is based almost wholly upon the record of the trial of Bahadur Shah II. One can certainly admit that when the Mutiny broke out, the mutineers needed a figure-head and a war-cry. Bahadur Shah filled the required rôle. But though they proclaimed him Emperor, the mutineers showed him little respect and retained the administration of the mutinous area, such as it was, in their own hands. In short, the mutineers dragged in the wretched representative of vanished Mughal sovereignty, merely to give a show of dignity to their revolt, which was based on several actual or fancied grievances of their own and was joined by many others who had no sympathy with the Mughal claim to sovereignty

To substantiate his theory, Mr Buckler suggests that :—

(1) The Mughal Empire down to the deposition of Bahadur Shah II was an *effective source* of political authority, and was the suzerain *de jure* of the East India Company.

(2) The Maratha rebellion was " artificially extended " beyond the year 1720 so that the Company was enabled to portray the loyal vassal Sindia as a monster of tyranny, and itself to pose " in the eyes of India " as a repentant vassal returning

to the loyalty of the Mughal Emperor, while at the same moment it masqueraded in Europe as the British Government and the "protector" of a pensioned king of Delhi.

(3) The duplicity of Wellesly, as expressed in (2), was accentuated by his successors, who owing to ignorance of Indian languages and conditions adopted a policy which the Mughal emperor could not but interpret as high treason, and which therefore ultimately drove the Native army to revolt.

In regard to (1), it seems to me impossible in the light of known facts, to accept th view that the Mughal Empire was an *effective source* of political authority down to the date of the outbreak. To be effective, a government surely must be possessed of the power to impose its will upon its vassals and subjects, and upon any outsider who dares to infringe its rights. If it has not this power, obviously it cannot fall within the category of effective government. What are the historical facts ? In 1756 Ahmad Shah Durrani sacked Delhi; in 1760 the British were supreme in Bengal, the titular Nawab of the province being merely the creature and protégé of the Company: in 1764 was fought the battle of Buxar, in which the English defeated the Emperor of all India and his titular prime minister. As a result of that battle, the Emperor—a homeless fugitive—made his submission, and, in return for an annuity of twenty-six lakhs from the Bengal revenues and the districts of Allahabad and Kora, agreed to resign all further claims on the revenues and to confirm formally the right of the Company to the territories in their possession. He thus became in substance a pensioner of the Company,—hardly a sound basis on which to found a claim to effective political authority. In 1769 the Marathas, having recovered from their defeat, again crossed the Narbada, raided Rajputana and Rohilkand, and began to intrigue with the puppet Emperor, who was subsisting at Allahabad on the money paid to him by the Company. The Marathas offered to place him on the throne of Delhi, and on his accepting this proposal, he was escorted to Delhi in 1771 by Mahadaji Sindia, who became in practice his jailor. He was forced by the Marathas to hand over the two districts of Allahabad and Kora, which had been given to him as an act of grace by Clive. Thereupon Hastings ordered the discontinuance of his allowance,—an act which, as Mr. Roberts remarks, is supported by "all temperate and responsible opinion." From 1784 onwards Sindia had complete control of the aged Emperor, who was practically forced to issue patents appointing the Peshwa supreme Vicegerent of the Empire and Sindia himself the Peshwa's Deputy. "So by a curious turn of the political wheel, the Mughal Emperor had now passed under the control of a general of the Hindu confederacy, which was swayed by the Minister of the Peshwa—himself the Mayor of the Palace of the Raja of Satara, whose claims were historically based upon a rebellion against Mughal sovereignty." Finally, in 1803, we find Lord Lake again taking under British protection the poor old blind Emperor, Shah Alam, "seated under a small tattered canopy."

With this record of facts before one, how can it possibly be said that the Mughal Empire continued down to 1858 an effective source of political authority ? The power of the Mughal Empire disappeared after 1761, and neither dialectics nor legal quibbling can alter that fact. As regards the academic question of *de jure* suzerainty, we should have thought that to be permanently terminated by the fact that the Emperor, or the troops under his orders, had twice fought the Company in the field and been defeated on both occasions. It can hardly be contended that *de jure* sovereignty remains with one who, after being defeated in battle and making submission to his conquerors, is granted a subsistence allowance at their will and pleasure.

pace does not permit of my dealing at length with Mr. Buckler's other two arguments. As regards the Marathas, however, I may point out that in 1720 Muhammad Shah recognized by treaty the authority of Raja Shahu and admitted his right to levy the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* over the whole Deccan. In 1737, after making themselves masters of Gujarat, Malwa and Bundelkhand, and evading the imperial army, the Marathas appeared in the suburbs of Delhi. Two years later Nadir Shah left the Mughal Empire bleeding and prostrate. In 1760 the Maratha government decided to renew the invasion of Upper India and to attempt the achievement of Maratha supremacy, but they were badly defeated at Panipat in the following year. Their predatory armies, however, soon recovered strength under Sindia, Holkar and other independent chiefs. In 1782 Sindia conducted negotiations for the Treaty of Salbai, and thereafter became by far the most powerful figure in India. In fact, at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Marathas practically commanded the whole of Hindustan, and it was from them, rather than from the Mughal, that the English actually acquired by force of arms the government of the whole country. It was in gratitude for his deliverance from Mahadaji Sindia that the blind Shah Alam conferred upon Lord Lake the insignia of the *nalki*, etc., which were the only tokens remaining to him of the once dominant position of his house. I confess I cannot discern any grounds for Mr. Buckler's assertion that under Sindia the Marathas were welded into "a strong loyal pro-Mughal confederacy." What of Jasvant Rao Holkar? He never showed the smallest respect for Mughal sovereignty, and he struggled violently with Sindia and the Peshwa. Nor can I discover in the history of Shah Alam's chequered fortunes the smallest justification for the statement that Mahadaji Sindia was the only loyal vassal of the Emperor, or that the East India Company posed as the Emperor's repentant vassal in 1802. Before the eyes of the world the English in India took Shah Alam under their protection, after the capture of Delhi by Lake; but they did so as a conquering power which had vanquished the "loyal vassal" who held him in thrall.

As regards Wellesley's policy, it would certainly have been wiser to declare openly that the Company had succeeded to the rights of the Mughal dynasty, as in fact it had. England was at death-grips with Napoleon, and Wellesley was certainly entrusted with the task of making India "safe", and of excluding for ever all possibility of French competition in India. He might, therefore, have declared the paramountcy of the Company with justification. But he was bound to consider also the prejudices of the authorities in England, who frequently baulked his plans by withholding support, and also the views of the Company's shareholders, who thought more of the provision of goods for export than of empire. Both parties would probably have objected to a declaration announcing in plain language that the Company had succeeded to the rights and privileges of the Mughal Emperor: and Wellesley may also have held that the superstitious veneration accorded by some sections of native opinion to the title of the Great Mughal required to be acknowledged, even though the actual power of the holder of the title had long passed away. Later on, Lord Dalhousie showed his anxiety to arrange for the extinction of the Mughal's title at Delhi, but he was overruled by the Court of Directors. It seems a reasonable supposition that it was the authorities in England, rather than their representatives in India, who persisted in continuing "the fiction" of Mughal sovereignty, when all trace of that sovereignty had for practical purposes disappeared.

Ilbert in his *Government of India* points out that "the situation created in Bengal by the grant of the *Diwani* in 1765 and recognised by the legislation of 1773, resembled what in the language of modern international law is called *a protectorate* The country had

not been definitely annexed : the authority of the Delhi Emperor and his native vice-regent was still formally recognized, and the attributes of sovereignty had been divided between them and the Company in such proportions that, while the substance had passed to the latter, a shadow only remained with the former." Wellesley, then, at the worst seems to have done no more than perpetuate an arrangement accepted by the authorities in England who framed the Regulating Act twenty years before.

There are other points in Mr. Buckler's paper which deserve comment, as, for example, his statement that the Company continued offering *nazrs* till 1843. The late Dr. Vincent Smith, a careful historian, states that Lord Hastings (1813–22) discontinued them, holding that "such a public testimony of dependence and subservience" was irreconcilable with any rational system of policy, when the paramount authority of the British government had been openly established. Again, Mr. Buckler formulates an elaborate argument in favour of the *religious* character of Mughal sovereignty over India. It is very doubtful whether, even in the heyday of its prosperity, Mughal sovereignty could be justly described as based on religious supremacy, *i.e.*, on the claim of the Emperor to be in the *Khilafat* or succession of divine authority. But whether this be so or not, what earthly connexion can there have been between the religious claims of an Islamic potentate and the Hindu majority of the mutineers ? If every single person implicated in the outbreak had been a Musalman, this theory might carry some weight. But a very large proportion both of the army and other rebels were Hindus, to whom the religious aspect of Mughal supremacy was meaningless except perhaps as an incitement to religious and racial hatred. Those who have lived in India and witnessed the intense religious antipathy which exists between Hindus and Muhammadans, and from time to time explodes in open and sanguinary reprisals, will find it very hard to adopt the view that the religious claims of the Mughal Emperor can have weighed in the smallest degree with Brahman leaders like Nana Sahib and the Rani Lakshmibai, and with the Brahman and other Hindu sepoys of the army.

Speaking generally, Mr. Buckler's paper strikes me as an ingenious effort of special pleading in defence of Bahadur Shah. But it is vitiated by a tendency to find specious explanations for facts which admit of a simpler and more straightforward construction, and also by an unfortunate bias (doubtless as counsel for the defence) against the English in India, which inevitably suggests doubts as to his strict impartiality. It is quite true, as he states, that no mere palace intrigue could have produced such a rising as that of 1857 : but, had he studied all the conditions and circumstances and the political and social events preceding the Mutiny, he would perhaps have realized that there were several other important causes of the outbreak besides the mere "conflict of fact and fiction" in regard to the effective political sovereignty of the phantom descendant of the Great Mughal.

SOME PROBLEMS IN NAQSHBANDI HISTORY.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S. (*Retired*).

THE history of the Naqshbandî Order would be of some interest, if it could be recovered, not merely because it has played an important part in Muslim thought, but also because it has had no little influence on the political vicissitudes of India, Mesopotamia, and, to a less extent, Turkey. In order to unravel some pieces of the tangled skein it is essential to set forth the spiritual pedigree of the Order.

1. As usual in such pedigrees its line is linked up with that of the great Muhammadan mystics, ending in this case with Abû'l Qâsim Gûrgânî (quite incorrectly Karkiânî). Thence the line continues to—

2. Abû 'Alî al-Fazl b. Muhammad al-Fârmadhi: as to whom see Nicholson's *Kashf-al-Mahjûb*, p. 169. He died in 470 H. (A.D. 1078), and he must not be confused with another Fârmadî who died in 537 H.: M. Hartmann, *Der Islamische Orient*, VI—X, p. 308.

3. His *khalîfa* (successor) Khwâja (or Shaikh Abû) Yûsuf Hamadânî (A.D. 1048—1140). In the *Rashahât* Yûsuf Hamadânî is assigned three *khalîfas*, (1) Khwâja 'Abdulla Barqî, (2) Hasan Andâqî, and (3) Ahmad Yasawi who died in A.D. 1166—7 or perhaps in 562 H. (A.D. 1169). Ahmad Yasawî was a saint of great importance. His disciple Luqmân al-Khurâsânî taught Muhammad 'Atâ bin Ibrahîm, called Hâjî Bektâsh, subsequently the patron saint of the Janissaries. The date of his death is uncertain, but it occurred in the fourteenth century A.D.: M. Hartmann, *Der Islamische Orient*, VI—X, p. 309.

4. Khwâja 'Abd-ul-Khâliq Ghujduwânî (son of Imâm 'Abd-ul-Jamîl and one of the best-known Naqshbandîs), born at Ghujduwân, six *farsakhs* from Bukhâra in the twelfth century A.D. He died in 575 H. (A.D. 1179—80). Except that he studied under Shaikh Abû Yûsuf little is however really known of him, though MSS. of his works exist: *E.I.*, I, p. 165. He laid down eight rules, which constitute the *tarîqa* of the Khwâjas, but three more were afterwards introduced. They include *khilwat dar ânjuman, safr dar watn*, etc., which are explained in a mystic sense: *JRAS.*, 1916, pp. 64-5. According to Hartmann, it was to 'Abd-ul-Khâliq that Khizr taught also the *habs an-nafas* or 'restraining of the breath' exercises of the Naqshbandîs. *Der Islam*, VI, p. 67. This practice is naturally attributed to one of the forms of the Indian *yoga*, but it is not quite impossible that its origin is far older, both the Yogîs and the Naqshbandîs having revived a practice current among some forgotten sects of Central Asia. That Indian ideas did however influence the earliest Sûfîs seems to be unquestionable: *ib.*, p. 51.

5. 'Ârif Rewgari, who took his title from Rewgar, a place six *farsakhs* from Bukhâra. His death is assigned to 715 H., but as Hartmann points out, this cannot be correct, as his *pîr* died in 575 H., and assuming that he received the gift of 'light' from him at the early age of ten, he must have been 150 years old when he died!: Hartmann, *op. cit.*, VI—X, p. 309.

6 Muhammad Faghnawî, who appears in the *Târîkh-i-Rashîdî* as Khwâja Mahmûd 'Anjir Faghrawî. His correct name seems to have been (Khoja) Mahmûd Anjîr(i) Faghnawî, from his birth-place, Faghn, three *farsakhs* from Bukhâra. But he lived in Wabkan, where his grave also is. There is much uncertainty as to the meaning of 'Anjîr,' and also about the date of the saint's death, which is assigned to 670 H. or to 715 H. (A.D. 1272 or 1316): Hartmann, *op. cit.*, VI—X, p. 309.

7. The Khoja Azîzân Shaikh 'Alî Ramitanî, who died in 705 or 721 H. (A.D. 1306 or 1321), and took his title from Ramitan (the name is variously spelt) near Bukhâra: Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 310. He was also styled Pîrî Nassâj.

8. Khwâja Muḥammad Bâbâ-i-Samâsî, of the *Târîkh-i-Rashîdî*, p. 401. The Khoja Muḥammad Bâbâjî Samâsî was born in Samâsî, a dependency of Ramitân, lying three *farsakhs* from Bukhâra, and died in 740 or 755 H. (A.D. 1340 or 1354): Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

9. Amîr Saiyid Kalâl (in the *Rashaḥât*: *JRAS.*, 1916, p. 62. Mîr Kalâl in the *Târîkh-i-Rashîdî*, p. 401). His true name was probably Saiyid Amîr Kulâl Sokharî, from Sokhar, two *farsakhs* from Bukhâra, where he was born and buried. He worked as a potter (*kulâl*), and is said to have been also styled Ibn Saiyid Hamza. He died in 772 H. (A.D. 1371): *op. cit.*, p. 310.

10. The Khoja Bahâ-ud-Dîn Naqshband was born in 718 H. (A.D. 1318) and died in 791 H. (A.D. 1389-90) at the age of 73: *op. cit.*, p. 311.

The Nûrbakhshîs.

From the Naqshbandîs at a very early stage branched off another Order, that of the Nûrbakhshîs. So far as I have been able to trace, this Order is not now known outside Kashmîr and the Hazâra District of the Punjab. Unfortunately its history is very obscure. The *Târîkh-i-Rashîdî*[1] throws some light upon it. According to that work Saiyid 'Alî Hamadânî,[2] also called Amîr Kabîr 'Ali the Second, a refugee from Hamadân, appeared in Kashmîr about A.D. 1380. He and his Order are said to have been expelled from Persia by Tîmûr, and to him is attributed the conversion of Kashmîr (although it had been at least begun by Sulṭân Shams-ud-Dîn, who came there disguised as a Qalandar, about 40 years earlier). However this may be, Saiyid 'Alî is stated to have died at Pakhlî,[3] the seat of a half-legendary Arab kingdom, about A.D. 1386. He became "a sort of patron saint of the Muhammadan section of the population," but the people were all Hanifî, we are told, until about A.D. 1550 one Shams, who came from Talish (? Gilân) in Irâq, introduced a new form of religion, giving it the name of Nûrbakhshî. Shams wrote a work called the ***Fikḥ-i-Ahwat***, which does not conform to the teachings of any sect, Sunni or Shi'a, and his sectaries regarded him as the promised Mahdî. That Saiyid 'Alî Hamadânî was a historical personage is confirmed by the Turkish authorities, but I have failed to connect him with Sh. Abû Yûsuf Hamadânî. His full name was Amîr Saiyid 'Ali b. Ush-Shihâb (Shihâb-ud-Dîn) b. Mîr Saiyid Muḥammad al-Ḥusainî of Hamadân "founder of an order of Ṣûfîs, especially known as the apostle of Kashmîr"; and he entered Kashmîr in 781 H. (A.D. 1380) with 700 disciples, acquiring great influence over Sulṭân Qutb-ud-Dîn. Dying in 786 H. (A.D. 1385) at the age of 73 he was buried at Khuttilân (*not* at Pakhli). He was the author of the ***Zakhîrat-ul-Mulûk***, a treatise on political ethics: *Cat. of Persian MSS. in the **British Museum***, II, p. 147. These fragments of history perhaps justify a conjecture that S. 'Ali Hamadânî played an important part in the resistance to Tîmûr and his descendants. In the Punjab Shâh

1 Pp. 432–7 of Denison Ross's Trans.

2 *Cf.* Brown, *The Dervishes*, p. 126, where he appears as 'Sa'eed 'Aleo Hemdanee.'

3 Wherever Saiyid 'Alî may actually have been interred, he certainly has still a shrine (*ziârat*) at Nankoṭ in the Pakhlî plain of Hazâra, and to it women bring children suffering from *parchhawan* to be passed under an olive-tree. The saint also has some resting-places (*nishast-gâhs*) in Kashmîr; Rose, *Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes*, I, p. 591. The tradition that the saint was buried at Khuttilân may be explained; Khutlân, as it is also spelt, was the seat of Khwâja Isḥâq [illegible] the following page. Unfortunately the *Mirât ul Maqâsid*, though mentioning the Nûrbakhshîs on p. 3 gives no account of them that I can trace

Rukh, for instance, never seems to have been able to extend his sway much beyond the Salt Range, and his failure to penetrate Kashmir may have been largely due to the Naqshbandî opposition or resentment.

Who "Shams" was, it is not easy to say. But in all probability he is to be identified with Saiyid Muḥammad, son of Saiyid Muḥammad of Qâtif, a descendant of course of the Imâm Mûsâ Kâẓim. Born at Qa'in 795 H. (A.D. 1393) he was initiated by the Khwâja Isḥâq Khutlânî, who was a disciple of Saiyid 'Alî Hamadânî, and from him received the title of Nûrbakhsh. In 826 H. (A.D. 1423) he proclaimed himself Khalîf in Khutlân and was imprisoned by Shâh Rukh at Herât in that year. He died at Rai in 869 H. (A.D. 1465). So far all is plain-sailing, but when we come to his successors the facts are obscure. Saiyid Muhammad is said to have been followed as head of the Order by his son, Shâh Qâsim. Well treated by Shâh Isma'îl Safawî, he died in 927 H. (A.D. 1521). But it is also said that S. Muḥammad's principal *khalîfa* was Asiri (Shaikh Shams-ud-Dîn) Muḥammad b. Yaḥyâ of Lahîjân in Gîlân, and that he settled in Shirâz where he built the Khânqâh Nûria. A friend of Dawani, Shâh Isma'îl visited him too in 910 H. (A.D. 1505). Besides a *Dîwân* Asiri left a commentary on the *Gulshan-i-Râz*. His son Fidâ'i died in 927 H. (A.D. 1531): *Cat. of Turkish MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 650. It is fairly obvious that the Nûrbakshîs continued to exercise some influence in Persia under the Safawîs, but that fact would not endear them to the Turkish authorities and amply explains why there is no allusion to Shâh Qâsim or Asiri and their protectors in such a work as Brown's *Dervishes.* Nevertheless another disciple of S. Muḥammad, one Shaikh Khalîl-ullâh Baqlânî, is mentioned in the spiritual pedigree given in the *Sabḥat ul-Akhbar,* a work which was actually translated from the Persian into Turkish in 952 H. (A.D. 1545) : *ib.*, p. 323.

The Disruption of the Naqshbandîs.

We now come to a crisis in the history of the Naqshbandî Order, which so far has not been explained. According to the *Rashahât* its real founder was the saint Khwâja 'Ubaid-ullâh, by name Nâṣir-ud-Dîn, but commonly known as the Khwâja Aḥrâr or Ḥaẓrat Îshân. This work makes Bahâ-ud-Dîn Naqshband merely a learned expositor of the principles of the Order. Yet it ascribes Khwâja Aḥrâr's investiture to Ya'qûb Charkhî, himself a disciple of Bahâ-ud-Dîn. Other authorities however ignore Ya'qûb Charkhî[4] and make Khwâja Aḥrâr 5th, not 3rd, in spiritual descent from Bahâ-ud-Dîn, thus :—

Bahâ-ud-Dîn Naqshband.

|

Alai-ud-Dîn al-Attâr.

|

Niẓâm-ud-Dîn Khâmûsh. The *Târîkh-i-Rashîdî* speaks of a Maulâna Niẓâm-ud-Dîn Khâmûsh or -î : *op. cit.*, p. 194. I have failed to trace any other details of his personality, but the 'Alî-ilâhîs still have eight sects, one of which is styled Khamûshî : *E.I.*, I, p. 293.

4 A minor problem concerning Ya'qûb Charkhi is the place of his burial. From "information received" I stated in *A Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes*, III, p. 548, that he was one of the four important disciples of Bahâ-ud-Dîn Naqshband and was interred at Malafko in the Hiṣṣâr Dist. of that province. But according to the *Rashaḥât* he lies buried at Hamalghatû (or -nû) in Hiṣṣâr-Shâdmân, Transoxiana, and East-South-East of Samarqand, though he was born in the Ghazni district of Afghânistân : *JRAS.*, 1916, p. 61. This suggests that a Ya'qûb (but not Charkhî) was buried at Malafko. The doubtful passage in Bâbur's *Memoirs* makes mention of a Ya'qûb as a son of Kh. Yaḥyâ. Whether he was Yaḥyâ's third son or not, this Ya'qûb may be the saint of Ma

Sulṭân-ud-Dîn al-Kâshgharî,[5] (but his real name was almost certainly Sa'îd-ud-Dîn, and the *Târîkh-i-Rashîdî* calls him. Sa'd-ud-Dîn).[6] He is however sometimes described not as a disciple of Niẓâm-ud-Dîn Khâmûsh, but of Saiyid Sharîf 'Alî b. Muḥammad al-Jurjânî, who died in 816 H. (A.D. 1414), and was the author of the *Sharḥ Muwâqif* : Nassau Lees, *Nafahât al-Uns*, pp. 6, 2-3.

'Ubaid-ullâh Samarqandî (Khwâja Aḥrâr).

Le Chatelier again assigns not only Alai-ud-Dîn and Ya'qûb Jarhi (Charkhî obviously) as disciples or rather successors to Bahâ-ud-Dîn, but also gives him a third successor in Nasr-ud-Dîn of Tâshkand. Thus it seems clear that the Order began to show symptoms of disruption on the death of Bahâ-ud-Dîn. Le Chatelier however says that it was under the pontificate of Nasr-ud-Dîn Tâshkandî (who is not at all generally recognised as a *khalîfa* of Bahâ-ud-Dîn) that the Order split up into two branches, that of the West under him as Grand Master, and the other of the East under another *khalîfa*, Sulṭân-ud-Dîn al-Kâshgharî. But the Turkish versions of the pedigree seem to acknowledge only the last-named.

The Western Naqshbandîs.

Of the fate of the Western Naqshbandîs little seems to be recorded in Turkish literature. From 'Ubaid-ullâh al-Samarqandî the 'descent' passes to Sh. 'Abdullah Alahî (as he was known in poetry), Ârif billah 'Abdullah, "the God-knowing servant of God," of Simaw. He followed the jurisprudent 'Alî of Tûs to Persia, quitting Constantinople; and devoted himself to the secular sciences until he was impelled to destroy all his books. His teacher, however, induced him to sell them all with the exception of one containing the dealings of the Saints, and give the proceeds in alms. From Kermân he went to Samarqand, where he attached himself to the great Shaikh Ârif billah 'Ubaid-ullah (the 'little servant of God'), and at his behest he accepted the teaching of the Naqshbandîs from their Shaikh Bahâ-ud-Dîn. Later he went to Herât, and thence returned to Constantinople, but its disturbed condition on the death of Muḥammad II drove him to Yenija Wardar, where he died in 1490 A.D. He left at least two works, the *Najât al-Arwâḥ min Rasan il-Ashbâh*, 'The Salvation of the Soul from the Snares of Doubt,' and the *Zâd al-Mushtâqîn*, 'The Victuals of the Zealous,' sometimes described as the *Zâd al-Ṭâlibîn* or the *Maslik aṭ-Ṭâlibîn* ('The Victuals of the Seekers,' or Regulations for them): Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*. I, p. 207. This sketch does not hint that Alahî was *head* of the Western Naqshbandis. But it suggests that the Order was not popular with the imperial authorities at Constantinople in his day and that people who wrote about its history were obliged to omit facts of cardinal importance in it.

[5] Here Le Chatelier, who actually cites the *Rashaḥât* as his authority, has fallen into a two-fold error. On p. 150 of his *Confréries musulmanes du Hedjaz*, he gives an account of "Sulṭân-ud-Dîn al-Kâshgharî and his resistance to 'Baber.' But the future conqueror of India was not opposed by the Naqshbandî Shaikh. The prince in question was Mîrza Bâbur, and the Shaikh who opposed him was not Sultân-ud-Dîn al-Kâshgharî but Khwâja Aḥrâr. So far from being hostile to the branch to which the great Bâbur belonged, the Khwâja Aḥrâr fended off Mîrza Bâbur's attack in the interests of Abû Sa'îd Mirza, grandfather of the future emperor: H. Beveridge in *JRAS.*, 1916, p. 69. And so far from being opposed to the great Bâbur at Samarqand, the latter asserts that Khwâja Aḥrâr appeared to him in a dream and foretold his second capture of the city: *Memoirs*, I, p. 139. Strangely enough Brown (*The Dervishes*, p. 136) makes "our Lord Maulâna Sa'îd-ud-Dîn Kâshgharî" the opponent of Mîrza Bâbur, and this too on the authority of the *Rashaḥât*, thus endorsing one of Le Chatelier's errors. It seems then possible that more than one recension of that work exists, but even if that be so, a consideration of the dates involved proves that it was Mîrza Bâbur, and not the conqueror of India, who was thwarted at Samarqand by a Naqshbandî Shaikh. The great Bâbur made his first attempt on the city in A.D. 1498, and could not possibly have been opposed by the precursor of Khwâja Aḥrâr, who had died in A.D. 1490, at least eight years earlier.

[6] The *Târikh-i-Rashîdî* adds that Sa'd-ud-Dîn had a disciple in the "Shaikh al-Islâm," Maulâna 'Abd-ur-Raḥmân Jâmî: p. 194. This was of course the famous Persian poet Jâmi' (A.D. 1414-92): *E.I.*, 7, I, p. 1011. To the poet he is credited with having appeared in a vision

From Alahî we are taken to Sh. Sa'îd Aḥmad al-Bukhârî, as to whom I fail to find any record. Thence we come to Sh. Muḥammad Chalabî (the Turkish cognomen is noteworthy), "nephew of Azîz," and so to Sh. 'Abd-ul-Latîf,[7] nephew of Muḥammad Chalabî. Here it is patent that the pedigree is quite fragmentary.

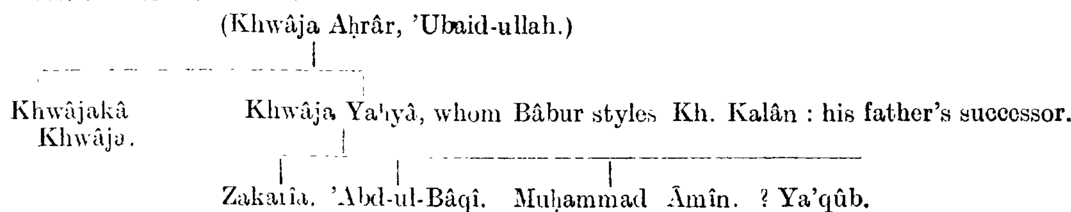
These data and omissions suggest that by Evlia's time the Naqshbandîs had fallen under the disfavour of the imperial government, that the heads of the Western Naqshbandîs were only recognized by it when they were harmless, and that, while that Government did not venture to abolish the convents of the Order in the capital or elsewhere, it suppressed any leading institution which was likely to recall memories of the great names in the Order or increase the influence of its independent heads for the time being.

The connection with the Eastern Naqshbandîs was similarly discouraged, if not entirely broken off. None of the great Naqshbandîs of India are commemorated by foundations at Constantinople. There is indeed one Hindîlar[8] ('Indians') *takia* at Khorkhor near Âq Sarâî in Stambûl, just as there is an Usbek-lar *takia* there too. But most of the Naqshbandî convents bear names that are merely picturesque,[9] or only commemorate latter-day saints of the Order who were, frankly, nonentities. And so, when the author of the Turkish *Mirât al-Muqâsid* gives a list of the Naqshbandî saints of modern times, he has to omit all allusion to their chequered history in the West and fall back on the Indian *silsila*, which never had any real jurisdiction in Turkey and was certainly not recognised there by the imperial authorities.

The Eastern Naqshbandîs.

To turn now to the Eastern Naqshbandîs, we have first to deal with the Khwâja Aḥrâr. In his youth this saint had a vision of Christ, which was interpreted to mean that he would become a physician, but he himself declared that it foretold that he would have a living heart. Later on he obtained great influence over Sulṭân Abû Sa'îd Mîrza, a great-grandson of Tîmûr and ruler of Mâwara-un-Nahr from A.D. 1451 to 1468. This sovereign was then the most powerful of the Tîmûrids in Central Asia: and Herât his capital was famous for its institutions and its learning. The Khwâja acted as envoy to the rivals of this ruler who were also descendants of Tîmûr. For the nonce he succeeded in making peace between them, but it was not permanent. The Khwâja died in A.D. 1490 or perhaps a year later.[10]

His descendants were :—



both, with Kh. Yaḥyâ, murdered by Uzbegs in A.D. 1500.

Regarding the sons of Kh. Aḥrâr, Bâbur makes a significant statement. Between them enmity arose, and then the elder became the spiritual guide of the elder prince (Baisanqar

7 Was this the 'Abd-ul-Latîf Naqshbandî who died in 971 H. (A.D. 1564), according to the *Mirât al-Kâinât* of Nishânji-zâda Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Ramaẓân, a Qâzî of Adrianople who died in 1031 H.: vide *Cat. of Turkish MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 30. If so, we have again the curious fact that his headship of the Order is suppressed.

8 Evlia mentions two Indian convents, one of the Hindus, "worshippers of fire," where bodies could be burnt, and the other, the convent of the Indian Qalandars, at the head of the bridge of Kâghid-khâna : *Travels*, I, Pt. 2, p. 87.

9 *E.g.*, the Agvân-lar Takia-sî, near the Chînîlî Mosque at Scutari, seems to be so named from the Pers. *akawân*, 'flower of the *arghawân*, (red) Judas-tree : Johnson, *Pers.-Ar.-Eng. Dicty.*, p. 144, and Redhouse, *Turk.-Eng.-Lex.*, p. 69. Evlia's translator calls it the Syringa.

10 *JRAS.*, 1916, p. 66.

Mirza) and the younger the guide of the younger (Sulṭân 'Alî Mirza). Khwâjahkâ Khwâja had stoutly refused to surrender Baisanqar when that prince had sought sanctuary in his house. Kh. Yaḥyâ on the other hand gave shelter to Sulṭân 'Alî Mirza, his rival. It is further stated by Bâbur that *his* "teacher and spiritual guide" was a disciple of Kh. Aḥrâr, by name 'Abdullah, but better known as Khwâja Maulâna Qâzî. Now this adviser was murdered by Bâbur's enemies in 903 H. (1498 A.D.). Thus we see that there was a tendency for the sons and disciples of the religious chief each to attach himself to a member of the ruling house descended from Tîmûr. Khwâja Maulâna Qâzî was apparently hanged for no better reason than that he had been active in defence of Bâbur, a fate from which his religious character did not save him. But the tendency mentioned was not the universal rule, for we read of yet another disciple of Kh. Aḥrâr, Ḥazrat Maulâna Muḥammad Qâzî, author of the *Silsilat al-Ârifîn*, who was honoured by the "Hazrat Îshân" with the title of Îshân (though he does not appear to have been recognised as his spiritual successor) and died in A.D. 1516 without having attached himself to any prince. On the other hand Kh. Aḥrâr, it is said, also left a grandson "Khwâja Nûra" or Hazrat Makhdûmî Nûra, who was named Maḥmûd from his father and Shahâb-ud-Dìn from his grandfather (*sic*), but received the title of Khwâja Khawand Maḥmûd. This saint followed Humâyûn to India, but found that he had been supplanted in favour by the sorcerer-saint Shaikh Bahlol[11]. To this refusal on Humâyûn's part to recognise Khwâja Nûra's claims to his hereditary veneration, the author of the *Târîkh-i-Rashîdî* hints that all that emperor's misfortunes were due: *JRAS.*, 1916, pp. 59 ff. and *Târîkh-i-Rashidi*, pp. 212 and 398-9.

After the murder of Khwâja Maulâna Qâzi, Bâbur seems to have had no spiritual guide for a time. He declares that in 905 H. he was negotiating with Khwâja Yaḥyâ, but he admits that the Khwâja did not send him any message, though several times persons were sent to confer with him, *i.e.*, in plain English, to attempt to seduce him from his allegiance to Sultân 'Alî Mîrza. Whether the Khwâja was inclined to listen to such overtures must remain uncertain. At the worst all that can be reasonably regarded as proved against him is that when Sultân 'Alî Mirza was betrayed by his mother and it became clear that Samarqand must fall either to Bâbur or to Shaibânî Khân, the Khwâja deserted Sultân 'Alî and ostensibly went over to Shaibânî. But his tardy submission did not save him from the suspicion (possibly well-founded) that he was really favouring Bâbur's claims, which were far stronger than Shaibânî's, to the possession of Samarqand. In so doing he would in fact have only been renewing an hereditary tie, for, Bâbur informs us, his father had appointed Khwâjahkâ Khwâja keeper of his seal.[12]

The slaughter of Khwâja Yaḥyâ with his two sons in A.D. 1500 did not of course bring the *silsila* or chain of spiritual descent of the western Naqshbandîs to an end, but how it continued is a mystery. The *Rashahât* states that Yaḥyâ had a third son, Muḥammad Âmîn, who escaped death. On the other hand a tradition was current that Yaḥyâ had a third (or fourth) son, named Khwâja Ya'qub. This last is mentioned in Bâbur's *Memoirs* as once appearing to him in a dream, but Beveridge holds that the passage is spurious: *JRAS.*, 1916, p. 73. It is however possible that it is genuine, but that it was suppressed in the Persian translations, in order to make it appear that Bâbur was not under the spiritual protection of the Naqshbandi Shaikhs. But this suggestion finds no confirmation, it must be admitted, in the authorities known to me. These are two, the Panjâb traditions, and the Turkish work,

11 This saint, a brother of the better-known saint Muḥammad Ghaus of Gwalior, was, it is interesting to note, put to death by Mîrza Hindâl, brother of Humâyûn, in 945 H. (A.D. 1538): Beale, *Or. Biog. Dy.*, p. 370. On p. 265 Bahlol appears as Phul!

12 Bâbur describes him as a man of learning, a great linguist and excelling in falconry. He was also acquainted with magic, *yadahgiri*, *i.e.*, the power of causing rain and snow by magic: *Memoirs*, I, p. 68

the *Mirât al-Muqâṣid.* Below, the spiritual pedigrees so preserved are set out in parallel columns :—

	Mirât al-Muqâṣid.	The Panjâb tradition.
1.	Maulâna Ya'qûb Charḥî Ḥissârî.	Ya'qub Charkhî.
2.	Khwâja (a gap) Nâsir-ud-Dîn 'Ubaid-ullah Tâshkandî Samarqandî.	Nâsir-ud-Dîn 'Ubaid-ullah Aḥrâr.
3.	Muḥammad Ẓâhid.	Muḥammad Ẓâhid.
4.	Maulâna Darvîsh.	Maulâna Darvîsh Muḥammad.
5.	Maulâna Khwâjagî Samarqandi.	Maulâna Khwâjgî Amkinki (*sic*).
6.	Maulâna Shaikh Muḥammad Samâqî.	Khwâja Muḥammad Bâqî-billah Berang.
7.	Imâm Rabbânî Mujaddid Alif-ṣânî Sh. Aḥmad Fârûqî b. 'Abd-ul-Wâḥid Fârûqî Sirhindî, d. 1074 H. (A.D. 1664).	Imâm Rabbânî Mujaddid Alifṣânî Sh. Aḥmad Fâruqî Sirhindî.
8.	Sh. Muḥammad Ma'ṣûm 'Urwah'- Waṣqâ, Sâhib Maktûbât : d. 1097 H. (A.D. 1688).	Kh. Muḥammad Ma'ṣûm.
9.	Sh. Saif-ud-Dîn 'Ârif.	Sh. Saif-ud-Dîn.
10.	Sh. Saiyid Muḥammad Nûrî Budaunî.	M. Hâfiz Muḥammad Muhsin Dihlawî. Saiyid Nûr Muḥammad Budaunî.
11.	Sh. Shams-ud-Dîn Khân Jânân Maẓhar.	Shams-ud-Dîn Habîb-ullah Mazhar Shahid. Mirza Janjanan.
12.	Sh. 'Abdullah Dihlawî.	Mujaddid Miatusâliswal (?) Ashar Sayid 'Abdullah (Shâh Ghulâm 'Alî Aḥmadî).
13.	Ḥaẓrat Ẓiâ-ud-Dîn Ẓû-'l-Jannâḥîn Maulâna Khâlid, d. 1242 H. at the age of 50 (A.D. 1827). (Hence the Order is called Khâlidiâ.)	Shâh Abû Sa'îd Aḥmadî. Shâh Aḥmad Sa'îd Aḥmadî. Hâjî Dost Muḥammad Qandhârî. Hâjî Muḥammad 'Uṣmân—whose shrine is at Kulâchî in the Dera 'Ismâ'îl Dist., Panjâb.

The *Mirât al-Muqâsid,* it will be observed, omits all mention of the *silsila* of the Western Naqshbandîs, Alahî and his successors. Now the Naqshbandîs have always been numerous and important in Turkey. They have, or had when Brown wrote, 52 *takias* in Constantinople alone. In other Turkish towns also they had many foundations, *e.g.*, three at Brusa : Evliya, II, p. 8.

The *takias* at Constantinople include one named "Aḥmad al-Bukhârî Takiasî," which must commemorate Sh. Sa'îd Aḥmad al-Bukhârî, Alahî's successor. It is in the Kabân Daqîq (Flour Weigh-House) at Stambûl.

They also include four called Amîr Bukhâra Takiasî. Who the 'Amîr Bukhâra' was, it is hard to say with any certainty. A Shams-ud-Dîn Bukhârî (not to be confused with Shams-ud-Dîn Muḥammad Bukhârî, the 'Amîr Sulṭân' of Bâyazîd I's reign) was a Persian, who came to Constantinople in the time of Muḥammad II and there rose to eminence as the Shaikh of the reign of Bâyazîd II. He lived as a Naqshbandî, and his cloister is one of the principal Naqshbandî foundations in the Turkish capital : Hammer-Purgstall, *GdOD,* I, p. 212. This must be the convent 'just outside the Adrianople Gate,' in which lies Shaikh Aḥmad 'Bukhâra' (? al-Bukhârî) in the mausoleum built for him by Murâd III, near the Flower-Hall : Evlia, I, pt. 2, p. 21. If this Sh. Aḥmad was the head of the Order, it is clear that it was favoured by Murad III, though Evlia, who is very chary of details where the Naqshbandîs are concerned, does not say that Sh. Aḥmad Bukhâra belonged to that Order. But he adds :—"Sh. Aḥmad Sâdiq, from Tâshkendi in Bokhâra, who made the journey on foot three times from Balkh to Constantinople (and back again) is buried at the convent of Amir Bokhara."

And further :—" Sh. Khâk Dada, the chief fountain of contemplation, born at Pergamus, was most famous by the name of Na'lbenji (the farrier)"; and at Rumelî Hissâr is the *takia* of a farrier-saint, Na'lbar Maḥmad Effendi, a Naqshbandî.

In the religious teaching of the Naqshbandîs there was not much that would explain all this. They taught that a life could be purchased by the sacrifice of another life ; and twice Khwâja Aḥrâr was saved from death by men devoting themselves (becoming *fedâ*) in order to restore him to health : *JRAS.*, 1916, p. 75.[13] This example was clearly followed by Bâbur, when he resolved to offer up his own life to save that of Humâyûn : *Memoirs*, II, p. 442.

Bâbur, like his descendant Aurangzeb, was buried in a tomb open to the sky. Whether Jahângîr's tomb at Lahore was also hypæthral is still a moot question : *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, III, p. 144. But it is noteworthy that Jahângîr rebuilt Bâbur's tomb in A.D. 1607-8 : *Memoirs*, II, p. 426. This usage was certainly not confined to the Naqshbandîs, though Khwâja Bâqî-billah has no building over his grave at Dehli : Rose, *Gloss. Punjab T. and C.*, III, p. 550. It appears rather to have become a Chishti practice : *ib.*, p. 530. (Qutb Shâh forbade a building to be erected over his tomb at Mihraulî near Dehli.)

But the political predilections of the Naqshbandîs may well have led to their persecution at the hands of the Sultans of Turkey. As we have seen, a Nûrbakhshî wrote a treatise on political ethics. Khwâja Aḥrâr's dependents by their influence protected many poor defenceless persons from oppression in Samarqand, says Bâbur: *Memoirs*, I. p. 40. In truth the Naqshbandî Khwâjas seem to have sought to give new life to the old idea, that beside the secular King should stand a divinely-guided adviser, the keeper of his seal and his conscience, and the interpreter of the spirit, not merely of the letter, of the formal laws.

BOMBAY, A.D. 1660—1667.

(A few remarks on Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's Résumé of Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations.[1])

BY S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

DR. SHAFAAT A. KHAN'S new work, which consists of important documents preserved in the Public Record Office, the India Office, and the British Museum, linked together into a more or less connected narrative by the author's explanatory comments, throws much light upon the circumstances of Bombay in the latter half of the seventeenth century and on the tortuous negotiations between England and Portugal, which accompanied the surrender of the Island. An important feature of the materials here collected " is their wealth of information on the commercial usages of the period. For it was not merely a question of petty dues and vexatious tolls : it was the vital problem of the security of the Company's trade and the safety of its subjects." Moreover, writes Dr. Khan, " the elaborate reports of the Council, the active support of the King, and the numerous representations to the Portuguese Government, show the intimate connection between the foreign and economic policy of England ; while the keen and sustained interest manifested by Charles II in the varied colonial and commercial activities of the times vindicate that monarch from the reckless charges hurled by his opponents."

To the student of Bombay history almost every page of this book contains something of interest. One meets, for example, with new variants of the spelling of the name of the Island, which do not seem to have been noticed by previous historians. In an account of the Anglo-Dutch attack on the Island in A.D. 1626 we find " Bumbay" ; David Davis' description of the same event speaks of " Bumbaye ; " while Kerridge in his dispatch of January 4th,

13 For a much earlier instance of the practice *vide* R. Hartmann, *al-Qushairî's Darstellung des Ṣûfîtums, Türk. Bibl.*, 18, p. 46.

1 *Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations relating to Bombay*, A.D.1660-1677, by Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Litt. D., F.R.Hist.S., University Professor of History, Allahabad. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.

1628, writes the name "Bumbaiee." Phonetically, there is little difference between this and the proper vernacular name "Mumbâi." In A.D. 1654, however, the Company in a petition to Cromwell describe the Island as "Bone Bay," which is reminiscent of the old erroneous derivation from "Buon Bahia *quasi* Boon Bay." After that date the name is almost invariably written "Bombaim," until it is finally superseded by "Bombay." The late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson was probably correct in holding that Mumbâî, "Mother Mumba," the eponymous goddess of the Island, is a local form and manifestation of "Mommâî," the well-known village-goddess in Kathiâwâr.

Dr. Khan remarks that Kerridge's dispatch of A.D. 1628 contains the earliest description of Bombay by an English writer, and that his information was obtained from "one Richard Tuck, an English sayler," who had long served the Portuguese and frequented the Island. He describes the inhabitants "both of Bumbaiee and Salsett" as "poore fishermen and other labourers, subject to the Portugall." These are the "Cooleys" (Kolis), "Callimbines and Bunderines" (Kunbis and Bhandaris), and "Frasses" (Farash) etc., of later writers. Another point, which is clearly indicated in a report of the Company to Charles II in February 1675-6, is the former importance of Mahim. "Within this Haven or Bay," they write, "stands the Island of Bombaim (called anciently Mahim), which gives Title and denomination to the whole Sea that enters, which is called the Port of Bombaim. There are some small spotts of Islands as Trumbay Galean and others as Elefanta and Patacas scarce worth notice . . . . . . On part of the Island of Bombaim stands Mahim, the name formerly of the whole Island. There, in old time, was built by the Moores a great Castle, and in the times of the Kings of Portugall, this was the place where his Courts and the Custome house was kept, and here were the Duties paid by the vessels of Salset, Trumbay, Gallean and Bundy on the Maine etc." So far as I can remember, none of the early records in India refer so clearly as this to the original importance of Mahim, and particularly to the fact that the whole Island was originally styled Mahim, the Portuguese transliteration of Mahi (*i.e.*, Mahikâvati), which was the name of the former city of the almost legendary Râja Bimb.

The knowledge of the Island possessed by the Court of Committees compares favourably with the gross ignorance displayed by some members of the King's entourage. Even the Lords of the Council who examined very carefully the territorial claims of the English against their Portuguese antagonists were handicapped by having no map of Bombay, and could not therefore adjudicate as clearly as they might have done upon the Company's view that Salsette and Karanja formed an integral part of the territory ceded to England under the Marriage-Treaty. Charles II, however, was bent upon upholding the Company's claims, and it was really his repudiation of Humphrey Cooke's agreement with the Portuguese Viceroy and his advocacy of the Company's case against the Portuguese that formed the foundation of Bombay's subsequent expansion.

The documents of the period throw further light on Humphrey Cooke's character and behaviour. A letter from him to the Secretary of State dated August 26th, 1664, proves the truth of Colonel Biddulph's opinion as to the exact date (April 6th) of Sir Abraham Shipman's death, published in *ante*, vol XLI, 1912, and justifies the view adopted in the *Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, that Shipman died in April, 1664. Cooke's letter, which is written from "Angediva Island in Easte India," discloses the terrible mortality among the soldiers from the "poisonous air of this unhouldsum" place, and then, after descanting upon the heavy charges incurred by Cooke as Governor "in housekeeping and servants," which could not be "avoyded for our nation's honour," proffers a request that the King will grant him a two years' commission as "Governor in Bombaim" at a salary of 40 shillings a day. In another long letter of March 3rd, 1664-65 Cooke complains of the attitude of Sir George Oxinden—the earliest indication, as Dr. Khan remarks, of that friction between the King's and the Company's officers which led later to the cession of Bombay to

the Company. This letter is chiefly valuable for its description of the Island at the moment that Cooke received charge of it from the Portuguese.

"What they [the Portuguese] delivered," writes Cooke, "was only two small Bulworks, some Earth and Stones (the Ceremony for the Island) as appeareth by the papers of Rendition. The King of Portugal (as they say) hath neither house, Fort, Ammunition, nor foote of Land on it, onely the Aforrowes or Rents, which is but small, importing about 700 lb. yearly. The two Bulworkes they delivered (Donna Ennes da Miranda claimes to bee hers) and appeareth so with the house Our King's Majestie hath nothing more than the Rents that the King of Portugall had, with the Island and Port, which being wholy unfortyfied will cost much monies to make it defenceable by Sea and Land, which must be donne if his Majestie intends to make anything of it. At present I shall onely make a Platforme for our security while [awaiting?] further orders from his Majestie, which with the two Bulworkes will hold all our Ordnance."

Cooke then proceeds :—"In this Island was neither Government nor Justice, but all cases of Law was carried to Tannay and Bassin." He therefore appointed "for the whole Island a Tannadar, which is a kind of under Captain," on 300 xeraphins a year : also a Justice of the Peace ; "two persons to take care of Orphants Estates, one for the white people and one for the Black : " and "two Customers, one at Maym and another at this place." He also "enordered a Prison to bee made to keepe all in quietness, obedience and subjection, these people generally being very litigious," and he proposed, "if our monies will reach," to build two custom-houses. "In the Island," he adds, "are five churches, nine Townes and villages, and upwards of 20,000 souls, as the Padres have given mee an Account : the generall Language is Portugueez, soe that it will be necessary the Statutes and Lawes should bee translated into that Language. The people most of them are very poore" The Jesuits, according to Cooke, were doing their utmost to bring the English into disrepute by kidnapping "Orphants off this Island, of the Gentues, Moores and Banians, to force them to bee Christians, which if should bee suffered wee shall never make anything of this place, for the liberty of Conscience makes all the aforenamed desirous to live amongst us."

In later reports Cooke refers to his quarrel with the Portuguese about Mahim, which "is the best part of this Island." "I never took Boate to pass our men, when I took the possession of it, and at all times you may goe from one place to the other dry-shod. I cannot imagine how they cann make them two Islands." He also describes the fortifications which he erected on the landside of the Great House, "all done with Turffe and Cocer nutt trees 14 foote hygh round," and states that he turned all the people in Bombay on to the work of construction, giving them no pay, but "only somethinge to drinke." The letter was accompanied by a "ruff draught" of the fortification, which is probably the very plan recently discovered by Mr. William Foster in the Public Record Office. Cooke, as is well known, was shortly afterwards removed from his post in Bombay and died subsequently in Salsette, after causing as much trouble as he could to his successor. The character of his brief term of administration is described by Sir Gervase Lucas in a letter of March 2, 1666-7—"At my arrivall here I found Mr. Cooke very weary of his imployment, haveing just at that time run as Farr as his Majesties Treasure would inable him : and if not so seasonably relieved as by my arrival, it had been very hazardous how His Majesties Island and people had been disposed of : for he had, by his imprudence and bribery, lockt himselfe up from justly advancing his Majesties Revenue." Others who caused annoyance to Sir Gervase were the Jesuits, Bernardino de Tavora, and Igius (*sic*) de Miranda, who controlled the whole Island and the sea-fishing, levied tribute from the people and exercised "the power of punishment, imprisonment, whipping, starving, banishment." Lucas put a stop to these rights and prerogatives, and warns the Lord Chancellor that he is sure on this account to

receive "loud Out-cries" against him. It was left to Gerald Aungier eventually to put an end to the hostilities between the English and the Portuguese landholders and to substitute order for chaos in Bombay.

One of the most interesting papers included in Dr. Khan's book is Wilcox's long report of December 1672, on the establishment of English Law in Bombay. Wilcox was appointed Judge in August 1672; the Statute Book and other law books arrived from England in December of that year; and Wilcox framed a code of Civil Procedure which superseded the Protuguese Law. Space permits of the notice of only a few of the details mentioned in the report. Bombay was divided into three "hundreds," Bombay, Mahim and Mazagon, each of which had a Justice of the Peace and a Constable. There were to be two prisons, one for debt, the other for criminals, which were to be in charge of a "sufficient person," who was to be punished with imprisonment and fine if any "felons and murders" escaped from custody. Among the officers of the Sessions was a Constable, who was to serve for a year only, a successor being chosen "every Easter Mundy by the major Voices of the Inhabitants." Each of the three "hundreds" was to choose its own Constable. The Governor (Aungier) decided that the formal introduction of the English Law and the opening of the Court of Judicature should be marked by special ceremonial, and fixed August 1st, 1672, as the date of the function. But on that day "there fel so prodigious a quantity of raine that his Honr. was forced to put of the solemnity till the eight day." On the latter date, acordingly, the following procession marched "into the Bazaar neare two miles in circumference, [and] came to the Guild Hal [perhaps Mapla Por, Aungier's Fair Common-House], where the Governor Entring the Court, took the Chaire."

"1. Fifty Bandaries in green liveries.
2. 20 Gentues, 20 Mooremen, 20 Christians } representing different castes, etc.
3. His Honrs. horse of State lead by an Englishman.
4. Two Trumpets and Kettle Drums on Horseback.
5. The English and Portugal Secretary on horseback, carrying his Majesties letters Patent to the Honble. Company and their Commission to the Governor tyed up in scarfs.
6. The Justices of the Peace and Council richly habited on horseback.
7. The Governor in his Pallankeen with fower English pages on each side in rich liveries bare-headed, Surrounded at a distance with Peons and Blacks.
8. The Clerke of the Papers on foot.
9. The fower Atturneys or Common Leaders on foot.
10. The Keeper of the Prisons and the two Tipstaffs on foot, bareheaded before the Judg.
11. The Judg on Horseback on a Velvet broad cloth.
12. His Servants in Purple serge liveries.
13. Fower Constables with their staves.
14. Two Churchwardens.
15. Gentlemen in Coaches and Palankeens.
16. Both the Companies of foot (except the main Guard) marching in the Reare.

One feels a little sorry for the Governor's English pages and others who had to walk bareheaded through the bazaar on a muggy day in the monsoon. But heads were possibly harder in those days; and our friends, including the two Churchwardens, probably made up for their forced exertions after the conclusion of the ceremony. The Governor made a remark-

able speech at the opening of the Court, which Wilcox quotes in full; after which an order was given for the release of all prisoners, and the day ended with *feux-de-joie,* bonfires, and general merrymaking.

"Never was there a joyfuller day," writes Wilcox; "the whole Island is become English." In conclusion, in order to prove to the Directors that "al uncleanness" was being severely dealt with, he gives the full details of a case of rape, committed by "one of your private centinels, a Dutchman," and describes how the culprit was convicted and sentenced to be hanged, but was in the end punished by simple banishment, in response to the prayers of the inhabitants, who objected to an execution taking place immediately after the ratification of Aungier's famous Convention. The Dutchman was not the only European who fell foul of Wilcox's subordinates: for he adds that "a French man had his house puld down for seling drink and permitting publick gaming on the Lord's day in time of prayer, as also for harbouring lewd women, and suffering al kind of debauchery, and al this after warning given him to the contrary." Several persons, presumably English, were fined for refusing to come to Church. The authorities of those days were all for a "dry" Bombay, but their rules and penalties produced little or no effect, as is clear from the account of the Revd. F. Ovington who visited the Island seventeen years later.

Sivaji, or Savageo as the name is written, is twice mentioned in this collection of documents, once in a letter of January 1663-4 from that "mercurial character," Henry Gary, to the Earl of Malborough, which describes Sivaji's sack of Surat, and again in a report of November 1666, which apparently refers to the Maratha's famous escape from Agra. A well-known Bombay figure of those early days, who also figures in these records, is Alvaro Pirez de Tavora, lord of the manor of Mazagon. Shortly after the acceptance of his Convention, Aungier gave de Tavora a commission in the Mazagon militia. When the Dutch were threatening an attack on Bombay in A.D. 1673, de Tavora "did on a sudden, either cowardly or treacherously, desert his command and abandon the Island," setting an evil example which was immediately followed by "above ten thousand of the Portugall and other inhabitants." Aungier thereupon issued a proclamation ordering all the runaways to return within twenty-four hours on pain of confiscation of their estates, and, "because it was a time to act with resolution," he sealed up their houses. All returned except de Tavora, who was thereupon summoned personally to return within forty days, his estate in the meantime being placed in charge of his mother. To this summons de Tavora paid no heed, but remained in Portuguese territory, whence he bombarded the French and Dutch admirals, the Portuguese Viceroy, and the East India Company with petitions and misrepresentations of Aungier's action. The matter was finally settled by the Company in December 1677, when "a demonstration of sorrow and submission" by de Tavora "did beget in the Court a sence of tenderness and compassion towards the Gentleman," and they ordered that if de Tavora similarly apologised for his misbehaviour to the Governor and Council in Bombay, his estates should be restored to him. That they were restored is apparent from the fact, recorded in the *Bombay City Gazetteer*, vol. II, p. 392, that the property remained in possession of de Tavora's descendants until 1731, when it was sold by their order in three lots to Antonio de Silva, Antonio de Lima, and Shankra Sinoy (Shankar Shenvi).

I have quoted enough from Dr. S. A. Khan's book to indicate its claim to the attention of all students of Bombay history. Containing as it does documents of such interest and importance, the book will be a valuable addition to the history of the early years of Crown and Company rule in the Island.

REMARKS ON THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS AND THEIR COUNTRY.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT., C.B., C.I.E., F.S.A.,

Chief Commissioner, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, from A.D. 1894 *to* 1903.

(*Continued from page* 157.)

(*b*) *Ethnological Observations : Ceremonies.*

Mr. Portman is quoted on p. 24, thus :—"Mr. Portman gives the following meanings of the other tribal names of the South and Middle Andaman, but the derivations are somewhat doubtful :—Aka-Bêa, fresh water : Oko-Juwoi, they cut patterns on their bows : Aka-Kol, bitter or salt taste." It is a pity that this quotation is printed, because it serves to perpetuate an error. Aka-Kol, if it means anything at all ascertainable, means 'flower.' In none of the dialects does the name convey 'bitter or salt taste." I may say here at once, on innumerable opportunities for judging, that where Mr. Man and Mr. Portman differ, it is much the safer plan to follow the former, and further that, unless one has personal knowledge on the point, it is wise to look for corroboration before quoting a statement made by the latter.

From the same page I take another quotation :—"I may take this opportunity of pointing out two errors in the names of tribes given in the *Census Report* of 1901. The name Aka-Chari[11] " is given as Aka-Chariar ; the stem -ar means 'to talk' and is not an essential part of the tribal name ; *Aka-Chari-ar-bom* means 'he talks the Chari language." I fear it is Mr. Brown that is in error, not the *Census Report.* The names given in the *Report* were those of the tribes *as known to the Akà-Bêa tribe*, and they were selected on the principle already explained. The Census officers had to choose a language for recording the names of all the tribes. No other plan would be uniform and intelligible. They purposely chose the language they knew best,—the Âkà-Bêa. In this connection I may remark that when Mr. Brown writes so confidently of the true sense of an Âkà-Chârîâr sentence, one must take into account his very short stay amongst the tribe.[12]

His next criticism on the same page is not more fortunate. According to him the second error of the Census officers was in recording the name of a 'new' tribe as Âkà-Tâbo. His words are : "The name Aka-Bo is given as Aka-Tabo ; *t'a-Bo* means 'I (am) Aka-Bo,' *t'a-Jeru* means 'I (am) Aka-Jeru,' the prefix *aka-* being contracted to *a-* after the personal pronoun *t'* = I or my." The name of the tribe in Âkà-Bêa, the Census language, was unquestionably Tâbo and so was rightly recorded, whereas Mr. Brown's form will not stand criticism. Thus, as above quoted, he says (p. 24) that *t'a-Bo* means 'I (am) Aka-Bo' and that *t'* means 'I or my.' On p. 54, however, he says, "the Aka-Jeru equivalent for 'my father' is *t'a-mai*, the *t'* being the personal pronoun 'my,' after which the prefix *aka-* is contracted to *a-*. Similarly 'thy father' is *ng'a-mai* and 'their father' or 'their fathers' is *n'a-mai*," *aka-mai*, according to Mr. Brown (p. 54) meaning 'his father.' Here *t'* is clearly stated to mean 'my' and *a* to be a contracted form of *aka*, the special prefix for tribal names and also for 'father.' On this I have to make two observations. Mr. Brown makes, in the above instances of proper names, *i.e.*, of nouns, *t'* to mean both 'I (am)' and 'I or my' (p. 24),

11 I am obliged to adhere to the established spelling and not to adopt Mr. Brown's. Non-Continental presses do not admit of any other course.

12 Working on the analogy of the Jarawa "m'Önge-be, I-Önge become (am)," and Mr. Brown's p. 54 "achiu-ng' a-mai-bi, who your father become (is)," may it not be after all that his "*Aka-chari-ar-bom*" (p. 54) merely means "(he) a-Chariar-is ? (he is a Chariar)" ? In which case the name would be properly recorded as Chârîâr.

and also to mean 'my' (p. 54): and he takes *a* to be *aka* contracted. I beg leave to doubt it all without the strictest proof, as it is contrary to Andamanese linguistic habit, where that is known for certain.

E.g. :—

	Bea.	Balawa.	Bojigyab.	Jwai.	Kol.
I	dol	dol	tul	te	tu
my	dia	dege	tiya	tiye	tiyi
I, my [13]	d'	d'	t'	t'	t'

So *t'* is extremely unlikely to mean both 'I' and 'my' in the above proper names, on Mr. Brown's own showing. Tabo, therefore on the whole argument, is more likely to be the correct form of the tribal name than Bo, and Mr. Brown has created confusion by using Bo throughout his book. I am afraid I am myself ultimately responsible, owing to my method, accepted without acknowledgment by Mr. Brown, of making Mincopie out of *m'öngebe* (verbal phrase), which, however, is not quite the same thing as *m'önge* (nominal phrase). It is just possible, from Mr. Brown's phrase " *achiu-ng'a-mai-bi,* who is your father ? " (p. 54), that "*t'abo-bi* " might mean 'I am an Abo,' but this is not his inference; and from this observation it does not follow that *t'abo* without a verb following it means " I am a-Bo or Aka-Bo."

I now turn to the very important subject of expressions for relationships and the like. The essential point here is accuracy of observation and report, as all subsequent theorising is obviously dependent on it. At p. 56 Mr. Brown writes as follows :—" The terms of relationship of the Akar-Bale tribe may be taken as representative of the tribes of the South Andaman. The following list contains all the more important of them." Mr. Brown must excuse my calling the tribe in question Balawa according to the established system, and also my remarking that here he is in Mr. Man's area of direct observation, where his statements can be tested.

On p. 58 he says : " A parent often speaks of his or her infant son as *d'ab-bula* and of his infant daughter as *d' ab-pal, ab-bula* and *ab-pal* being the terms for 'male' and 'female.' " And in a footnote he says : " *Dege bula* and *dege pal* mean 'my husband' and 'my wife' respectively." There is nothing in the text to show that these statements disagree with Mr. Man's. However, what the latter has said is that " *dab-bûla* means 'my particular man, my husband' as distinguished from *dîa* (*dege*) *bûla*, 'my man.' Just as *dab-pail* means 'my wife' and '*dîa* (*dege*) *pail* 'my woman.' So *ad-ik-yate* is 'my (newly-married) husband : ' *daî-ik-yate*, 'my (newly-married) wife'; *îk-ke* being 'to take' : these expressions are used during the first few months after marriage. An infant son is by both parents called *dîa* (*dege*) *òta*, 'my little boy,' and an infant daughter, *dîa* (*dege*) *kâta*, 'my little girl.' " The absence of any reference to the existence of this information is more than regrettable, because Mr. Brown has based an argument on truncated and therefore insufficient evidence.

An instance of criticism on similar insufficient information occurs on p. 75. Mr. Man is quoted as to widow marriage and as to having said : " Should she have no younger brother-in-law (or cousin by marriage), however, she is free to wed whom she will." Mr. Brown then proceeds to say that " there is an ambiguity here in the use of the term 'younger brother,' for the Andamanese have no word meaning simply 'younger brother.' " Such a statement depends on how much one knows of the language. Mr. Man knew of no difficulty on the

[13] Syncopated form before an open vowel : in the case of *nouns* meaning 'my' : in the case of *verbs* meaning 'I'.

point. As explained to him the terms *dâkâ-kâm* generally, and also *dar-dôatinga* and *dar-wej(er)inga,* occasionally were used for ' my younger brother ' and *dâkà-kâm* also for " my *uterine* younger half-brother,' while *dâr-dôatinga* and *dar-wêj(er)inga* signified also ' my younger half-brother (if consanguine).' Similarly the terms *ad-en-tōbare, ad-en-tōbanga* or *ad-en-tōkare, ad-en-tōkanga* were used for ' my elder brother ' and *dar châbil entô-bare* (or *entō-kare*) for ' my elder half-brother,' (uterine or consanguine)."

The whole of the criticism on page 75 is captious. *E.g.,*" Mr. Man says ' it is not considered decorous that any fresh alliance should be contracted until about a year had elapsed from the date of bereavement.' I knew of one case, however, of a woman with a young child, who married again only a fortnight or so after her husband's death." Mr. Man was here describing a social attitude when the society was numerous : Mr. Brown saw it so diminished as to be broken up. A social custom, therefore, might well be strictly applied in the former's day and loosely in the latter's. The inference is that if it comes to a question of the essential trustworthiness of the evidence available the palm must be given to Mr. Man.

The value of evidence as to social relations is so very important in discussions such as the present one, that I follow it further. I was much struck with the statements on p. 65 criticising Mr. Man thus : " It will be observed that the Akar-Bale list is consistent and logical throughout. It seems probable that there is an error in Mr. Man's list, and that ' husband's younger sister ' should be *aka-ba-pail* instead of *otin,* while ' younger brother's wife ' should be *otin* instead of *aka-ba-pail.* This would make the Aka-Bea list consistent with itself and with the Akar-Bale list." I submitted this paragraph to Mr. Man and he at once wrote back : " I am willing to concede that it is probable that ' husband's younger sister ' should be *âkà-bâ-pail* (not *ōtîn*) and that younger brother's wife ' should be *ōtîn* (not *âkà-bā-pail*)."[14] The reply is complimentary to Mr. Brown's acuteness, but it also shows the difference in literary manners between the two writers, for there is nowhere that I can see any hint in Mr. Brown's book of his debt to his predecessor for information gathered with great labour and patience or of the assistance it had obviously been to him in making his observations, and, it may be added, his criticisms. Whereas Mr. Man will acknowledge an error, if there is one, without hesitation in the interests of scientific accuracy.

Mr. Brown can also be caught tripping in the same way, for at the bottom of the same page 65, he has inverted Balawa and Bea terms. His table runs :—

Aka-Bea	*Akar-Bale*	
Da	Maia	Sir
In	Chana[15]	Lady

Whereas it should run—

Bea	*Balawa*	
Maia	Da	Sir
Chana	In	Lady

On the next page (66) Mr. Brown says : " According to Mr. Man these last two terms [*diâ maia* and *diâ maiola*] are applied not to a man's own father, but to the other persons whom he addresses as *maia.* This is contradicted by Mr. Portman who gives *dia-maiola* as the Âkà-Bêa for ' my father '." These two witnesses are here quoted as of equal value. Both worked before Mr. Brown's time and he is apparently not able to distinguish between them, although he was for some time in Port Blair itself. And then in a footnote he remarks : " The natives commonly applied the term to me in the form Mam-jula." Mamjola (Father, Great-

[14] The whole tribe has now disappeared and there is no one left to question.

[15] For the benefit of the reader I have not adopted Mr. Brown's transcription.

man, Chief) was applied not only to Mr. Man as long ago as 1874 but also before that to Messrs. Corbyn and Homfray, his predecessors in charge of the Andamanese in the sixties, and to my own knowledge in 1875 it was the ordinary name for Mr. Man, being so reported in a little work we drew up together in 1877 (the first time 'Andamanese' saw itself in print),[16] and in Mr. A. J. Ellis's *Report*[17] in 1882. Since then it has been consistently used for every one of Mr. Man's successors in office. The footnote is characteristic and the plain fact is that Mr. Brown has here not sufficiently acquainted himself with his authorities. For Mr. Man explained the situation thus to Mr. Ellis for the latter's *Report*: "*Mâm*, Sir, is used in addressing a leading chief. The officer in charge of the Andamanese Homes is addressed or referred to as Mâm or Mâm-jôla, an euphuism for Mâm-ola, indicating head or supreme chief." Mr. Ellis in editing the "Letters to Jâmbu" (see his *Report*) rendered Mâm by "Worshipful," Mr. Man having previously explained to him "that *ola* was an honorific suffix to such terms as *maia* and *châna*. *E.g.*, *Maia*, Mr., becomes *Maiola* when addressing or referring to a Chief or one's father: *Chäna* or *Châna*, Mrs., becomes *Chârola* when addressing one's mother or a woman one's senior in age or superior in position."

On minor points Mr. Brown remarks (p. 28): "In the tribes of the North Andaman the word equivalent to *wa* [people] of the South is *kolcko*." It may be noted here that the Bêa (South Andaman) equivalent is *laga*. On p. 32 a criticism of Mr. Man is based on the translation of the word *bûd*, which Mr. Brown regards as the term for 'communal hut.' Mr. Man has, however, long ago pointed out that *bûd* is the *generic* term for 'hut' and that *bâraij* is the term both for 'communal hut' and a 'permanent village.' Has Mr. Brown been wise in his criticism?

At pp. 134—137 Mr. Brown has a description of a "peace-making ceremony" on which he subsequently bases a long and important argument. He commences his account with the following words: "In the North Andaman, and possibly in the South also, there was a ceremony by which two hostile local groups made peace with one another." Here he has the field to himself and is entitled to all the credit there is in a new discovery, for in all the 50 years that the Southern and Mid Andaman tribes have been closely examined no such ceremony has been observed, even by those who have lived in the Andamanese camps. Indeed, in the earlier stages of the British acquaintance with them the intertribal relations were such that there was no opportunity for holding one.

(c) *Ethnological Observation: Beliefs.*

It would be quite possible to extend the above remarks on Mr. Brown's accounts of the ceremonies of the Andamanese, but enough has been said to press home my main point that he does not supersede Mr. Man as a witness. I will therefore pass at once to his account of religion and magical beliefs.

Mr. Brown plays so much upon the terms for 'heat' and 'cold' and the meaning they convey to the Andamanese that one is reluctant to throw cold water on any observations leading up to his arguments. But on p. 137 he observes that the Lau of the North is the

16 *The Lord's Prayer translated into the Bojig-ngiji (da) or South Andaman (Elâkà-bêa (da) Language*, by E. H. Man, Assist. Supdt., Andamans and Nicobars, in charge of the Andamanese, with Preface, Introduction and notes by R. C. Temple, Lt., 21st R. N. B. Fusiliers. Calcutta, Thacker Spink & Co., London & Strasburg, Trübner & Co., 1877.

17 *Report of Researches into the Language of the South Andaman Island*, arranged by Alexander J. Ellis, F.R.S., F.S.A., twice President of the Philological Society, from the Papers of E. H. Man, Esq., Assist. Supdt. of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and Lt. R. C. Temple of the B. S. Corps, Cantonment Magistrate at Ambala, Panjab. Reprinted from the *Eleventh Annual Address of the President of the Philological Society*, delivered by Mr. A. J. Ellis, F.R.S., F.S.A., on his retiring from the chair, 19 May 1862, and contained in the *Transactions* of that Society for 1882-3-4, pp. 44-73.]

same as the Chàuga of the South. All Andamanese when they die, he says, become Lau or Spirits. He further observes that aliens are, to them, also visitors from the world of Spirits (p. 138). So far I am with him, but he then goes on to say that "the clothes that these 'spirits' [*scil*, foreign visitors] wore they called *Lau-ot-julu*, the word *ot-julu* meaning 'cold.'" In the Bêa language the term for cloth, clothes and even canvas sails is *ia-yôlo*. Now, assuming the term *julu* to convey the sense of clothing, the obvious Bêa equivalent for Mr. Brown's Northern *Lau-ot-julu* would be *Chàuga-l'ia-yolo*, which means "the Spirits' clothes." But neither in the South nor in the Mid Andaman has any term been found which even approaches *julu*, *yôlo* with the sense of 'cold.' Whereas the exact equivalent of the form *Lau-ot-julu* is, in Bêa, *Chàuga-l'ôt-yôlo*, but that has the sense of "the foreigner's[18] 'soul.'" No doubt Mr. Brown will heartily disagree with all this, but it goes to show how much depends, in speculation about savages, on the correct apprehension of the native terms and how necessary it is to look into those presented.

Here is a strong instance. Mr. Brown is giving a legend of the first ancestor, derived from some men of the Bôjigyâb tribe[19] (Mid Andaman), and the end of him is (p. 194) that "he is turned into a *kara-duku*." On this Mr. Brown remarks at length: "There is some doubt about the translation of the word *kara-duku*. It is an Aka-Bea word, although it was used as given above, by an A-Puchikwar man. Mr. Man translates it 'cachalot.' Mr. Portman says [*Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*] that *kara-duku* is 'crocodile,' but that the cachalot, the proper name for which is *biriga-ta*, is sometimes [p. 227 of Portman's book has 'equally'] called *kara-duku*. The only authority for the existence of crocodiles in the Andamans is the statement of Mr. Portman, who says that the natives killed one in the Middle Andaman and brought the bones to him. Although I was in many of the creeks at the Andamans at different times I never saw a crocodile, and none of the other officers of the Settlement, who have repeatedly explored a large part of the islands, ever seems to have seen one, so that the one recorded by Mr. Portman may possibly have been a single one that had come oversea from the mainland of Asia." Mr. Portman, however, thought differently, as he was well aware of an old controversy as to the true meaning of *kâra-dûku* and as to the existence of crocodiles in the Andamans. There are plenty in the Nicobars. Remembering this I referred to Mr. Man. Here is his reply: "I remember there was doubt about the correct meaning of *kâra-dûku* at one time, and it was wrongly described as the word for cachalot (sperm whale.) but later I found that *biriga-ta* meant 'whale' and *kâra-dûka* 'crocodile.' In confirmation of this the somewhat similarly formed reptile, the iguana, is called *dûku*. I well remember being told of a man, while swimming a creek in the Middle Andamans, being seized and carried off by a crocodile. It occurred some time in the sixties," during the latter part of which I may remark Mr. Man was in the Andamans. The inference here is that a reference to Mr. Man would probably have modified the remarks above quoted from p. 194. Finally, Mr. Brown might as well have quoted Mr. Portman correctly, for he says, p. 227 *op. cit*: "the word *kâra-dûku* is also applied to the cachalot equally with the proper name of *biriga-ta*. There remained some doubt regarding the proper translation of the word in the minds of Europeans until a crocodile was killed by the Andamanese in Yêretil Creek in 1894. Crocodiles are rare in the Andamans, but have been very occasionally killed by the Andamanese and I have known of three cases in which Andamanese have been eaten by the reptiles." Mr. Brown's methods are thus sufficiently clearly seen.

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18 *Chàuga* nowadays means specially a native of India as well as 'spirit.'

19 Mr. Brown calls it "A-Puchikwar," written with a c diacritically marked in Eastern European fashion: an instructive instance of the art of puzzling students. It is done, I know, in the name of scientific accuracy; but suppose for the same reason one took to writing about Kozhikkodu for Calicut, or Kâhanpur for Cawnpore, or Vârânasî for Benares, or Mrammâ for Burma.

Here is a milder instance of the importance of being sure of one's translation and of being careful about criticising that of old experts. At p. 176 Mr. Brown remarks about the Andaman 'seers' that "the name of these medicine-men in the North Andaman is *oko-jumu,* meaning literally 'dreamer' or 'one who speaks from dreams' from a stem *-jumu,* the primary meaning of which refers to the phenomena of dreams. In Aka-Bea the corresponding term is *oko-paiad,* and according to Mr. Man, this term also means 'dreamer'. Mr. Portman, however, gives *taraba* as the Aka-Bea word for 'dream' or 'to dream.'" Mr. Portman was here not by any means contradicting, but merely supporting Mr. Man, or, better, sitting at his feet. Here are the latter's own words : "a dream is *ab-târaba,* a seer's dream is *ara-mûga-târaba* : to dream about things is *ab-târabake,*[20] to dream thus as a seer is *ôt-paiadke,* to be dreaming as a seer is *ara-mûga-târabake :* a seer is *ôko-paiad.* An ordinary dreamer is *ab-târaba-yâte* ; *ab-târabanga :* a dreamer, that is 'a seer' is *ôt-paiad-yâte ; ara-mûga-târaba-yâte : ôt-paiad-nga ; ara-mûga-târabanga.*" It is a pity that Mr. Brown should thus lightly contrast the statements of his predecessors. But next he proceeds to correct Mr. Man on the same page : "according to a statement by Mr. Man, only men can possess the powers that entitle them to be regarded as *oko-paiad.* The natives whom I questioned told me that a woman may possess the same powers, though it is more usual for men to become famous in this way than women." Did he clearly understand ? A little further down the page we read of his own difficulties in the matter of enquiry, including "I had to make use of an interpreter," not for the first or only time be it remarked.

That Mr. Brown is not always careful of quoting his predecessors accurately before passing judgment on them—and sometimes rough judgment—is obvious by his remarks on p. 173. He is there hard on Mr. Man about the difficult, and I may say dangerous, subject of the 'spirit' and 'soul' after death, mainly because he did not himself find corroboration. Here again the questions of length of observation and of opportunity therefor and also of knowledge of the language come into play. Mr. Brown is deliberately pitting his 'short' and 'slight' against his predecessor's 'long' and 'considerable'. It is not a wise proceeding. Again, if we are to suppose Mr. Man to be prejudiced in favour of the Christian views on this subject, may we not suppose Mr. Brown to be prejudiced in favour of the opposite ? In fact, so dangerous is the subject to approach when it comes to recording accurately facts as observed in an alien people, that the least one can do is to treat the views of others—when competent—with respect. To act otherwise is to cast doubts, out of one's own mouth, on any views one may put forward. To quote inaccurately and base statements or inferences on a wrong quotation is to damage one's own work.

Mr. Brown does not believe in what he calls Mr. Man's *Chaitan,* as the home of the (Andamanese) dead in certain circumstances ; and in a footnote to p. 173, he says : "I could not obtain any information about the word that Mr. Man gives as *chaitan.* Some men of the South Andaman whom I questioned did not seem to recognise the word, except as their way of pronouncing the Urdu word *shaitan* = devil." Of course they did not recognize it, because it is a commonplace in linguistics that the uneducated have great difficulty in recognizing even familiar words if incorrectly pronounced. The puerile suggestion that *chai-î-tân* (pronounced by Europeans *chaitân*) is a corruption of *shaitân,* is an old one in Port Blair (Andaman Penal Settlement). The literal meaning of *chai-î-tân* is the '*chai*-tree (*tân*)'.[21] It has nothing to do with any idea of Shaitân, the Indian Muhammadan's Satan. *Cf.* Bumli-tân in Port Blair Harbour, in a tree at which spot the wrapped up body of an Andamanese chief was once to be seen lying for some time 'buried,' as I well remember.

20 *Ke* is the generic suffix of the verb.

21 The *chai* is the tree from which South Andaman bows are made.

Another instance of such folk-etymology is the suggestion I have heard that South Andamanese *bâraij*, 'a communal hut' is corrupted from the English 'barrack', convicts' barracks being prominent objects in Port Blair. Further, a former local officer, of great linguistic attainments and also idiosyncrasies, named de Roepstorff, who was murdered in tragic circumstances at the Nicobars in 1883, suggested that the South Andaman *rîdi* for the name of a slender bamboo (*Bambusa nana*) was the English 'reed'. He did not believe in the existence of the Jarawas and used to say that the name merely perpetuated the Hindustani *jhâruwâlâ*, 'gentleman of the broom, scavenger!'[22] It is interesting to find Mr. Brown in the same company and this little history supports my point of the importance of knowing the language concerned when criticising others versed in one's own field of observation.

With reference to the Andamanese beliefs as to the phenomena of nature, sun and moon and so on, Mr. Brown makes a remark (p. 141): "Before relating in detail what could be learnt about their beliefs on these matters, it is necessary to call attention to one feature in these beliefs. Different statements, not only of different informants, but even of the same informant, are often quite contradictory . . . . Many examples of such contradictions will be found in what follows, and it is important to point out their existence beforehand." And again on p. 158: "Any attempt to reconcile the statements of different men or of the same men on different occasions can only produce a false impression of the real condition of the native beliefs, and therefore the statements are kept separate, and each one is given as it was taken down." I heartily agree with these excellent sentiments, but unfortunately Mr. Brown does not act on his principles. On p. 205 he gives two out of three of Mr. Man's versions of the fire legend, and proceeds to say that "this [the second] legend contains an obvious contradiction [of the first] . . . . There is the possibility, however, that this inconsistency is due not to the natives themselves, but to Mr. Man's transcription." Apparently, therefore, an argument that applies when Mr. Brown's informants disagree is not to apply when Mr. Man's contradict themselves. Next, on p. 140 he writes: "Mr. Man's account of the spirits of the jungle and sea contains an important error, which needs to be pointed out." He is equally emphatic at some length in differing from Mr. Man in certain points of detail about the spirits of the sea. Any one who will read his pages on these points will perceive that the "important error" to which he draws attention arises out of the versions of the story he procured from a different tribe being not in accord with Mr. Man's. Why, on Mr. Brown's own principles in such a case, should his story be right and Mr. Man's wrong? Why should not both be right as a matter of statements taken down from different natives of different tribes at different times, in fact a whole generation—30 years—apart, in different circumstances? We are reminded here, too, once more forcibly, of Mr. Man's experience and Mr. Brown's inexperience as a witness. Also, are we to suppose that Mr. Brown does not acknowledge that even 'civilised' people of high education would on questioning be found to differ profoundly as to the "Unseen World" and the "Powers of Darkness"?

The above are not isolated instances of Mr. Brown's attitude. On p. 108 we find that "Mr. Man states that in cases of tree-burial they are careful not to select a fruit tree or one of a species used for the manufacture of their canoes, bows and other implements. Such natives as I questioned said that this was not so and that they would use any suitable tree whether one that was useful or not. I was unable definitely to prove this point, as I did not see a single instance of tree-burial during my stay in the islands." Perhaps in his short stay this was so, when we remember the diminution of population that had taken place. But Mr. Man knew of several instances, and so for that matter did the present writer. Now it is a fair question to ask—who is the more likely to be right about this matter: the old stager with his great knowledge of the language and its speakers, or the youngster with his little

[22] See also my remarks in *The Lord's Prayer in the S. Andaman Language*, p. 69, on his derivation of *bèringada*, good, from the English 'very good', the Andamanese word being '*beeringa* (*da*)'.

knowledge of both ? The same remark applies to the statements on p. 109 about infant burial, with the additional reason for not contradicting Mr. Man that Mr. Brown's informant came from a different tribe, even if rightly understood. Lastly, when on p. 115 he is dealing with Mr. Man's statements as to prohibited food, his reasons for differing are even more indefensible, as Mr. Man had given the vernacular word for prohibited food, *yât-tûb*. This word must have a definite sense. If it does not imply what Mr. Man says it does, what does it imply ? Mr. Brown does not tell us what he thinks about its meaning.

He is nothing if not cock sure. On a very minor point, the botanical identification of a plant, every body is wrong, Mr. Man, Mr. Portman and myself (pp. 181, 451, 452). We all gave the same name to a certain small tree or shrub used for producing rope and also for keeping off spirits. We called it *Melochia velutina*. Mr. Brown says it is *Hibiscus tiliaceus*. He reverts to this 'error' more than once, as if it were important. His authority apparently is a photograph by Mr. Portman in the British Museum. I for one am not inclined to sit in sack-cloth and ashes. We may be wrong of course, for in matters of this kind it is easy to make slips. Perhaps Mr. Brown is the best botanist of us all. But it is not Mr. Man's habit, nor is it mine, to make statements of this nature without some verification. Our authorities are Beddome, Watt, Kurz, Prain, Gamble, Brandis, and if I recollect rightly, also King. So we are in good company, even assuming that one of these authorities originally made a blunder and all the rest followed him. As I said before, the point of botanical identification is here a very minor one : the real point is that the fibre and leaves of a certain local shrub are used by the Andamanese for both domestic and magical purposes. If, however, one puts stress on botanical names, we are all liable to make slips, even Mr. Brown himself. On p. 189 he refers to the *anadendron paniculatum* as "a vegetable substance with magical properties," and he constantly speaks of it under that name. Sir David Prain, however, calls the plant *Anodendron*. All this does not matter much, except as showing that Mr. Brown would do well to be gentle with others.[23]

These remarks are not too severe. Again and again, on page after page, Mr. Brown quotes Mr. Man only to contradict him or belittle his powers of observation in the above manner. Indeed, the book reads in parts as if it were an *Oratio contra Manum* in the good old classical style. Yet on March 17, 1909, not long after his return from the Andamans, Mr. Brown read a paper before the Folklore Society, in the course of which he said : "Mr. Man's researches were in many ways excellent. I have tested as far as possible every statement in his book and can speak with ungrudging praise of it " Why then is Mr. Man such a bad witness now ? Although he can be proved to be occasionally at fault, as in the case of the use of *alaba*-fibre, as long ago pointed out by Mr. Portman and acknowledged by himself. Are we to look for a solution of this question in the strictures of Pater Schmidt in *Man*, 1910, Art. ii, and of Andrew Lang in the same volume ? Is it unfair to surmise that the author is in this book justifying his omniscience ?

23 To be meticulously accurate here, the point was referred to the Royal Botanical Gardens; Kew, and it was there ascertained that "the original and generally accepted spelling of the fibre-producing shrub in question is *Anodendron paniculatum*, as the name of the genus was derived from the way in which *Anodendron paniculatum* ascended high trees (*DC. Proar.* viii, p. 443 ; 1844). It should, strictly speaking, have been spelt *Anadendron*. L. Wight (*Ill. Ind. Bot.*, ii, p. 164, 1850) spelt it that way. It is desirable, however, to retain the original spelling, as the corrected form *Anadendron* would be apt to be confused with the genus *Anadendron* (*Araceæ*)." Mr. Brown in his remarks on *Melochia Velutina* and *Hibiscus tiliaceus* seem to lay claim to be an expert botanist If so and if he deliberately adopted *anadendron* for the original *anodendron*, he would be guilty of something very like pedantry.

He was then considered by his elders of great experience to be self-sufficient and discourteous. He has not improved in this respect since. It is a great pity, for the book contains so much that is good in itself that it might have been made a standing authority on his subject. Had he asked either Mr. Man or myself, we would have helped him to the best of our ability. Indeed, for a while he had all mine, and with them many of Mr. Man's voluminous linguistic notes, representing the work of many years covering nearly all his information. He has by his self-confidence and spirit of contradiction spoilt a good book and thrown doubt on every statement in it.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK-NOTICES.

1. MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION (PATNA UNIVERSITY READERSHIP LECTURES, 1920). by JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A., Indian Educational Service, Bihar; M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta 1920.
2. STUDIES IN MUGHAL INDIA, by JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A. Being *Historical Essays* (2nd edition, with 12 new essays added); M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta, and W. Heffer and Sons, Cambridge, 1919.

Both these small books by Professor Sarkar well deserve a place in the library of the student of Indian history. The former deals succinctly with the character of the Mughal Government, with the sovereign and the various official departments, with the provincial administration and with the taxation of land and revenue collection. The final chapter is devoted to a discussion of the achievements and failure of Mughal rule. At intervals Professor Sarkar gives the reader picturesque glimpses of the official life of those days. The Emperor was the highest court of appeal, but the people who sought justice from him had to pay bribes to a hierarchy of menials and courtiers ere they could count on their grievances being brought to the imperial notice. To counteract this practice, Jahangir and some other occupants of the throne of Delhi used to suspend a gold chain from the balcony of the palace to the ground outside Agra fort, to which the people could tie their petitions for justice. Corruption was wide-spread and was common to all departments of the State. The Qazis, who formed the highest judiciary, were notorious in this respect. Every provincial capital had its local Qazi, who was appointed by the Chief Qazi, and as these posts were often sold for bribes the Qazi's department became a byword and a reproach in Mughal times.

While the State declined to undertake any socialistic work and contented itself with police duties and the collection of revenue, it considered itself bound by Moslem law to appoint a Censor of Public Morals (*muhtasib*), who at times impinged with some violence upon the daily life of the subjects. He would march, through the streets with a party of soldiers, demolishing and plundering liquor-shops, distilleries and gambling-dens, breaking the pots and pans in which *bhang* was prepared, and enforcing the strict observance of religious rites on the part of the Muhammadan population. In Aurangzeb's day the demolition of newly-built temples was one of this officer's duties, as also the expulsion from the urban areas of *tawaif* or 'professional women', which must have offered ample opportunity for illicit perquisites. The latter duty was also entrusted to the Kotwal or chief of the city police, whose functions are minutely enumerated in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. To the European police-officer of to day the use made by the Kotwal of the sweeper and house-scavenger must seem somewhat curious. The Kotwal, in Manucci's words, had to obtain information about all that went on, so as to be able to report to the ruler. 'For this purpose there are throughout the Mughal empire certain persons known as *halál-khor*, who are under obligation to go twice a day to clean out every house; and they tell the Kotwal all that goes on.' One wonders how the Police Commissioner of a modern Indian city would carry on his work effectively, if he had to depend for most of his confidential information on the menial staff of a municipal health department. The *halál-khors* of Mughal days must have often provided strange packets of scandalous gossip for the Kotwal.

Professor Sarkar's remarks on the position of the peasantry and the character of the subordinate revenue and judicial administration are illuminating. The lower officials were incurably corrupt: the highest officials were on the whole just, though even among them a Diwan occasionally appeared who inflated the revenue demand on paper and then farmed the collection to the highest bidder with ruinous consequences. These practices gave point to the famous remark of the great Diwan-i-ala Sadullah Khan, that a Diwan who behaved unjustly to the ryots was "a demon with a pen and inkpot before him." The Persian *alif* closely resembles a reed-pen, and the *nun* is not unlike the indigenous ink-pot. *Div* or *Dew*, the first half of the word *Diwân*, signifies an evil spirit; and hence Sadullah

Khan's description of an oppressive دیوان, is very apt. Towards the end of the book Professor Sarkar gives a list of the various *abwabs* or exactions which were collected on various pretexts, in addition to regular land-revenue or customs-duties. Modern politicians who complain of the taxation imposed by the British Government in India might do worse than look through this long list of oppressive cesses levied by an indigenous government in the good old days.

The second volume consists of short essays, of which nearly half the number were published under the title of *Historical Essays* in 1912. Among the rest is an interesting chapter on Zeb-un-nissa, in which Professor Sarkar is able to refute the story of her lover being done to death in the harem, and also the legend of her falling in love with Sivaji at Agra, which formed the *motif* of an old Bengali novel by Bhudev Mukerji. The princess died in captivity in 1702, having been imprisoned by her father's order for complicity in the rebellion of Prince Akbar. 'The Emperor learnt from the news-letter of Delhi,' so runs the official Persian record of her death, 'that the Princess Zeb-un-nissa had drawn on her face the veil of God's Mercy and taken up her abode in the palace of inexhaustible Forgiveness.' She was buried in the "Garden of Thirty Thousand Trees" outside the Kabuli gate of Delhi: but her tomb was demolished in making the Rajputana railway-line. Alas!

Professor Sarkar includes in this small volume a good account of Bhimsen, the Hindu memoir-writer of Aurangzeb's reign, and of Ishwar Das, the Nagar Brahman of Patan, who wrote the *Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri*; also the memoir of William Irvine which appears at a later date in Professor Sarkar's edition of the *Later Mughals*; and two brief essays on art and education in Muslim India. The author here provides a pleasant adjunct to the purely political history of the Mughal empire, and one hopes that he will publish many more such essays.

S. M. Edwardes.

Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department for the year 1922. Government Press, Bangalore, 1922.

This report is the "swan-song" of Mr. R. Narasimhâchâr, who retired from the Office of Director of Archæological Researches, Mysore, in July, 1922, after several years' valuable service. On this account one may forgive the inclusion in the Report of six paragraphs dealing with Benares, Sârnâth, Allahâbâd, Gaya, Puri-Jagannâth, Bezwâda and other places, which Mr. Narasimhâchâr visited while on privilege leave. They cannot be said to have any direct connexion with Mysore archæology and antiquities. A considerable number of new records of the Ganga, Nolamba and Hoysala dynasties were discovered and copied during the year, among the more noteworthy being three fragmentary *viragals*, referring to a cattle raid, which mention a hitherto unknown Nolamba ruler named Biyalachora. Interesting also is a set of copper-plates recording a grant in 1534 by Achyuta-Râya of Vijayanagar to one Srirangaya, who is stated to be a lineal descendant of Sudarsanâchârya, author of the *Srutaprakâsika*, a commentary on the *Sribhâshya* of Râmanujâchârya. The Vijayanagar inscriptions copied during the year cover a period of nearly two centuries, from 1370 to 1573. Mr. Narasimhachar also gives details of two new records of the Yelahanka Chiefs of Magadi, and by a comparison of all the hitherto discovered inscriptions of this family is enabled to construct a pedigree of those rulers, which corresponds very closely with the genealogy given in a Sanskrit work written about the end of the seventeenth century. A relic of the last of these chiefs came to light during the year in the form of a palm-leaf letter addressed by him during his imprisonment at Seringapatam, to the chief of Hulikal, who was a collateral relative of his. His imprisonment, which resulted eventually in his death, was due to the fact that he refused to present a fine elephant to the King of Mysore, whose commander-in-chief marched against him and took possession of his kingdom.

The Report calls attention to the fact that Mysore contains many old monuments of great architectural beauty, which imperatively require conservation by the State. It is therefore satisfactory to learn that a draft Bill for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments is being considered by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja. Students of Indian history and antiquities will fully endorse the praise bestowed by the State upon Mr. Narasimhâchâr's work during the last sixteen years.

S. M. Edwardes.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (Bangalore), vol. XIII, No. 1, October, 1922; Bangalore Press, Mysore Road, Bangalore.

The Mythic Society's Journal for October, 1922, contains a good article on Sravana Belgola and the colossal statue of Gommatesvara by Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar. After discussing the date of the statue and its dimensions, the author examines the tradition regarding the visit to Sravana Belgola of the Mauryan emperor Chandragupta and the Jain saint Badrabahu. There is little doubt that the story has a solid foundation on fact. The procedure ordinarily adopted in cases of abdication, as described by Tod and in the *Ras Mala*, supplies a reasonable explanation of the sudden disappearance of Chandragupta from the political stage. For the monarch who abdicated was treated as having died, could not re-enter the capital, and assumed a name in religion. Another article, which

will be completed in a later issue. is that of Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao on the Tribes and Castes of Mysore. He has collected traces of the matriarchate, pre-marital communism, the Levirate, etc., which form a useful commentary upon the facts elicited by the ethnographical survey.

It is doubtful whether the statement of Major Jackson, quoted in Mr. Vance' paper on " Coin Collecting in South India," that " even more common are thick copper coins of the Mahratta kings of Satara, known as Chhatrapati pice, especially the issue of the great Sivaji (1674-80)" is correct. It is generally understood that no coins struck in Sivaji's name are now extant, except possibly the unique gold coin found at Phaltan in 1919. The copper coins, locally known as *Shivrais,* which have so far been found, are usually ascribed to later members of Sivaji's line. According to Grant Duff, Sivaji first began issuing coins in his own name in 1664

S. M. EDWARDES.

HISTORICAL GLEANINGS, by BIMALA CHARAN LAW, with a foreword by DR. B. M. BARUA, Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 6. E. 2: Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta, 1922.

This is a brief collection of essays, most of which have been published already in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. They include such subjects as "Taxila as a centre of Sanskrit and Pâli literature," "The wandering teachers of Buddha's age," "Buddhaghosa's commentaries" and "Buddha and the Niganthas." There is a chapter on the Licchavis in Ancient India, which contains some of the information embodied in the first part of the author's " Kshatriya Clans in Buddhist India," and which, in consideration of the latter publication, might have been omitted. As pointed out in the foreword, Mr. Law's researches have been confined to Buddhist literature, especially that in Pâli, and his work is mainly a compilation of references scattered throughout that literature. It is none the less useful on that account, particularly in regard to such problems as the influence of the five heretical teachers on the development of Jainism and Buddhism Mr. Law is enabled to show that, despite their divergences, these teachers belonged to one and the same period of thought-development in India and prepared the way for the doctrine of Buddha. The Ajivika order, for example, founded by Nandavaccha, Kisasamkicca and Makkhali Gosala, was probably directly responsible for the doctrine of *Sammaajiro* (right living), which was adopted by the Jains and Buddhists; and both Mahavira and Buddha owed more than appears superficially to the teaching of Ajitakesakambali and Sanjaya. The chapter on Buddhaghosa's commentaries will well repay perusal, and is one of the best features of this little book, which provides in a convenient compass some of the salient facts deducible from an examination of Buddhist literature.

S. M. EDWARDES.

LAK -- -URI, A DIALECT OF MODERN AWADHI. By [illegible] Luram Saksena, M.A. *Journal and Pro-* , A.S.B., (New Series), Vol. XVIII, 1922, No. 5.

This is an excellent grammar of the important unliterary dialect of Hindu spoken about Lakhîmpur of the Kheri District of Oudh,—important because it preserves the language of the *Râmâyaṇa* of Tulsîdâs. Mr. Saksena says of it, pages 308-9: " the language of the *Râmâyaṇa* of Tulsîdâs, which broadly represents forms of Awadhî of the 16th century resembles generally the dialect of Lakhîmpur," and he then proceeds to give the chief points of resemblance.

As above remarked, the grammar is well put together and easy to follow—a good example of how such things should be done. One point about it strongly appeals to me. It is necessarily a phonological book, in which Professor R. L. Turner has given advice and guidance, and yet the only peculiarities used are a reversed *e* to denote " very short *a*," and ^{i}, ^{u}, and ^{e} (above the line) to represent very short *u*, and *e*; also " ˜ " above a vowel denotes nasalisation, as in *bhaŭăr.*" All this is simple, easy to follow and to my mind, *pace* the phonologists, eminently practical. I wish there were more like it.

R. C. TEMPLE.

GWALIOR FORT ALBUM. Archæological Dept., Gwalior State.

This is a useful little *brochure* for visitors to Gwalior, giving a plan of the Fort and some two dozen illustrations of the principal buildings in and about it. The descriptions which accompany the illustrations are such that the visitor will not be led astray. Altogether a creditable little production.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

44. Military Rewards, 1703.

Fort St. George Diary, 23 *December* 1703. The 23 of May last was made an act of Councill for the Paymaster to gett ready Beaver Hatts and Coats for the Portugueez Officers and Lieutenants and Ensigns of this garrison for the good Services done in our late troubles, which the Paymaster having gott ready, the Govr. did this day invite them all to dinner when he delivered them their Coats and hatts. (*Factory Records, Fort St. George,* vol. (12).

R. C. TEMPLE.

EARLY HISTORY OF INDIAN FAMINES.*

BY P. N. RAMASWAMI, B.A.

(*With an Additional Note by* L. M. ANSTEY.)

(*Continued from page* 197.)

III.—Mediaeval Muhammadan Period, A.D. 1200—1500.

The Pre Moghul Age.

We shall now briefly narrate the history of Indian famines after the advent and conquests of the Musalmans.

The *Jama Pattâvalî* or the Succession List of the High Priests, notices in Early Guzerat, in the time of king Viṣâladêva, a three years' famine which occurred between Samvat 1315 (A.D. 1259) and Samvat 1318 (A.D. 1262). The bards of Early Guzerat praise Viṣâladêva for lessening the miseries of this three years' famine (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. I, part I, ch. III, p. 203). In the early part of the reign of Jalālu'ddîn Khiljî a severe famine occurred about Delhi and the Siwâlik districts. In the picturesque language of A. L. Badaoni (*Muntakhabu-'t-Tawārikh*, trans. Ranking, vol. I, sec. 172, p. 235), "there was a scarcity of famine in that year, (A.D. 1291) and such a famine occurred that the Hindus, from excess of hunger and want, went in bands and joining their hands threw themselves into the Jumna, and became the portion of the alligator of extinction. Many Muslims also, burning in the flames of hunger, were drowned in the ocean of non-existence." Farishta (Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power*, vol. I, p. 301) narrates that "thousands of Hindus daily died in the streets and highways."

This great famine was attributed by the vulgar to the king's execution of a holy man named Sîdi Maulâ. But the real cause seems to have been the failure of rain and the very lenient administration of the old Sultan "The king's mistaken lenity," says Farishta (Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power*, vol. I, p 295), "seems to have soon produced the effect which these chiefs saw. Clemency is a virtue which descends from God; but the degenerate children of India of that age did not deserve it. The king's sentiments having become public, no security was any longer found. The streets and highways were infested by thieves and banditti. House-breaking, robbery, murder and every other species of crime was committed by many who adopted them as means of subsistence Insurrections prevailed in every province; numerous gangs of free-booters interrupted commerce, and even common intercourse. Add to which the king's governors neglected to render any account, either of their revenues or of their administration.

In the reign of his successor Âlâu'ddîn Khiljî (A.D. 1294—1316) famines of unparalleled severity swept over Northern India. But Âlâu'ddîn took stern measures to relieve the people. "He caused an edict—which he steadily enforced—to be proclaimed throughout the country, fixing the price of every article of consumption. To accomplish the reduction of the prices of grain in particular he caused large magazines to be built upon the rivers Jumna and Ganges, and other places convenient for water carriage, under the direction of Mullik Kubool. This person was authorised to receive half the land-tax in grain; and the government agent supplied the markets when any articles rose above the fixed price. The first regulation was established for fixing the prices of grain at Delhi, from which we may suppose what those were for the country towns" (Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power*, vol. I, p 355). Similar regulations governed the cloth trade (*ibid.*, p. 357). A third regulation fixed the prices of horses (*ibid.*, p. 359). The fourth regulation regarded the sale of slaves of both sexes. The fifth regulation regarded the sale of cattle, oxen, sheep, goats, camels and asses; in short, every useful animal and all commodities were sold at a stated price in the markets (*ibid.*, p. 360).

* See *ante* note 1 to p. 107

But Âlâu'ddîn Khilji's measures were not crowned with perfect success. As the historian remarks, "In consequence of a drought, a dearth ensued and a difference took place in practice. [The standard price and the current market price of the same article were different.] It is difficult to conceive how so extraordinary a project should have been put in practice without defeating its own end. But it is confidently asserted that the orders continued throughout the reign of the monarch. The importation of grain was encouraged ; w[illegible] to export it or any other article of food was a capital crime. The king had a daily report laid before him of the quantity sold and remaining in the several granaries ; and overseers were appointed in the different markets to inform him of abuses, which were punished with the utmost rigour. The king received daily reports from three different departments on this subject and he even employed the boys in the street to go and purchase articles, to ascertain that no variation took place from the fixed rates." Free-traders and Protectionists will put a different complexion on Âlâu'ddîn's regulations.

But, while authors may disagree about the wisdom or folly of these regulations, none will dispute the incontrovertible fact that the evils of famine were accentuated in Âlâu'ddîn's days by the crushing taxation he imposed on the people. He required his advisers to draw up rules and regulations for grinding down the Hindus and for depriving them of "that wealth and prosperity which fosters disaffection and rebellion." The cultivated land was directed to be all measured and the government took half the gross produce.

"No Hindu could hold up his head, and in their houses no sign of gold or silver . . . . or any superfluity was to be seen. These things, which nourish insubordination and rebellion, were no longer to be found . . . . Blows, confinement in the stocks, imprisonment and chains, were all employed to enforce payment."

Replying to a learned lawyer whom he had consulted, the Sultan said : "O doctor, thou art a learned man, but thou hast had no experience. I am an unlettered man, but I have seen a great deal. Be assured, then, that the Hindus will never become submissive and obedient till they are reduced to poverty. I have, therefore, given orders that just sufficient shall be left to them from year to year, of corn, milk and curds, but that they shall not be allowed to accumulate hoards and property."

In this connection the earnest attention of the reader must be drawn to one interesting fact, viz., the Sultans of Delhi, in times of famine, while leaving the provinces to their own fate, did their best to mitigate the evil effects of famine in the capital. The reason for this is obvious. Tyrants as they were, their existence depended upon the acquiescence of the capital city. Therefore we must not take the measures of relief carried out in the imperial city as typical of what was done in the country and provinces.

The long reign of Muhammad Tughlak Shâh (A.D. 1325—51) is nothing but a series of famines which were partly brought about by scarcity of rain, and partly by gross misrule. The Musalman historian Ziâu'ddîn Barnî, in his *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* (Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vol. III, p. 244 and fol) relates that in the beginning of the unlucky reign of Muhammad Tughlak (A.D 1327) "a total famine devastated Delhi and its environs and throughout the Doab. Grain became dear. The scarcity of rain caused the famine to become general. It continued for some years, and thousands upon thousands of people perished of want. Communities were reduced and families were broken up " In short, as the historian Ziâu'ddîn Barnî remarks, "the glory of the state and the power of the government of Sultan Muhammad from this time withered and decayed." This famine, as Al-Badaoni points out (*Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh*, sec. 228, p. 305) was brought about by the

king's gross misrule. "At this time," says the candid historian, "the Sultan formed the opinion that in consequence of the refractory conduct of his subjects in the Doab it was advisable to double the taxes levied on that country; he also instituted numbering their cattle and a house census and other vexatious and oppressive measures which were the cause of the complete ruin and desolation of the country."

The internal state of the country was one of ruin. His political freaks, viz., attack on Persia, forced currency, attack on China, etc., had depleted the treasury; and the taxes were enhanced to a degree that had become unbearable, while they were collected so rigorously that the peasantry were reduced to beggary and the people who possessed anything felt that no other resource was left them but rebellion. The Sultan came to hate his subjects and to take pleasure in their wholesale destruction. At one time he led forth his army against the recalcitrant peasantry. Ziâu'ddîn Barnî thus describes the expedition: "He laid the country waste from Kanauj to Dalman, and every person that fell into his hands he slew. Many of the inhabitants [ryots] fled and took refuge in the jungles, but the Sultan had the jungles surrounded and every individual that was captured was killed.

It is not astonishing, then, that almost before the country could recover from the effects of the awful famine of A.D. 1329, another disastrous famine (A.D. 1337) laid it low. The king's change of capital was partly responsible for this calamity. Ibn Batuta gives a heart-rending account of the miseries undergone by the poor people who were ordered by the tyrant to leave Delhi and settle in Daulatabad in the Deccan; but hardly had the remnant of the miserable inhabitants settled in Daulatabad when they were ordered to go back to Delhi. "When the miserable inhabitants," says Ziâu'ddîn Barnî, "reached Delhi (from Daulatabad), they found famine raging there with such fury that few persons could procure the necessaries of life. The king's heart seemed for once to be softened with the miseries of his wretched subjects. He even for a time changed his conduct and took some pains to encourage husbandry and commerce, and for this purpose dstributed large sums of money to the inhabitants for cultivation purposes; they expended the money on necessaries of life and many of them were severely punished upon that account" (Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power*, vol. I).

"In A.D. 1341 the famine still continued to rage in the city, so that men ate one another. The king in his distress ordered a second distribution of money towards the sinking of wells and the cultivation of the lands, but the people weakened by hunger, and distracted by private distress in their families, made very little progress in restoring its prosperity, while the continuation of the drought rendered all their labour in vain" (*ibid.*).

"The next year (A.D. 1342) saw a continuation of the famine in the city of Delhi and the people deserted it; till at length the king, unable to procure provisions even for his own household, was obliged to abandon it also, to open the gates, and permit the few half-starved wretched inhabitants whom he had confined, to provide for themselves. Thousands crowded towards Bengal" (*ibid.*).

The traveller Ibn Batuta, who lived in the court of Muhammad Bin Tughlak, relates that during famine time "he saw three women who were cutting in pieces and eating the skin of a horse which had been dead some months. Skins were cooked and sold in the markets. When bullocks were slaughtered, crowds rushed forward to catch the blood and consume it for their sustenance. The famine became unendurable." Ziâu'ddîn Barnî gravely relates that "men devoured men."

The monster Tughlak died in A.D. 1351; and his successor Firoz, the benevolent prince, restored order, and his wise irrigational activities restored to the country a modicum of its former prosperity. Sir John Strachey observes (*India*, p. 217), "Long before our time some

of the Muhammadan sovereigns had undertaken irrigational works." Chief among them was Firoz, who constructed the great canal for purposes of irrigation from the Sutlej to the Kugger rivers. In A.D. 1356 another canal was constructed by which water for irrigation of a peculiarly arid district was carried as far as Hansi. A third canal connected with the Sutlej was his handiwork. At his death, according to Farishta, he left 50 dams across rivers to promote irrigation, 30 lakes, etc His wise and benevolent measures brought some prosperity to the country. In September, 1388, the old Sultan died, being about 80 years old, and the government fell into utter confusion. A series of puppet Sultans, all equally wanting in personal merit, pass rapidly across the stage It was then that the weakness of the government inspired Amîr Timûr (Timûr-i-lang) to invade India.

Early in A.D. 1398 he came down upon the country, carrying fire and sword wherever he went. But he had no intention of staying in it; and the same year he departed by the way he had come—by the Punjab. The author of the *Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh* records (sec. 272, p. 359) "that at this time a famine and pestilence fell upon Delhi, that the city was utterly ruined, and those of the inhabitants who were left died, while for two whole months not a bird moved a wing in Delhi." Duff, in his *History of the Mahrattas* (vol. I, p. 48), states that at this time "the dreadful famine, distinguished from all others by the name of the Doorga Devee, commenced (A.D 1396) in the Maharashtra, and lasted, according to the Hindu legend, for twelve years. At the end of that time the periodical rains returned; but whole districts were entirely depopulated, and a very scanty revenue was obtained from the territory between the Godavery and the Krishna for upwards of thirty years." During this famine which affected the whole of the Deccan, the Bahmani king Muhammad Shah I, employed ten thousand bullocks at his own expense, constantly going to and fro from Malwa and Gujarat for grain, which was distributed to the people at a cheap rate (Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power*, vol. II, p. 347).[11]

In A.D. 1412—13 a severe famine prevailed in the Deccan. Farishta (Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power*, vol. II, p. 405) gives the following graphic description of it:—

"This year no rain falling, a grievous famine was experienced throughout the Deccan; and multitudes of cattle died on the plains for want of water. The king in consequence increased the pay of his troops and opened the public stores of grain for the use of the poor The next year also there being no rain, the people became seditious, complaining that the present reign was unlucky, and the conduct of the prince displeasing to God. The king was much affected, and repaired to the mosque in state to crave the mercy of Heaven towards his subjects. His prayers were heard, and plentiful showers fell shortly after: those who had abused him now became loud in his praise calling him 'Wully' (saint) and worker of miracles."

Passing over the merciless devastation of a severe famine in Orissa in A.D. 1471, the Deccan was visited in A.D. 1474 by a terrible famine of which the following account is given by Farishta (Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power*, vol. II, p. 493):

When the royal standard reached the city of Bijapore, Muhammad Shah Bahmuny II at the request of Khajiva Muhammad Khan, halted to repose himself from his fatigues, and the minister endeavoured to soothe his grief for the death of his mother. Admiring the situation of Bijapore, the king would have willingly remained there during the rainy season, but so severe a drought prevailed throughout the Deccan, that the wells were dried up, and the king, contrary to his inclination, moved with his army to

11 Further details of this famine may be had from Gribble's *History of the Deccan*, ch. v, p. 54; Haig, *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, ch. ii, p. 29; and Suryanarain Row's *Never to be Forgotten Empire*, ch. xi, p. 200.

Ahmedabad Bedar. No rain fell during the next year either and the towns in consequence became almost depopulated. Many of the inhabitants died of famine and numbers emigrated for food to Malwa, Jafnagger and Gujarat. In Telingana and Maharashtra and throughout the Bahmini no grain was sown for two years; and in the third when the Almighty God showered His mercy on the earth, scarcely any farmers remained in the country to cultivate the lands." A general dearth was experienced in Hindustan in 1491 (Balfour, *Cyclopædia of India*). The Delhi country was visited by a local famine in A.D. 1494 (Loveday, *History and Economics of Indian Famines*, p. 136). In A.D. 1590 a severe famine prevailed in the Delhi country; but all relief measures were prevented by the never-ending dynastic wars (*ibid.*). Scarcity of rain, combined with ceaseless internecine warfare, produced a famine in Bombay in 1520: no relief measures were undertaken (*ibid.*). A very general famine in Sind in A.D. 1521 was produced by failure of the rains (Balfour, *Cyclopædia of India*). Sind in A.D. 1527 was severely affected by dearth. This famine of A.D. 1527 possesses a peculiar interest as being the result neither of the ordinary ravages of war nor of perverse meteorological conditions, but of a deliberate defensive policy. "In A.D. 1527 Jam Nunda, ruler of Sind, with the same object in view as the Dutch when they opened their sluice gates, ordered all standing corn in that country to be destroyed. The scheme was unsuccessful; but at least the effects were not so fatal as when thirteen years later Mirza Shah Humayun forbade the sowing of corn on either bank of the river, and prohibited import. For, in the former case, with a favourable harvest six months later, the distress passed away, whereas, in the latter reign, two years of natural deficiency followed the year of artificial famine and the people were delivered from the conqueror to be decimated by want" (Loveday, *History of Indian Famines*, ch. 1).

Appendix A.

I. The following from a grant dated A.D. 1084 by Kulôttuṅga Chôḷa, shows the taxes and seigneurial dues levied under the Chôḷas in the Tanjore district: ". . . . May you enjoy the several trees and the enjoyment and cultivation, etc. For the enjoyment of the above rights may you enjoy also the *nâḍ itchi*, the *nîrâtchi*, one *nâḷi* (of rice collection) for every *vaṭṭi* (platter), one *nâḷi* (of rice cultivation) on the days sacred to the manes, the tax on weddings, the tax on washermen's stones, the tax on potters, the rent on water, the leaves collection, a cloth for every loom, the brokerage, the taxes on goldsmiths, the tax on neatherds, the tax on sheep, the good cow, the good bull, the watch, etc."

II. The following taken from Mr. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg* (p. 174) is a Mysore inscription illustrating the Hoysala taxation: "Land rent, plough tax, house tax, forced labour, accountant's fee, provender, unexpected visitor, army, double payment, change of district, threshing floor, tribute on coming of age, festivity subscriptions, boundary marks, birth of a son, fodder for elephants, fodder for horses, sale within village, favour of the palace, alarm, seizure, destruction of injury caused by the *nâḍ* or magistrate, and whatever else may come."

III. A number of Tamil inscriptions discovered in 1913 give a long list of the obligations and taxes to which a landlord of the Pândya kingdom was subject: In return for the right of growing any crops wet or dry, including plantain, sugar-cane, turmeric, ginger, areca and cocoanut he was bound, we are informed, to pay "the taxes in gold and in grain, such as *vâśalkaḷamai*, *pêrkaḷamai*, *tarikkaḍamai*, *Śekkôṭṭu*, *eruttusammadam*, *madu-rikkam*, *Talayârikkami*, *asvvakkadamai*, *Pattadainulayam*, *idattura*, *veṭṭivari*, *paḷavari* and *puduvari* (that may be enforced by the palace), *nallerudu* (good bull), *narpaśu* (good cow), *nallerumâi* (good bullock), *narkiḍa* (good ewe), *konigai*, *virimuthu*, *edakkattyam*, *viruttupadu* *uḍugarai* and *mugamparavi*. To this the other cognate inscriptions add: *Palatali*, *kâṇikkai*, *śandai*,

êrimînvilai. malai-amanji. madilamanji. eduttalaru. viruttumadu, sattukudamai. and *virarai.* It should be acknowledged that the exact meaning of many of these is not known—*ante*, Feb. 1916.

Appendix B.

The normal share of the produce taken by the state was one-fourth. But water rates and various other dues were also exacted, so that the cultivator of the irrigated land could not retain as much as half the produce of his fields. Occasional benevolences were also levied at the king's discretion. A regular system of excise duties was in force. In fortified towns the royal revenue was derived largely from taxes on sales as stated by Megasthenes. To facilitate the collection of taxes on sale, the law required that all articles for sale should not be sold at the place of growth or manufacture but brought to the toll-house, there offered for sale, and if sold, taxed. Imports from abroad paid as a rule seven distinct taxes aggregating about 20 per cent.: perishable goods, $16\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.: while on many others from 4 to 10 per cent. Highly priced goods such as precious stones were assessed on special valuations made by experts. All goods brought for sale had to be marked with an official stamp. Other innumerable fiscal dues were also levied.

Modern Period—The Moghuls, A.D. 1500—1760.

Little more remains to be said of famines in the annals of the sultanates of Delhi. In A.D. 1526 Baber founded the Moghul Empire, and we enter a new era of Indian History. In A.D. 1540 a famine spreading over the East coast of the Red Sea, affected the Coromandel coast, usually immune from such disasters. The *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* (Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vol. VII) relates that a severe famine prevailed in Sind at the time of Emperor Humayun's flight (A.D. 1540) and that extreme misery drove the men of Sind to eat their own kind.[12] Raw hides and old skins were cooked in water and eaten. During the winter of A.D. 1540, owing to scarcity of rain, the terrible famine affected the whole of India. "Men and women trooped down to the rivers and the sea, and drowned themselves, when they could no longer endure the agony of hunger; the natives of the Coromandel coast were driven to cannibalism; and, in a letter to Prince Luiz, D. Joao de Castro estimates that two-thirds of the population of Vijayanagar perished (K. G. Jayne, *Vasco de Gama and his Successors*, p. 135).

The reign of Muhammad Âdil Shâh, the Sûr king, witnessed a severe famine (A.D. 1553), of which we possess a graphic account from the pen of Al-Badaoni in his *Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh* (sec. 428, p. 549, vol. I): "A severe famine prevailed throughout the eastern portion of the Hindustan, especially in Agra, Bengal, and Delhi. It was so severe that two pounds of *jowar* grain cost two *half-tankahs*, and could in fact not be had even at that price. Men of wealth and position had to close their houses, and died by tens or twenties or even more in one place, getting neither grave nor shroud. The Hindus also were in the same plight, and the bulk of the people were fain to live on the seeds of the *kikar* thorn, and on wild herbs, also on the skins of the oxen which the rich slaughtered and sold from time to time; after a few days their hands and feet swelled and they died. As a date for that year the phrase *Khashm-i-izrd* (Divine wrath) was invented. The writer of these pages with these guilty eyes of his saw man eating his fellowman in those terrible days. So awful was their aspect that no one dared let his glance rest upon them; and the greater part of that country, what with scarcity of rain, and shortness of grain and desolation, and what with

[12] The Portuguese who lived on the Bombay coast (near Santoun) very charitably bought rice, cocoanuts, millets, etc., and sold them at a much lower price than they could have sold them had they wanted to—Correa, *Lendas de India*, vol. IV, p. 132.

the constant struggle and turmoil, and two years' continual anarchy and terror, was utterly ruined, the peasantry and tenants disappeared, and lawless crowds attacked the cities of the Muslims."

The minister Hemu, in whose hands the impotent Âdil Shâh had left all power, displayed the most brutal indifference to the sufferings of the people, and pampered his elephants with rice, sugar and butter, while men and women ate one another. He deserved his fate. In the course of the year A.D. 1556 Akbar met Hemu in battle, and the latter was completely defeated. The vanquished Hemu was put to death by the victor.

The proverbial good fortune of Akbar, however, did not render his reign immune from famines. That of A.D. 1555–6 at the beginning of his reign was extremely severe. The *Âîn-i-Akbarî* (Jarrett, vol. III, p. 425) says: "In the beginning of the year of the accession of His Majesty to the imperial throne . . . . great famine occurred, which raised the dust of dispersion. The capital was devastated and nothing remained but a few houses. In addition to this and other innumerable disasters, a plague became epidemical. This calamity and destruction of life extended throughout most of the cities of the Hindustan. The writer of this work was then five years old, and has a perfect recollection of this event, and the evidence of many eye-witnesses confirms his testimony. The distresses of the times ruined many families, and multitudes died. In the quarter in which my family resided, about seventy in all, high and low, male and female, may have survived."

The first year of the reign of Akbar witnessed another severe famine. "In this year," says the *Akbar-Nâma*, "there was little rain, and the price of food rose very high. Celestial influences were unpropitious, and those learned in the stars announced dearth and scarcity. The kind-hearted Emperor sent experienced officers in every direction, to supply food every day to the poor and destitute. So, under the imperial orders, the necessitous received daily assistance to their satisfaction, and every class of the indigent was entrusted to the care of those who were able to care for them" (Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vol. VI, p. 94). Another minor historian Shaikh Nûru'l-Hakk, in his *Tubdatu't-Tawarikh*, remarks: "During the year A.D. 1598 there was scarcity of rain throughout the whole of Hindustan, and a fearful famine raged continuously for three or four years The king ordered that alms should be distributed in all the cities, and Nawab Shaikh Faird Bokhari being ordered to superintend and control their distribution, did all in his power to relieve the general distress of the people. A kind of plague was also added to the horrors of this period, and depopulated whole houses and villages. In consequence of the dearth of grain and the necessities of ravenous hunger, men ate their own kind. The streets and roads were blocked up with dead bodies, and no assistance could be rendered for their removal" (Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vol. VI, p. 193)

The vague records of the measures undertaken for famine relief would seem to point out that they were slight and inadequate. Besides, "nothing is known of the process of recovery which must have occupied a long time. The modern historian would be glad to sacrifice no small part of the existing chronicles if he could obtain a full account of the famine of A.D. 1595-8 and of its economic effects" (V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, ch. xiv, p. 398). In the absence of detailed records it is impossible to lay down with confidence the exact importance of each of the causes which contributed to the cycle of famines at this time. Probably the rapid growth of population at this time had far out-distanced the growth of cultivation. The inferiority of new lands taken up for cultivation, and the decrease in the productive power of the soil, are noticed by contemporary writers. The increasing export of raw materials

during Akbar's reign may have led to the substitution of non-food for food-crops. Moreover the ceaseless wars of Akbar created scarcity of food-stuffs. Above all, the assessment of Akbar was pretty heavy. Abu-l-Fazl expressly states that, for purposes of revenue, "the best crops were taken into account every year, and the year of the most abundant harvest accepted." Remissions, if any, were not easy to obtain. Besides, innumerable imposts were levied. To mention one detail, Mr. Oldham has calculated that in the Ghazipur district Akbar's assessment worked out at Rs. 2 per acre as against the modern assessment of Rs. 1 8-0. In Kashmir Akbar took half the crop ; the local Sultans previously used to take two-thirds. But the productive power of the soil was then much less than at present. To quote one instance from Mr. S. Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar's classical *Progress of the Madras Presidency*. "While the *Âîn-i-Akbari* rate for rice is 1338 lbs., the Madras settlement average for the same tract is 1621 lbs. In time, Akbar's land revenue realised him £ 20,000,000 ; while that of the British Government in 1918-19 was 20·9 million pounds." Meanwhile the acreage of cultivation, as Moreland in his recent work on India at the time of the death of Akbar, points out, has exactly doubled !

Outside the Moghul empire, several famines occurred during the reign of Akbar. In A.D. 1569 in Assam a famine occurred owing to the damage done to crops by a swarm of locusts (E. A. Gait, *History of Assam*, p. 101). In A.D. 1570 a great famine appears (*vide* the records of the Jesuit Mission) to have raged on the Tinnevelly coast. Father Henriques, a Portuguese missionary, established famine relief houses, in which 50 persons were daily fed. In A.D. 1577 a famine is recorded in Kutch ; liberal relief in the form of cooked food was distributed widely. In the reign of Ally Shah Chuk in A.D. 1578, a severe famine was experienced in Kashmir, in which many thousands of the inhabitants died (Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power*, vol. IV, ch. x, p. 523). In A.D. 1592, in the Sholapur district, a pestilence and famine almost decimated the population (Loveday, *History of Indian Famines*, p. 165). In A.D. 1600 there was a famine north of the Godavari (Hopkins, *India Old and New*, p. 237).

The reign of Jahângîr was not more free from famines ; but the modern reader looks in vain for any relief measures undertaken by that pleasure-loving monarch to mitigate the horrors of famines which were carrying away thousands of his subjects. A severe famine and pestilence raged in the Punjab (A.D. 1613-15) for two whole years (Loveday, *History of Indian Famines*). Gujarat and Ahmadabad were visited by a famine in A.D. 1623 ; but the famine was not severe, and the stores of the country proved sufficient (*ibid.*). In A.D. 1641 a famine resulting from a very bad outbreak of cattle disease, which made ploughing impossible, broke out in Assam. (E. A. Gait, *History of Assam*, p. 136 and fol.) A letter of a Jesuit missionary dated A.D. 1622 says that in Madura so severe a famine had raged for some years that numerous corpses of those who had died were left unburied (*Madura Gazetteer*, p. 50).

A famine of unparalleled severity occurred in the middle of Shah Jahan's reign, and is recorded in the Emperor's chronicles by Abdu'l-Hâmid Lâhorî, in the *Bâdshâh-Nâma* : (Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vol. VII, p. 24 and fol.) "During the past year (A.D. 1629) no rain had fallen in the territories of the Balaghat, and the drought had been especially severe about Daulatabad. In the present year also there had been a deficiency in the bordering countries and a total want in the Dakhin and Guzerat. The inhabitants of these two countries were reduced to the direst extremity. Life was offered for a loaf, but none would buy ; rank was to be sold for a cake, but none cared for it ; the ever bounteous hand was now stretched out to beg for food ; and the feet which had always trodden the way of contentment now walked about only in search of sustenance. For a long time dogs' flesh was sold for goats'

flesh, and the pounded bones of the dead were mixed with flour, and sold. When this was discovered, the sellers were brought to justice. Destitution at length reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. The numbers of the dying caused obstructions in the roads, and every man whose dire sufferings did not terminate in death and who retained the power to move, wandered off to the towns and villages of other countries. Those lands which had been famous for their fertility and plenty now retained no trace of productiveness."

The blunt English sailor, Peter Mundy, who travelled from Surat to Agra and back while this famine was raging, used no art in describing what he saw on his way, and we get from his narrative a most vivid picture of the horrors of famine in the seventeenth century. But we abstain from quoting his extremely gruesome and repulsive description.

Many other references to this "direful time of dearth" may be found in the letters sent from the English factories in India at this period (*vide The English Factories in India*, 1630–33, by W. Foster). There is one sentence in those letters which corroborates the testimony of previous witnesses, that the people were driven to cannibalism by the awful famine of A.D. 1630. It is as follows: "Masulipatam and Armagon were solely oppressed with famine, the living eating up the dead, and men scarcely durst travel in the country for fear they should be killed and eaten."

These quotations may serve to give some idea of the severit' famines in bygone times. The evidence of their frequency is even stronger. These famin s, while undoubtedly due to failure of rain,[13] were also due to the rack-renting over-assessment, and to the unexampled prodigality of the court. The prodigality and splendour of Shah Jahan's court are apt to dazzle our vision, but we must remember that they had a dark back-ground of untold suffering and misery (vividly depicted by Bernier), seldom exposed to view. We shall give the following extract from Bernier, *Travels in the Moghul Empire* (ed. V. A. Smith) illustrating the state of the country. Having spoken of the despotic tyranny of local Governors, he declares that it was "often so excessive as to deprive the peasant and artisan of the necessaries of life, and then leave him to die of misery and exhaustion, a tyranny owing to which these wretched people have no children at all, or have them only to endure the agonies of starvation, and to die at a tender age,—a tyranny, in fine, that drives the cultivator of the soil from his wretched home to some neighbouring states in hopes of finding milder treatment, or to the army where he becomes the servant of some trooper. As the ground is seldom tilled otherwise than by compulsion, and as no person is found willing and able to repair the ditches and canals for the conveyance of water, it happens that the whole country is badly cultivated and a good part rendered unproductive from the want of irrigation. The houses too, are in a dilapidated condition, there being few people who will either build new ones or repair those which are tumbling down" (Bernier, *Travels in the Moghul Empire*, p. 226).

Regarding the conditions of the Indian manufactures (which had remained almost unchanged from the time of the "Periplus"), it would seem that they *absorbed only a microscopic minority of the population*. The industries were comprised under two heads: on the one hand, there was the village handicraft supplying the scanty needs of the population; and on the other hand, there were the handicrafts that ministered to the wants of the wealthy few, *e.g.*, architecture, painting, manufactures of fine cotton and silk. India was never a

13 "I have known two entire years pass with scarcely a drop of rain, and the consequences of the extraordinary drought were widespread sickness and famine"—Bernier, *Travels in the Moghul Empire* (ed. V. A. Smith), p. 431.

great manufacturing country; and certainly, in the time of Shah Jahan, industries gave employment to only a microscopic minority of the population (Hamilton, *Trade Relations between India and England*, ch. ii, p. 7). The people depended, as now, upon agriculture; and Bernier's accurate description shows the miseries which the wretched peasantry were suffering.

This miserable state of the country certainly led to the frequent rise and spread of famines, and when famines did occur, Shah Jahan displayed the most callous indifference to the sufferings of the people, who died in myriads for lack of sustenance of any kind. Nothing was done by the government to help the suffering people; but the author of the *Bâdshâh-Nâma* states that the emperor opened a few soup kitchens, gave a lakh and a half of rupees in charity spread over a period of twenty weeks, and remitted only one-eleventh of the assessment of land revenue. The remissions so made "by the wise and generous Emperor" in the crown lands amounted to seventy lakhs. The holders of jagirs and official commands were *expected* to make *similar reductions.* These facts do not justify the historian's praise of "the generous kindness and bounty" of Shah Jahan. The remission of one-eleventh of the land revenue implies that attempts were made to collect ten-elevenths, a burden which could not be borne by a country reduced to the "direst extremity" and retaining no trace of productiveness. We are not told how far the efforts to collect the revenue succeeded; and, as usual, we are left in the dark concerning the after-effects of the famine. No statistics are on record. Even the nature of the consequent pestilence is not mentioned, but it is almost certain that cholera must have carried off thousands of victims. Sir Richard Temple, the editor of Mundy's work, has good reason for saying that "it is worth-while to read Mundy's unimpassioned matter-of-fact observations on the famine", in order to realise the immensity of the difference in the conditions of life as existing under the rule of the Moghul dynasty when at the height of its glory, and those prevailing under the modern British government" (V. A. Smith, *Oxford of History of India*, p. 394).

The full truth of Sir Richard's remarks will be realised wh n we compare the relief measures undertaken by Lord Curzon in 1900-1 with those of Shah Jahan. A cruel famine broke out in 1900-1; and the following extracts from Mr. Lovat Fraser's *India under Curzon and After* (ch. viii, p. 263 and fol.) will give an idea of the herculean efforts made by that noble Viceroy to assuage the rigours of famine: "At the end of July 1900, Lord Curzon, accompanied by Mr. (now Sir) Walter Lawrence and others, started in fierce heat upon another famine-tour [he was ceaselessly touring for months] through the worst districts of Guzerat, where they met Lord Northcote, the Governor of Bombay, who was also investigating conditions on the spot. It was the most critical moment of the famine. The monsoon was due and some rain had fallen, but the people swarmed on the relief works, and the cholera had been raging. In more than one camp visited by the Viceroy the sufferers were still dying from cholera. While the tour was in progress, the rain set in heavily, and the whole region was changed into a slough." One extract from an account of a visit to a famine camp under these conditions, must suffice as a type of several such visits. It describes a halt at Dohad in the Panch Mahals on the 1st August: "Fine rain was falling when the Viceroy started on horseback. The drizzle increased steadily to a downpour. The roads were in a frightful state, and the horses had difficulty in keeping their feet. A scramble over the bund and a tramp through the gluey mud brought the visitors to the camp . . . . In spite of the weather a complete tour of the camp was made . . . . Wet to the skin, the party prepared to return, etc."

The cost of the famine to the Indian Exchequer was very great. The amount expended in direct relief was £6,670,000. A further sum of £1,585,000 was spent in loans and advances to landholders and cultivators, and only half this sum was ever recovered. Land

revenue was remitted to the extent of £1,333,000. Subscriptions amounting to thousands of pounds were poured into India. Many noble Englishmen laid down their lives in bravely combating the evils of famine. The lives of such men indeed are the seed—and the sap—of Empire. I cannot pause to enumerate in detail the elaborate measures adopted to deal with the great famine. Those interested may read a graphic account of the "Plague and Famine" in Lovat Fraser's *India under Curzon and After*.

It is these glaring disparities that have provoked the witty remark of an eminent French writer, M. de la Mazelière (*Essai sur l'évolution de la civilisation indienne*, vol. ii, p. 427): "Les adversaires de gouvernement pretendent que les famines sont beaucoup plus nombreuses qu' autrefois. C'est prouvè par les mot : autrefois on appelait famine une famine où des centaines de milliers de gens mouraient de faim : aujourd'hui l'on dit que le Bengale et l'Oudh ont souffert d'une famine en 1900-1 alors que cette mème annèe la mortalitê n'avait augmenté ni dans l'une ni dans l'autre province."

"In A.D. 1631–32," says Sir W. W. Hunter (*History of British India*, vol. II, ch. ii, p. 59), "a calamity fell upon Guzerat which enables us to realise the terrible meaning of the word 'famine' in India under Native rule. In A.D. 1631 a Dutch merchant reported that only eleven of the 260 families at Swally survived. He found the road thence to Surat covered with bodies decaying on the highway where they died, (there) being no one to bury them. In Surat, the great and crowded city, he could hardly see any living persons; but the corpses at the corner of the streets lay twenty together, nobody burying them. Thirty thousand had perished in the town alone. Pestilence followed famine. The President and ten or eleven of the English factors fell victims "with divers inferiors now taken into Abraham's bosom—three-fourths of one whole settlement. No man could go in the streets, without giving great alms or being in danger of being murdered, for the poor people cried aloud, 'Give us sustenance or kill us.' Thus, what was once in a manner the garden of the world was turned into a wilderness." This great famine of Gujarat was known as the Satiâsakâl or famine of Samvat 1687 (A.D. 1631)—(Burgess' *Chronology of Modern India*, p. 86).

According to James Mill (*History of India*, vol. II, bk. iii, ch. iv, p. 329), in A.D. 1640–55 a dreadful famine resulting from several years of excessive drought prevailed throughout India and a great part of Asia, and added by its horrors to the calamities which overwhelmed the inhabitants of the Deccan. During the famine, religion had made the Hindus desert cultivation and betake themselves to supplications, penances and ceremonies pleasing to their gods. The calamities which sprung from this act of devotion may be easily imagined. A severe famine in A.D. 1646–47 adversely affected the Madura district; it is not possible to say whether the distress extended further South (*The Tinnevelly Gazetteer*, ch. viii, p. 247). A famine lasting several years devastated Ahmadabad in A.D. 1650; it was primarily caused by an extensive outbreak of cattle disease, the ravages of locusts, and pestilence. Grain was imported; and relief measures were undertaken (Loveday, *History of Indian Famines*, p. 165). The *Madura Gazetteer* records a severe famine in Madura in A.D. 1659–62 during the reign of Muttu Alakadri of the Nayakkan dynasty, when the cruel devastation of the Musulman invaders produced a severe local famine and pestilence, in which 10,000 Christians alone are said to have perished from want (cf. *Madura Gazetteer*, p. 50). A terrible famine of the three great necessaries of life—grain, grass, water—called in the country *tirkal* or terrible famine, an account of which has been handed down in writing, occurred in Rajputana in A.D. 1661.

The long reign of Aurangzeb is disfigured by recurring famines. The court historian Khafi Khan, in his *Muntakhabu'-l-Lubâb* (Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, vol. VII, p. 246 and fol.), makes the following record: "The movements of large armies through the country.

especially in the eastern and northern parts, during the two years past (A.D. 1657-58), and scarcity of rain in some parts, had combined to make grain dear. To comfort the people and alleviate their distress, the Emperor gave orders for the remission of several taxes (a long list of them is given). But although his gracious and beneficent Majesty remitted these taxes and issued strict orders prohibiting their collection, the avaricious propensities of Jagirdars, Faujdars and Zemindars prevailed, and the regulation for the abolition of most of the imposts had no effect." The Emperor's edict remained a dead letter.

In fairness, however, the authoritative account of Mr. James Mill—who probably derived information from other sources—of this famine of A.D. 1661 must be cited (*History of India*, vol. II, bk. iii, ch. iv, p. 349). "The third year of Aurangzeb's reign," writes Mr. Mill, "was visited with a great famine. The prudence of Aurangzeb, if his preceding actions will not permit us to call it his humanity, suggested to him the utmost activity of beneficence on this calamitous occasion. The rents of the husbandmen and other taxes were remitted. The treasury of the Emperor was opened without limit. Corn was distributed to the people at reduced prices. The great economy of Aurangzeb who allowed no expense for the luxury and ostentation of his court, and who managed with skill and vigilance the disbursements of the state, afforded him a resource for the wants of the people." This is high praise from a great historian who is by no means unduly biassed in favour of Aurangzeb.

The famine of A.D. 1661 was, as pointed out by Khafi Khan, partly due to war and scarcity of rain. The distress, however, continued long owing to the intolerable misgovernment. We have already seen how a rapacious civil service rendered futile even the good intentions of Aurangzeb. Add to this the imposition of a variety of new and vexatious duties upon the Hindus. A miserable, invertebrate, rack-rented peasantry; a vicious, corrupt, and rapacious civil service; and a fanatical Emperor: and you have a fairly good picture of the times. We have the testimony of de Castro in 1662: "The Moghuls have destroyed these lands, through which cause many persons have died of famine" (Hopkins, *India Old and New*, p. 237); and the Portuguese now so suffered from dearth that de Castro had to raise money for relief by pawning the hairs of his beard!

Southern India was plunged at this time in those ceaseless, never-ending, dynastic wars, which were soon to be waged in the North also. The economic condition of the South had reached its nadir; and the miserable condition of the cultivators who formed the bulk of the population cannot be adequately described. In consequence of the changes introduced by the Muhammadan conquest, and the many abuses which later times had established, the share really enjoyed by the ryots was often reduced to a sixth, and but *seldom exceeded a fifth*. In those parts of the country where the practice of receiving rents in kind, or by a money valuation of the actual produce, still obtained, the cultivators were reduced to an equally unfavourable situation by the arbitrary demands and the contributions to which they were subjected beyond the stipulated rent. The effects of this unjust custom were considerably augmented by the common custom of Zemindars, of sub-renting their lands to farmers, who were armed with unrestricted powers of collection, and who were thus enabled to disregard, whenever it suited their purpose, the engagements they had entered into with the ryots, besides practising every species of oppression, which an unfeeling motive of self-interest could suggest. They frequently reduced the ryots to the necessity of borrowing from money-lenders at the heavy interest of three, four, five per cent. per month.

In addition to the assessment on the lands or the shares of their produce received from the inhabitants duties were levied on inland trade, which were collected by the renters under the Zemindars. These duties, which went by the name of *sayer*, as they extended to grain,

to cattle, to salt and to all the other necessaries of life, collected by corrupt, partial and extortionate agents, produced the worst effects on the state of society. Under the head of 'sayer revenue' was also included a variety of taxes, indefinite in their amount and vexatious in their nature; they consisted of imposts on houses, on the implements of agriculture, on looms, on merchants, on artificers and on the professions and castes—(*Extract from the Fifth Report of the Parliamentary Committee on East India Affairs,* 1813).

Famines frequently devastated Southern India at this time.

In A.D. 1675 Madura suffered from a famine after Venkaji's invasion, "which was so severe," says one of the Jesuit Missionaries "that nothing was to be met with in any direction save desolation and the silence of the tomb"; another famine in A.D. 1678, following a deluge caused by excessive rainfall on the Western Ghâts; and in A.D. 1682, after the invasion of the famous Chikka Dêva Râya, king of Mysore, in despair the ministers of the State deposed their incompetent ruler Chokkanâtha in favour of his brother" (*Madura Gazetteer,* p. 50).

When Aurangzeb invaded the Deccan, a great famine swept over Southern India. The *Seir Mutaqherin* (Eng. trans. Seid-Gholam-Hossein Khan, vol. IV, p. 205) alludes to it: "There is no describing the miseries they (invaders and defenders) suffered. Vast numbers of men died from mere want. To all these distresses was joined a mortality that swept away people by shoals. Numbers unable to bear hunger and famine any longer, deserted, etc." Khâfi Khan, in his *Muntakhabu'-l-Lubâb* is more explicit: "The scarcity and dearness of grain and fodder was extreme, so that many men of wealth were disheartened; who can describe the position of the poor and needy? Throughout the Dakhin in the early part of this year there was a scarcity of rain when the *jowar* and *bajra* came into ear, so they dried up and perished. These products of the autumn harvest are the main support of the people of the Dakhin. Rice is the principal food of the people of Haidarabad, and the cultivation of this had been stopped by war and by scarcity of rain . . . . Pestilence (*waba*) broke out and carried off many men. Thus great numbers of men were lost. Others unable to bear the pangs of hunger and wretchedness went over to the enemy, etc." (Elliott and Dowson, *History of India,* vol. III, p. 328).

Sind, where so little rain falls that the country may be said to be rainless, and is aptly called by Sir John Strachey the Egypt of India (*India,* p. 24), suffered as usual from drought in A.D. 1682–3, which caused some scarcity of grain (Balfour, *Encyclopædia of India*). The N.-W. Provinces had their turn of dearth of water and grain the following year, A.D. 1683–4 (*ibid.*). In A.D. 1684 a famine in Gujarat raised the price of grain in Ahmedabad to such a degree, that Shekh Muhi-'uddin, the son of the Kazi and regulator of prices, was mobbed (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency,* vol. I, part 1, p. 287). In A.D. 1687 a distress of food in Madura is recorded; it is impossible to say whether it extended further south (*Tinnevelly Gazetteer,* p. 247). In A.D. 1688, in the Mandu State (Punjab), during the reign of Sidh Sena, a terrible famine occurred, from which very many people died (Lepel Griffin, *The Rajahs of the Punjab,* p. 580). In A.D. 1690 Baroda suffered from a severe drought and dearth of grain (Balfour, *Encyclopædia of India*). In A.D. 1698, the *Bombay Gazetteer* (vol. I, part 1) records "a year of much scarcity on account of a second failure of the rain in Marwar and N. Guzerat." In A.D. 1702–4 Bombay and the Deccan suffered from scarcity of food (Loveday, *History of Indian Famines*); the following year famine visited the Thar and Parkar districts (Balfour, *Encyclopædia of India*).

The long reign of Aurangzeb came to a close on the morning of Friday, Feb. 21, 1707. It had witnessed dreadful famines[14] brought about partly by natural causes and partly by mal-administration. But the strong central authority vested in his vigorous person

14 If the account given by Nicholas Manucci in his *Storia de Mogor* (p. 97) is to be believed, no less than two millions of the people of the Deccan perished from drought in the opening years of the eighteenth century. Those desirous of further studying the economic conditions of India at this time may consult *A Pepys of Moghul India,* A.D. 1653–1708, which is an abridged edition of the voluminous work of Manucci.

preserved some sort of order in his heterogeneous empire and gave it a modicum of prosperity. With his death the partial unity of Indian history was lost, and India reverted once more to her normal condition of anarchical autonomy.

According to William Crooke's calculations (*Things Indian*, art. "*Famine*", p. 207) in some regions of the North, from the middle of the sixteenth century up to A.D. 1820, there occurred no less than twenty-three famines; and also, according to him, in the Deccan we have records of about 25 famines in 500 years, beginning with the terrible Durga Devee of A.D. 1397–1408. But the occurrence of famine was at no time so frequent as in the period between the death of Aurangzeb and the foundation of the English Empire. The author of the *Tarikh'ul-Bahadur Shahi* (Elliott and Dowson, *History of India*, vol. VII, ch. lxxxi, p. 565) says, that "on account of the death of Aurangzeb, and in consequence of the confusion in Hindustan, the price of grain in all the provinces remained unsettled. A long list of the prices is given; the prices appear to have risen above thirty-two times the normal level. We can easily imagine the misery of the people!

From a letter written by Fr. Martin (10th December 1713) to Fr. de Villette, we have some vivid glimpses of a local famine which terribly harried the Marava country. The following is extracted from the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, vol. II. p. 451 (edited by M. L. Aimé-Martin, Paris, 1840): "On the 18th December 1709, all the tanks were full of water, when there came a hurricane called by the people *Perumpuçal*. It began at 7 a.m. with violent rain from the north-east. It lasted till 4 o'clock, when the wind subsided. But, before sunset, it began again from the south-east with still more fury. The waters, being pushed by the wind against the dykes, struck against them with so much violence that they broke in many places. Then the water of the tanks, joining the torrents caused by the storm, caused a general flooding of the land, which uprooted all the rice around and covered the countryside with sand. The loss of the harvests was added to that of the cattle, which were drowned together with the tribes. As this inundation happened during the night, *several thousands of persons perished.* In one place a hundred corpses were found, carried down by the current. A Christian showed me a large tree, upon which he had climbed along with twenty-six other Indians. There they remained the whole night and the following days. Two of them fell down through exhaustion and were carried away by the torrent . . . . Some time after, I crossed a grove of tamarind trees . . . . Nearly all of them had been thrown down leaving their roots high up in the air . . . . Most unfortunate were the consequences. Famine broke out worse than ever, and the mortality was so universally spread that several thousands of men were compelled to migrate into the kingdoms of Madura and Tanjore adjoining the Marava country."[15]

Fr. de Bourges (*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, vol. II, p. 524), in a letter dated 25th November 1718, observes: "The pecuniary help received from France this year has been very useful. For a whole year famine has been doing great havoc here. There was no governmental relief, since anarchy and chaos alone rule this country." Want of space prevents me from printing an interesting letter of Fr. Le Caron to his sisters, dated 20th November 1720 (*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, p. 574), which gives us a vivid account of these anarchical pre-British times. It cannot be sufficiently emphasised that it is difficult for us enjoying, for an unbroken period of one hundred and fifty years, political unity, assured peace (bringing easy intercourse) and the Reign of Law under the British Raj, to grasp the central notion that pre-British India never enjoyed for a considerable period

15 "Such emigrations caused by famines were frequent in pre-British times," says Mr. V. M. Nagam Aiyar in his Report on the census of Travancore (p. 654), "the bulk of the Nambudri Brahmins—colonists of Malabar—came from the region between the Krishna and the Godavari rivers constantly devastated in the past by long droughts and severe famines" (quoted by V. Gopal Iyer, *The Chronology of Ancient India*, part I, ch. ii, p. 123).

these three blessings. Liberty, as we understand it now, never—I deliberately use the word—existed in pre-British India; and of course democratic government was a thing unknown. It may be that democratic government was not repugnant to Hindu genius, but it was never tried on a large scale or for a considerable period. The country was generally administered by a cruel, rapacious autocracy whose last care was the welfare of the people. A vivid grasp of these facts alone will enable us to study aright the early history of Indian famines.

The Tanjore district suffered from a great famine in A.D. 1730 (*vide Father Beschi's Times and Writings*, by Rev. L. Besse, S.J.). The annual letter of the Jesuits of 1729, dated 26th August 1730, and written by Fr. Vincent Guerreiro, speaks at length of the Tanjore district, then under the care of Father Beschi, S.J. In the kingdom of Tanjore, although the paddy crop was abundant, the famine which prevailed in the country around was felt, because the merchants had sent rice to the adjoining kingdom, even going as far as Cape Comorin in order to sell it at a higher rate. The number of famished people who flocked thither from every quarter, rendered the famine still more terrible. In the royal town called Mahadevipatnam, the number of the dead was so great, that the corpses had to be loaded on carts at public expense and buried in large pits dug at a distance from the town. But these trenches were soon filled up, and those who had been entrusted with this task, seeing that they were unable to cope with the work, gave it up. The dead were lying unburied in the fields, on the public places along the roads and thoroughfares. "Here is an incident," writes Fr. Beschi, "which has been told me by one who witnessed it. It is hardly credible. A dog ate uncooked rice, and unable to digest it, rejected it undigested. A poor man seeing this, took the rice, carefully washed it, and eagerly devoured it."

So great was the multitude of those who came from Marava to sell their children for a trifle, that in certain towns it was found necessary to publish an edict forbidding the further buying of slaves (*Fr. Beschi's Times and Writings*, ch. xv, p. 88 and fol.)

In a letter written by Fr. Bernard Biscoping, we read that a terrible famine raged among the West Coast Christians in A.D. 1728, and yet Malabar was usually free from that scourge. The factors of Tellicherry recorded of this famine, in their diary, that "there was extraordinary scarcity of rice. The factory stock was reduced to barely a month's stock. There was none to be had at Mangalore, where parents were selling their children to obtain food, and the factory doors were daily besieged by crowds of starving men, women and children" (*Gazetteer of the Malabar and Anjengo districts*, ch. viii, p. 271).

The civil wars of A.D. 1732–33, coupled with lack of rains, caused a cruel famine in the southern districts. A plague also made its appearance in the shape of pestilential fevers. Towns were depopulated and set on fire, the cattle carried away, the crops cut down. Whenever any harvest had been gathered and put aside, the soldiery made such inroads that nothing remained for the poor people to live upon. On that account crowds of Madura people from the Madura country, destitute of everything, migrated into the neighbouring kingdom (*Fr. Beschi's Times and Writings*, ch. xv, p. 88 and fol.).

From a letter of Father Saignes to Madame de Hyacinthe, dated 3rd June 1736 (*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, vol. II, p. 635), we can gather a fairly clear idea of the extreme misery that prevailed in Southern India at this time: "The extreme misery, which for the last *two years* has been general in the whole Carnatic, took away from us numbers of Christians. During these two years, not a drop of rain fell here. The wells, tanks, and even some rivers were empty. Rice and other grains were scorched by the excessive drought in the country

side, and for these poor people nothing was so common as to spend one or two days without eating anything. Whole families, forsaking their villages, used to go into the woods to feed, like animals, upon wild fruit, leaves of trees, herbs and roots. Those that had children sold them for one measure of rice ; others who could not see how to sell them, seeing them dying of hunger, poisoned them, to shorten their miseries. A man came to me one day and told me : 'We are all dying of starvation. Either give me something to eat, or I am going to poison my wife and my five children, after which I will poison myself.' You will understand that under such circumstances we readily sacrifice our own selves."

Fr. Tremblay (*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, p. 661) gives a vivid account of the famine in A.D. 1737 which lasted for two years : "It is impossible for me to speak of the sights of misery I was given to witness. Suffice it to say I saw a repetition of what is related in the Sacred Book of Christian Scripture of the sieges of Samaria and Jerusalem. From the outset, as the princes and nobles and ministers monopolised for themselves all the rice kept in stock in both towns and villages, the people were reduced to the utmost wretchedness." Fr. Tremblay's letter shows that there was neither protection *by* the Government, nor protection *against* the Government in these anarchical times.

Meanwhile, in the North, there was, as has been already pointed out, utter confusion and ceaseless internecine warfare. The weak puppets who occupied the throne of Aurangzeb, were unable to check the rapid dissolution of the Moghul Empire. The battle of Panipat in January 1761 set the seal on its final dissolution. The old autocratic, corrupt, vicious and unpopular Muhammadan *regime* was replaced by British rule. The house of Babar had accomplished the cycle of its existence, and the sceptre of India was about to pass into other hands. With the tragedy of Panipat, which ushers in a new era of Indian history, our brief account of early Indian famines may be fittingly closed.

This brief study of the early history of Indian famines establishes the fact, beyond the slightest doubt, that famines were far more frequent and destructive in former centuries than at present. This dis-illusionment must check the temptation to overstate the economic evils of our age and to ignore the existence of similar and worse evils in earlier ages. Pessimistic descriptions of our own age, combined with romantic exaggerations of the past, can only tend to the setting aside of methods of progress which, if slow, are yet solid ; and to the hasty adoption of others of greater promise, but which resemble the potent medicines of a charlatan, and while quickly effecting a little good, sow the seeds of widespread and lasting decay.

Additional Note.

BY L. M. ANSTEY.

ACCOUNT OF A FAMINE IN AND AROUND PATNA, IN A.D. 1671, BY JOHN MARSHALL.[16]

(*Extracts from Harleian MS. 4254 in the British Museum.*)

1 *June* 1670. The Raines in the year 1670 at Pattana came in in June the first.

The 6th of June 1671 being Tuesday the Raines came in Pattana.

Famine in Pattana 1671. In latter end of May 1671 there dyed of Famine in Pattana about 100 persons dayly and had so for three or four months, corne was then (vizt) Wheate

[16] John Marshall was entertained as a factor in the E. I. Co.'s service in Jan. 1668. He served the Company in Patna, Hugli and Kasimbazar until Nov. 1676, when he was appointed Chief at Balasor, where he died, in Sept. 1677. He recorded his experience in India from 1668 to 1672 in a MS. entitled *Notes and Observations of East India.*

2½ Rupees per Maund, Barley 2 Rupees, Rice fine 4 Rupees, Ditto Course 2½ Rupees, Beefe 1½ Rupees, Goat flesh 2 Rupees, Butter or Gee 7½ Rupees, Oyle 7 Rupees per Maund which consists of eighty lb. English Averdepoiz.

June the 19th we came to Pattana from Singee. I see upon one peece of sand about the middle way betwixt the City and the River about 32 or 33 Persons ly dead within about 10 yards compas from the middle of them, and so many by the River side that could not come on shore but by very many dead corps, also aboundance upon the sand besides, now Rice fine 4 Rupees per Maund, beeing a little while since 4 rupees 7 annas being somthing cheaper. Wood for fireing 4½ maund per Rupee, Hens 5 and chickens 8 per Rupee; tis reported that since the begining of October there have died of Famine in Pattana and the Suburbs about 20000 Persons, and there cannot in that time have gone fewer from the City than 150000 persons, the corps in the river generally lie with their backs upward, great number of Slaves to be bought for 4 annas and 8 annas per peece, and good ones for 1 rupee per peece, but they are exceeding leane when bought, and if they eat but very little more than ordinary of rice or eat any flesh, butter or any strong meat, their faces, hands, and feet and codds swell immediately exceedingly, so that tis esteemed enough to give them at first ½ seer of rice, and those very leane ¼ seer per day to be eaten at twice. The Famine reacheth from 3 or 4 days jorney beyond Bonarres [Benares] to Rojamaul [Râjmahal], the most of the poore that go hence go to Dacca for victualls, though there is thought to be great quantities of Rice in these parts, yet through the Nabobs roguery heere is a Famine, and also somthing from the drynes of the last yeere.

The Rains at Pattana came in in 1671 upon the 6th June and rained every day till July 11th.

In Pattana about 23th July there dyed about 250 or 300 Persons Dayly of Famine in and about the City of Pattana, Rice being 5 Rupees per Maund best sort. I have examined some dying of Famine who told me That within their bodies they were hot, but without cold, espically on their Belly and privy parts. They are very thirsty and hungry, and so feeble they can neither go nor stand nor scarce stirr any joint. They have no pain in their head, but a great one in their Navill. Their urin is very red and thick like blood, and excrement like water, which runs often from them, but but little at a time. I examined one woman immediately before shee died.

In June 1671 the Raines continued from 6th June, and not one fare day till August, except 11th and 30th July.

August 1671. Before the Famine there were 4000 houses inhabited in Hodgipore [Hâjipur] and but now 1800 inhabited, and out of them many have dyed.

In Pattana in 1671 August 8th, now dy dayly here of Famine two or three hundred persons in City and Suburbs, rice now 7 seer per Rupee or 5 rupees 11 annas per Maund of best sort and sometimes none to be bought nor bread in the Bazar. In the Gaut by our Factory which was not 4 yards round about (as I conceive) lay 50 dead corps which I could tell which were driven thether in about 2 dayes time, and Mr. Nurse saith that the day after he counted 152 dead corps in ditto place. Abundance are every day drove to the side of the River, though the most persons of quallity hire Hollolcores to carry them into the middle of a river with a string, and carries them into the middle of the river and then cuts the string, and so lets them drive down with the stream. Notwithstanding there was 50 dead corps in the Gaut by our Factory, yet the Gaut was seldome without a great many women who take up water by the dead corps and drink it, and dress their victualls with it.

August 5th 1671 *and 7th ditto* was no raine, which have been the only dayes without raine (except two before), since the 6th of June. Upon the 7th ditto two merchants in Pattana threw themselves into a common well and drowned themselves. Now a terrible sad cry of poor in the Bazzar

August 12th. Rice fine 6 seer per Rupee or 6 rupees 10⅔ annas per Maund, no course rice to be bought, wheat now 10 seer per Rupee or 4 Rupees per Maund. Some dayes neither rice nor bread to be bought in the Bazar.

August 20th 1671. Now Rice in Pattana 5 seer per Rupee or 8 rupees per Maund and very scarce to be bought for that price.

September the 15th 1671. In Pattana Rice was 8 Seer per Rupee, but Course, 12 Seer Goats flesh and 24 of Beefe per Rupee.

Such was the laziness of workmen in the time of Famine, That in the time of making one Casmeer boat for the Company. Six of the Carpenters died of Famine.

In Pattana and the Suburbs died in 14 months last past, ending 6th Nov., 1671, of the Famine 135400 Persons, an Account thereof being taken out of the Coatwalls Chabootry.

November the 17th 1671 Then came in the cold weather in Pattana after a little storme and raine.

I received [11th December 1671] an Act in writing out of the Coatwalls Chabootree wherein was writ that in the twelve months last past there had died in Pattana and the Suburbs of the Famine 103000 Persons (Vizt.) 50000 Mussulmen and 53000 Hindoos which were taken notice of in their bookes of Records.

December 26th. I received an exact account from the Coatwall Chabootry, to which give credit, that in twelve months, ending 22th November last, being 354 dayes, there dyed in Pattana and the Suburbs of the Famine 15644 Mussulmen to whom the Nabob gave cloth to cover them when were buried, having no friends to bury them, dying in the Streets, and tis thought 2500 dyed in the skirts of the towne in their houses, or where might be buried by some of their relations which were not reckoned, in all 18144, and tis supposed four times as many Hindoos died as Musselmen which were 72576, which, with the 18144, make in all 90720; and the townes near Pattana, some are quite depopulated, having not any persons in them. In one towne, about 3 Coss west from Pattana, where were 1000 houses inhabited, are now but 300, and in them not above four or five hundred Persons, the rest being dead. This Account I received from Mamood-herreef [Mahmûd Sharîf].

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE BRAHMA-VIDYA.

BY DR. NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D.

THE origination of the *Brahma-vidyâ* is attributed by Deussen, followed by other western scholars, to the Ksattriyas from whom, in their opinion, the Brâhmaṇas learnt it in later times. Their reasons for holding such an opinion are perhaps two :—

I. The Brâhmaṇas who had been the originators and supporters of the *karma-kâṇḍa* of the Vedic *saṃhitâs* and *brâhmaṇas* could not, consistently and in view of their self-interest, be the originators of the *jñâna-kâṇḍa* of the *Upanishads*, in other words, the *Brahma-vidyâ*. So much occupied were they with rituals and ceremonies that the *Brahma-vidyâ* could not possibly find a place in their thoughts.

II. There are narratives in the *Upanishads* themselves, the matrix of the *Brahma-vidyâ*, describing a few Brâhmaṇas as learning the subject from particular Ksattriyas.

The opinion does not however appeal to me as sound for these reasons :—

(1) In spite of the apparent conflict between the *karma-kâṇḍa* and the *jñâna-kâṇḍa*, we find the one leading to the other by reason of the connected purposes subserved by them in the scheme of life of the Vedic Hindus. The rituals and sacrifices are meant mostly for Hindus in the second stage of life (the *gṛihasthas*), after which two other stages of life are presented culminating in *karma-sannyâsa*, when rituals are discarded, and the mental cogitation of *brahma* takes their place. The pre-*vânaprastha* stages with their rituals serve as a preparation for the last two stages of life, viz., the *vânaprastha* and the *yati* with their gradually increasing emphasis on the *jñâna-kâṇḍa*. That the *karma-kâṇḍa* and the *jñâna-kâṇḍa* are not meant to be antagonistic to each other, or mutually exclusive, is found from the fact that the idea of *Brahma* is found in the Vedic works on rituals from the *Ṛig-Veda* downwards. 'The attempt to find a unity behind the multiplicity of the Vedic gods, to discover an all-comprehending first principle, makes its appearance as early as the hymn of the *Ṛig-Veda*, and is there linked with the names of Prajâpati, Viṡvakarman, and Puruṣa. It is first in the *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa* that we find the neuter *Brahman* exalted to the position of the supreme principle which is the moving force behind the gods.[1]

Again one of the principal objects of the performance of the sacrifices was the obtaining of wealth, power, and other means of enjoyment in this and the next world. But side by side with these are found in the ritual books, the *Brâhmaṇas*, other sacrifices in which the celebrants had to renounce the world, *e.g.*, the Sarva-mêdha.[2]

The references to the last stage of life (third and fourth stages combined) in the Vedic works on the *karma-kâṇḍa*,[3] without any disapproval of the same, show that the entrance to a stage of life in which the rituals were on the way to be gradually discarded, was not antagonistic to their objects. Had it been so, the works on rituals would have disapproved of the third stage, or laid down injunctions for the prosecution of a ritualistic course of life up to the end of its span, to the rigid exclusion of the *jñâna-kâṇḍa*. But far from that being the case, we find kings like Janaka, one of the supposed originators and propagators of the *Brahma-vidyâ*, performing a big sacrifice at the very time when he had the discussion with Yâjñavalkya regarding *brahma*; and similarly we find the king Aśvapati about to perform a sacrifice when the Brâhmaṇas went to him for hearing from him more about *brahma* than Âruṇi knew. It is therefore not correct to suppose that *brahma-vidyâ* had its origin outside the *karma-kâṇḍa*, and from the brains of the Kṣattriyas alone, and that it had its birth in a spirit antagonistic to the *jñâna-kâṇḍa*. This wrong idea has most probably arisen from the fact that the early Jainas and Buddhists, many of whom were Kṣattriyas, including Mahâvîra and Buddha, and whose religions were but offshoots of the *jñâna-kâṇḍa* with changes or additions of their own, were hostile to the Brâhmaṇas and their *karma-kâṇḍa*; and the spirit in which they preached their doctrines has been supposed to pervade the *Upanishads*, and has been read into the passages that treat of the *Brahma-vidyâ*.

(2) The *Upanishads* contain narratives in which Brâhmaṇas figure as learners from the Kṣattriyas; but the conclusion they point to has to be read in the light of facts lost sight of by Deussen and others.

Among the Kṣattriyas, Janaka, king of Videha, had the highest reputation as a master of the *Brahma-vidyâ*; but yet the self-same king considered Yâjñavalkya as having a greater

1 *ERE.*, vol. II, pp. 798, 799; *Ṛig-Veda*, I, 164, 45; III, 9, 9; *Ś. Br.*, XIII, 6, 2, 7; XI, 2, 3, 1.

2 *Ś. Br.*, 13, 7, 1; *Śâṅ. Śr. S.* 16, 15, 5-6; 16, 15, 23, 16, 16, 3-8.

3 The subject has been treated in my article "The Antiquity of the Four Stages of Life", which will be published shortly in this *Journal*.

mastery over the subject, and listened to lectures on the subject from that erudite Brâhmaṇa.[4] Previously, Janaka had also learnt portions of the subject from various Brâhmaṇa âcâryas, *viz.*, Jitvâ, Udaṅka, Barku, Gardabhîvipîta, Satyakâma, and Vidagdha.[5] King Jânaśruti was at great pains in searching for the Brâhmaṇa Raikva to learn the *Brahma-vidyâ* from him. King Bṛihadratha of the Ikshvâku race learnt the same *vidyâ* from the Brâhmaṇa ascetic Sâkâyana.[6]

Besides these instances of Kṣattriyas learning the *Brahma-vidyâ* from the Brâhmaṇas, we find in the *Upanishads*, the names of many Brâhmaṇas, who handed down the science from generation to generation, and these Brâhmaṇas were far larger in number than the few Kṣattriya kings versed in that science.

Now let us scan the narratives which are relied upon as supporting the view that the Kṣattriyas were the originators and teachers of the *Brahma-vidyâ*. We find in the *Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa* that Janaka said more on *Agnihôtra* than Śvetakêtu, Somasuṣma, and Yâjñavalkya knew ; but this concerned *Agnihôtra* and not the *Brahma-vidyâ*.[7]

Again, Pravahana Jaivali, a Kṣattriya, gave evidence of greater knowledge than Silaka and Dâlbhya in the *Chândogya*,[8] but this knowledge was of *Saura-vidyâ* which belonged rather to the *karma-kâṇḍa*. Again, according to the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka* and the *Chândogya Upanishads*,[9] the aforesaid Kṣattriya as king of Pañcâla silenced Śvetakêtu by putting to him five questions, none of which Śvetakêtu could answer : and when Śvetakêtu's father Uddâlaka Âruṇi came to the king to hear on the subject, the latter said that it was unknown to the Brâhmaṇas. The subject is called *Pañcâgni-vidyâ*. Considering its subject-matter, it cannot be said that it was *Brahma-vidyâ* proper, for it treats of the paths, along which men depart after death, and so forth. Ignorance of these matters cannot be taken as ignorance of the *Brahma-vidyâ* on the part of the Brâhmaṇas. Moreover, it was not reasonable for Jaivali on silencing Śvetakêtu to question him " How could any body who did not know these things say that he had beenf ully instructed ?"[10] for if no Brâhmaṇa had knowledge of the subject, Śvetakêtu came within the rule, and could not be said to have been without proper education merely because of his ignorance of a matter not known to the Brâhmaṇas generally ; nor can it be said that no Brâhmaṇa before Pravahana Jaivali had complete education, because they were not taught the matter. If this passage be taken as mere bluff, or an insult to Śvetakêtu, it cannot be taken in its literal sense, and Jaivali really expected from Śvetakêtu the knowledge of a matter, which was known to every well-educated Brâhmaṇa or Kṣattriya. The later passage, therefore, addressed to Śvotakêtu's father, viz., " this knowledge did not go to any Brâhmaṇa before you, and therefore this teaching belonged in all the worlds to the Ksatra class alone " cannot also be accepted in its literal import.

Five Brâhmaṇa householders and theologians named Prâchînaśâla, Satyayajña, Indradyumna, Jana and Budila came once to Uddâlaka Âruṇi to learn *Vaiśvânara-vidyâ* from him. Âruṇi, diffident as to the fulness of his knowledge of the subject, took them to the king, Aśvapati Kaikeya, who was also studying the subject. From this it is evident that both Âruṇi and Asvapati were studying the subject independently of each other, and the inference that it was at first the monopoly of the Kṣattriyas does not find support from the narrative.[11]

4 *Br. Up.*, IV, 2.

5 *Ibid.*, IV, 1.

6 *Maitri. Up.*, I ff.

7 *Ś. Br.*, 11, 6. 2. 5 ; *Br. Up.*, 4. 3. 1.

8 *Chân Up.*, I. 8. ff

9 *Br. Up.*, VI, 2, 1 ff ; *Chân. Up.*, V, 3, 1 ff.

10 *Chân. Up.* (*SBE.*). V, 3, 4

11 *Chân. Up.*, 5, 11 ; cf. *Ś. Br.*, X, 6, 1.

A narrative in the *Brihadâranyaka Upanishad*[12] relates that once a Brâhmaṇa youth named Bâlâki came to king Ajâtaśatru of Kâśî to speak to him regarding *Brahma*. What Bâlâki said did not meet with the king's appreciation, and therefore Bâlâki requested the king to teach him the subject afresh. The king replied that it was opposed to practice that a Brâhmaṇa should aska Kṣattriya to teach him the *brahma-vidyâ*. This *âkhyâyikâ* also does not support the conclusion that the Kṣhattriyas were the originators and first teachers of the *brahma-vidyâ* : for it was the Brâhmaṇa youth Bâlâki who proposed at first to speak to the king on the subject. Had the *vidyâ* been the exclusive possession of the Kṣattriyas, it would not have been possible for him to know it or to propose to teach it to the king.[13] Again, the king's reply that it was opposed to practice that a Brâhmaṇa should learn the *Brahma-vidyâ* from a Kṣattriya also points to an inference not compatible with the opinion regarding the Kṣattriyas' monopoly of that branch of learning.

Though the point may not be established from the above narratives that the Kṣattriyas were the originators of the *Brahma-vidyâ*, it is however clear that the aforesaid Kṣattriya kings were learned and promoters of learning. Erudite Brâhmaṇas used to visit their courts at times, and were rewarded for giving evidence of scholarship. or for defeating their opponents in debates ; when the number of these visitors diminished, king Ajâtaśatru of Kâśî expressed disappointment. as king Janaka was more fortunate in the matter. Sometimes. conferences of the erudite. or the spiritually elevated, were called in connexion with the sacrifices held by them. as king Janaka did.[14] These meetings of learned men offered the kings opportunities of acquiring knowledge on diverse subjects. from scholars of diverse lands. It was perhaps for this reason that among the Kṣattriyas, only the kings have been mentioned in the *Upanishads* as having knowledge of the *Brahma-vidyâ*. A king by learning certain points from a Brâhmaṇa visitor could use that knowledge for testing. or defeating in argument, another Brâhmaṇa who had not had the opportunity of knowing them. Hence we cannot draw the inference, from the instance of a king defeating a Brâhmaṇa in debate, that all the Brâhmaṇas were ignorant of the subject on which he was silenced. We find instances of a king silencing learned Brâhmaṇas in discussions regarding rituals. This cannot, like the examples in respect of the *Brahma-vidyâ*, lead to the conclusion that the Kṣattriyas monopolized the ritual lore.

It appears to me probable that the aforesaid narratives in the *Upanishads* are meant in many cases to point to certain requisites, without which the acquisition of the *Brahma-vidyâ* could not be complete. The need of humility in one who thinks himself a master of all knowledge is brought out in the *âkhyâyikâ* relating to Śvêtakêtu. He was *stabdha* (loth to speak), and *anûcânamânî* (puffed up with the idea that he was well-read) when he met his father after completing his education. His inability to answer the questions put to him by his father disconcerted him.[15] Similarly. the conceited pandits at Janaka's court were humiliated by Yâjñavalkya.[16] *Dripta* (arrogant) Bâlâki came to teach Ajâtaśatru, but was bound. on account of the insufficiency of his knowledge, to listen to the latter's discourse on *Brahma*.[17] Even when Janaka thought, at the approach of Yâjñavalkya, that the latter had come to have information from him on abstruse points, he was also shown that his knowledge was not complete, and hence he submitted to acquire the necessary knowledge from the great Brâhmaṇa theologian.[18]

Though Nârada had read all the works comprised in a long list, he could not master the *Brahma-vidyâ* proper. This shows that mere book learning was not enough for the purpose, but the knowledge of the *self* was necessary.[19]

12 *Br. Up.*, II, 1.
13 *Ibid.*, III, 1, 1.
14 *Ibid.*, II, 1, 1.
15 *Chan. Up.*, VI, 1.
16 *Br. Up.*, III, 1.
17 *Ibid.*, II, 1.
18 *Ibid.*, IV, 1, 1.
19 *Chân. Up.*, VII, 1, 3.

It is supposed that the fact of the origin of the *Brahma-vidyâ* from the Kṣattriyas was so widely known that their inability to conceal it has compelled them to incorporate the narratives in the *Upanishads* in spite of their unwillingness to do so. But the question may be asked, why the lists of teachers of *Brahma-vidyâ* appearing in the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka Upanishad*[20] do not contain the names of Janaka, Ajâtaṣatru, Aśvapati, Pravahana Jaivali and so forth. A similar list in the *Muṇḍakopanishad* mentions only the names of Brâhmaṇas as teachers of the *Brahma-vidyâ*.[21] If it be supposed that the names of the Kṣattriya teachers of the *Brahma-vidyâ* have been purposely eliminated by the Brâhmaṇas, it remains inexplicable why they should incorporate the narratives which recorded the cases of humiliation of Brâhmaṇas by Kṣattriyas.

Sir G. A. Grierson states in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (vol. 2, p. 540) that 'according to the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa* (III, xxi, 26), even Kapila, the founder of the Sâṅkhya system, was descended from a Râjarṣi and was therefore a Kṣattriya.' If we examine the statement closely, it is found to be altogether erroneous. Though Kapila's mother Devahûti was the daughter of Manu of the Kṣattriya caste, his father was the Brâhmaṇa Kardama (*Bhâgavata*, III, xxii, 2-3). The *Manusaṃhitâ* (X. 6) lays down that 'sons, begotten by twice-born men on wives of the next lower castes, they declare to be similar (to their fathers, but) blamed on account of the fault (inherent) in their mothers.' Pursuant to this rule, Kapila would follow the caste of his father Kardama, *i.e.*, would be a Brâhmaṇa. It is also well-known that the descendants of Arundhatî, who was the daughter of Kardama and Devahûti and was married to Vasiṣtha, were Brâhmaṇas, *e.g.*, Śakti, Parâśara, Vyâsa. Hence Kapila was a Brâhmaṇa and not a Kṣattriya. The figures in the *Purâṇas* that tend to mislead one on this point are, for instance, Dhṛitarâṣṭra and Pâṇḍu (sons of Vyâsa), Aśmaka [son of Damayantî by Vasiṣtha (see *Bhâgavata*, IX, ix, 39)]. The deviations from the rule that the caste of the son follows that of the father take place for the reason, that the sons in these instances are *Kṣêtraja*.

It is put forward as an argument in favour of the Kṣattriya origin of the *Brahma-vidyâ* that it has been named *Râja-vidyâ*.[22] The expression is found in the passage *râja-vidyâ râjaguhyam pavitramidamuttamam*. The expression *râja-vidyâ* has been interpreted as a *vidyâ* originated by the Kṣattriyas. But the next expression *râjaguhyam* shows the application of that sense of *râjan* to be out of place, and therefore, the passage cannot yield the meaning sought to be drawn from it by those who believe in the Kṣattriya origin of the *Brahma-vidyâ*.

THE PROPOSED ILLUSTRATED MAHABHARATA.

By H. G. RAWLINSON.

I am sorry to disagree with the views put forward by Sir Richard C. Temple, Bt. in *ante*, vol. LII, p. 41 ff., on the above subject. I do not see why we should be any more 'safe' in going to the Ajanta frescos, which represent life in the Deccan in the seventh century A.C., to illustrate the *Mahabhârata* or *Râmâyaṇa* than we should be, say, in utilising the Bayeux tapestries to illustrate a work on the Wars of the Roses. Modern Indian art is corrupt beyond redemption. The hideous productions of the school of the late Ravi Varma (oleograph copies of which, alas, are found in almost every home in Western India) are striking examples of this. As for the work of some of our newer Indian artists, trained in Western schools of art, which are in so much request for book-illustrations, they are graceful enough, but they no more represent ancient India than pageants like "Cairo" represent ancient Egypt. A little more may be said for our Indian prae-Raphaelites of Bengal, but they are artificial and self-conscious and lack spontaneity. Why not go back to the magnificent

20 *Br. Up.*, II, 6; IV, 6. 21 *Mund. Up.*, I, 1. 22 *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*, XI, 2.

work of the older Indian artists of Rajputana and the Punjab? Here we have indigenous Indian drawing and painting at its zenith, uncontaminated by Western contact, representing the scenes as Indian draughtsmen of the best period imagined them. As an example, take the superb illustrations of the Nala-Damayanti episode in Dr. Ananda Coomara-Swamy's *Indian Drawings*, vol. II, plates vi–x. Could anything be more suitable for the purpose? There must be many more similar Indian drawings and paintings available in the various collections. I should suggest that those in charge of the work of bringing out this edition of the *Mahâbhârata* should consult Dr. Coomara-Swamy, who would, I am sure, be happy to assist them with his advice.

A NOTE ON THE *HALA* AND *PAILAM* MEASURES IN GUJARAT.

BY SHAMS-UL-ULMA JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., PH.D., C.I.E.

IN *ante*, vol. LII, p. 18, there is an article by Mahamahopadhyaya Vidyavinod Padmanath Bhattacharyya, headed "Notes on *Hala* and *Pailam* in a Gujarat copper-plate grant." Therein, the author says that (*a*) the word *hâlâ* has remained unexplained, and that (*b*) he believes that the *hâlâ* measure may yet be found to exist in Gujarat. I beg to give in this brief note the information desired.

In my occasional visits to Naosari in Gujarat, I have heard the word *hârâ*, which seems to be the same as *hâlâ*, used as a measurement of grain. On inquiring from a friend, Mr. Edalji Navrojee Mehta at Naosari, I learn that the measure is still used there. There, forty (40) *seers* make one maund, and seven (7) maunds make one *hârâ*. Thus the word *hârâ* is used now as a measure for grain, but not for land.

That *hârâ* is used as a measure of corn in Kathiawar also, appears from the following table, which I find in Mr. Nanabhoy Bejanji Karani's booklet of tables for schools, under the heading, p. 17, of કાઠીઆવાડમાં વપરાતા માપનો કોઠો :—

૮ ગડીઆણા	એટલે	૧ પવાલું	૨ મોહલા	એટલે	૧ ચોસીઉ
૪ પવાલાં	,,	૧ પાલી	૨ ચોસીઆં	,,	૧ હારો
૭ પાલી	,,	૧ માપ	૨ હારા	,,	૧ કળશી
૫ માંપ	,,	૧ સઈ	૧૦ કળશી	,,	૧ મૂડો
૨ સઈ	,,	૧ મોહલો			

As to the literal meaning of the word *hâlâ* or *hârâ*, I think it means the measure of grain that is produced by the use of a *hal* or plough. "A plough and a pair of bullocks were roughly estimated to be able to cultivate a certain quantity of land, varying according to quality."[1] The tax or cess on this cultivation was known as *hâl-vera, i.e.*, plough-cess. It seems, therefore, that at one time formerly, the word *hâlâ* or *hârâ* was also used as a measure for land and signified an area which could be cultivated by a *hal* or plough and produced a *hârâ* of grain.

The word *kedâra* of Sylhet, twelve of which make up a *hâlâ* there, may be, I think, the same as a *keyâra* or *keyari* of Gujarat where it means "a part of the field surrounded by embankments." It has no fixed definite measure.

As to the word *Pailam*, I think it is the same as *pallu* or *pallo* (પલ્લો) of Gujarat. I remember having heard it in my boyhood in Gujarat, but I am told that it is not used now at Naosari. It consisted of six and a half ($6\frac{1}{2}$) maunds.

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[1] *The Land Revenue of Bombay*, by Alexander Rogers (1892), vol. I, p. 88.

THE HISTORY OF THE NIẒÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AḤMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR WOLSELEY HAIG, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(*Continued from page* 162.)

CIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE TREACHERY OF MIRZÂ KHÂN, WHICH LED TO THE MURDER OF ḤUSAIN NIẒÂM SHÂH, A GENERAL MASSACRE OF ALL THE FOREIGNERS, AND THE DOMINATION OF JAMÂL KHÂN, AND THE REBELLIOUS SECT OF THE MAHDAVÎS.

As God had willed that Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh should fall, so the king's devotion to debauchery and lascivious pleasures, his neglect of his duties as king, and his passion for low company, estranged from him the hearts of the people, and as it had been decreed by fate that the conquering Ṣâḥib Qirân[302] should reign over the kingdom of Hindûstân and cast the shadow of his justice and clemency on the heads of the afflicted people of the Dakan, the power necessarily departed from Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh, and since God had removed the glance of His kindness and compassion from the Sayyids, *Maulavîs*, and the people of Aḥmadnagar, he left them to their evil devices until they ventured on rebellion and earned by their ill deeds severe punishment.

When the quarrel between Mirzâ Khân and Ankas Khân increased in intensity, Mîrzâ Khân proposed to the Khânkhânân, who was one of his intimates, that he should cultivate the friendship of Ankas Khân, invite him to a banquet at his house and try to ruin his honour, in order that he might fall from the royal favour. The foolish Khânkhânân acted on the suggestion of Mîrzâ Khân, made friends with Ankas Khân, invited him one night to a feast at his house, and spent the night with him in pleasure. The next day Mîrzâ Khân reported to Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh something of what had passed the night before at the Khânkhânân's house, using enigmatical language. Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh, much surprised, asked the Khânkhânân what the truth of the matter was. The foolish Khânkhânân preserved a silence which was equivalent to many corroborations, and the king, becoming angry, turned from them to Ankas Khân and began to reproach him. How much soever Ankas Khân tried to prove the falsehood of Mîrza Khân's words, in order to free himself from the imputation which had been cast upon him, he failed to convince the king, and after this quarrel a bitter enmity sprang up between Mîrza Khân and Ankas Khân and all the Foreigners,[303] and Mîrzâ Khân and Ankas Khân began to seek to compass each other's downfall. Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh, having regard to Ankas Khân's former services and to the love which he had borne him, preferred him before Mîrzâ Khân and began to consider how he could bring about Mîrzâ Khân's downfall. Ankas Khân bethought himself of a plan and unfolded it to the king. He proposed that he should give a banquet which the king should honour with his presence, and that a trusty band of armed men should be concealed and should spring out at a given signal and seize Mîrzâ Khân, and thus put an end to his turbulence. On Wednesday, Jamâdî-ul-Awwal 12 (March 18, A.D. 1589), Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh honoured Ankas Khân by attending a banquet given at his house, and the Khânkhânân, Jamshîd Khân, Sayyid Murtaẓâ and all the principal *amîrs* and officers were there also. As Mîrzâ Khân was approaching the house he learnt of the arrangement which had been made, and on the pretext of pains in the stomach returned home and contrived to warn the Khânkhânân and Sayyid Murtaẓâ of what was intended. Sayyid Murtaẓâ took *ma'jûn* and feigned sickness,[304] lay down and uttered naught but sighs and groans. The Khânkhânân attacked Ankas Khân with bitter words and took Sayyid Murtaẓâ away from the assembly. When they reached the neighbourhood of the fort they sent for Mîrzâ

[302] Burhân Niẓâm II.

[303] The author's meaning is obscure here. He intends to say that Mîrzâ Khân was at the head of the Foreign, and Ankas Khân at that of the Dakani, party.

[304] Firishta says (ii, 290) that it was not Sayyid Murtaẓâ, but his father, Âqâ Mir Shîrvânî, who feigned sickness. *Ma'jûn* was an electuary, largely composed of opium.

Khân and then they sent a messenger to Husain Nizâm Shâh saying that Sayyid Murtazâ was very sick and that a bath would do him more good than physic. They asked permission to take him to the bath in the fort. as he might perhaps get better there. and recover from his sickness. The good natured prince gave these traitors leave to come into the fort and to the bath, and appointed Ankas Khân to look after them, in order that they might be at ease.

Mîrzâ Khân and the Khânkhânân took Sayyid Murtazâ into the fort and placed a guard of their own trusty men over the gate of the fort, and when Husain Nizâm Shâh returned from Ankas Khân's house they waited on him and told him that Sayyid Murtazâ was only just breathing, but that if he would deign to visit the sick man it was possible that he might obtain fresh life. The simple minded king, ignorant of his enemies' guile and trusting to their word, entered the fort. They had previously ordered their own men, whom they had set over the gate, to admit none but the king and a very few of his immediate attendants, so that when once the king had entered the fort unguarded, he was completely in the hands of his enemies. When Mîrzâ Khân had thus by stratagem brought the king into the fort he showed his hand. He took the king to the top of the Baghdâd palace and placed him in a solitary corner to repent of his trusting folly, with a guard over him. He then summoned Jamshîd Khân, Amîn-ul-Mulk, and all the chief men among the Foreigners, and after some consultation, sent Mustafâ Khân, Amîn-ul-Mulk, Shâh Ibrâhîm and Shâh Ismâ'îl to Lohogarh.[305] Mustafâ Khân hastened with the speed of the wind to the fortress where the two princes were confined, released them from the charge of the eunuchs. and on the fourth day brought the two young princes secretly into the fort of Ahmadnagar, bringing them over the wall at midnight in order that none might know of their arrival. After consultation and recourse to the *sortes Koranicae,* the lot fell on Ismâ'îl Shâh, and the next day, Monday, the 16th of the month already mentioned (April 1, A.D. 1589),[306] in spite of the moon's being in Scorpio, preparations were made for his enthronement with the usual ceremonies of presentation of robes of honour to the *amîrs* and officers of state, etc. The Sayyids, the *Qâzîs* and the learned men of the court were summoned, but since Mîrzâ Khân had brought the king into the fort, which was now some days ago, nobody knew what had happened to him, and most of the *amîrs* of the Dakan were very perturbed, and disturbances began. One Jamâl[307] was the first to start the outbreak, and on this day on which the younger prince was to be enthroned, Jamâl Khân went with a number of *Havâldârs* and petty officers who were under the command of Sayyid Hasan, the brother of Jamshîd Khân, and were quartered in, the village of Humâyûnpûr, to Sayyid Hasan, related to him the story of Mîrzâ Khân's opposition to the king and instigated him to return. Jamâl Khân, in order to set his mind at rest, told him that he would in no way injure the king. Hasan therefore, though not willingly, returned to the city with the army of the Dakan, and when they reached the door of the fort, Jamâl Khân left a detachment with Sayyid Hasan in the gate of the fortress and handed over command of the corps of Bâ'în Khân,[308] which was encamped before the fortress, to Azhdahâ Khân who was formerly one of his partisans, and sent it to the Daulatâbâd gate, while he,

305 The author is obscure here. The Foreigners had decided to depose Husain II and it was necessary to find a successor. Qâsim and other members of the royal family had been murdered at Sinnâr, and Burhân, the other uncle of Husain, had fled to the court of Akbar, but had left behind him, in the fort of Lohogarh, two young sons, Ibrâhîm and Ismâ'îl, who seem to have been the only males of the royal family, besides the king, remaining in the kingdom.—F. ii, 290, 294.

306 According to Firishta, who agrees in the date here given, the question was not decided by sortilege. Ibrâhîm was the elder of the two princes, but his mother was a negress, and he was dark and ill-favoured. The choice therefore fell on Ismâ'îl, aged twelve, whose mother was a fair-skinned lady of the Konkan.—F. ii, 294.

307 Jamâl Khân was a *muwallad, i.e.,* the son of an African by a woman of the Dakan. He belonged, therefore, to the party of the Dakanîs and Africans.

308 Bâ'inî Khân.—F. ii, 292.

with a small force, went to the *Kâlâ Chabûtra*, whence he kept up continual communication with the Dakanîs and Africans of the city, where he busied himself in enlisting them on his side and against Mîrzâ Khân. All, both weak and strong, gathered around Jamâl Khân, and the place was soon in an uproar, and he by his display of loyalty greatly increased the estimation in which he was held by the people. Sayyid Hasan by his brother's order entered into an agreement with the *amîrs* and officers of the army and they all went together to the fort of Ahmadnagar. It is said that on this day Jamshîd Khân[309] meditating treachery against Husain Nizâm Shâh, entered into an agreement with the *amîrs* and chief officers in the army who were of the king's party to the effect that they should be faithful to him (the king) and also went to the fort in order that he might frustrate the treasonable design of Mîrzâ Khân and, with them, set the king free, in order that by his display of loyalty they might gain advancement. In any case a large number of all classes gathered round Jamâl Khân, and he, assuring them that they would gain promotion and advancement, marched with them against the fort, and sent a messenger to Mîrzâ Khân to say that it was some days since he had taken the king into the fort and denied to all access to him, so that none knew how he fared, and to demand that he should either free the king at once or admit Jamâl Khân and his men to see him, in order that strife and disturbance might cease. Mîrzâ Khân, in his pride, treated Jamâl Khân's message with contempt and told him to wait for a moment in order that he might be honoured by being admitted to pay his respects to his king (*i.e.*, prince Ismâ'îl). When Jamâl Khân heard this improper answer, which was intended to allay by mere words the turbulent desires of the hearts of himself and his followers, he determined to take action and the matter passed from speech to open strife. As the fort then contained but a small garrison, Mîrzâ Khân, becoming alarmed, sent Lashkar Khân and Kishvar Khân out to allay the strife.[310] Jamâl Khân valued these men not a boddle and slew Kishvar Khân, while Lashkar Khân was wounded and escaped back into the fort with much difficulty. Mîrzâ Khân and the other Foreigners who were in the citadel were now much perturbed, barricaded the gates of the fort and prepared for war, and to defend the fort. When Mîrzâ Khân saw that the whole city was in a ferment he became much alarmed and sent Jamshîd Khân to Jamâl Khân to arrange terms of peace. Jamâl Khân at once put Jamshîd Khân and Sayyid Hasan, who had only just again sworn fidelity to him, into irons, and threw them on to the back of an elephant. He gave the magistracy of the city to Bulbul Khân, the African, and sent him into the city with others to kill 'Inâyat Khân, the existing governor. Bulbul Khân then went into the bazar and collected a number of the rabble, who supported him, and by the aid of whom he seized 'Inâyat Khân and put him to death. His head was placed on a spear and was carried about through the city and the bazars. When the garrison of the fort saw the head of 'Inâyat Khân, the *thânadâr*, on a spear being paraded through the city, they gave up hope of life and hope of flight and freedom, and in their perplexity brought prince Ismâ'îl Khân on to one of the bastions of the fortress and raised the royal umbrella over his head, and even though they proclaimed him by the royal style and title, the Dakanîs continued to shoot arrows and sling stones against the fortress and against the young prince, who was wounded. At this

309 Jamshîd Khân appears to have acted throughout in the interests of Ismâ'îl. He belonged to the Foreign party.

310 Firishta says that Mîrzâ Khân, having foolishly delayed the suppression of Jamâl Khân's rising until the latter had a force of 25,000 horse, now sent out against him his uncle, Muhammad Sa'îd, and Kishvar Khân with a force of 150 sons of Foreigners, seven Foreigners, twenty Dakanis, and an elephant. This small force was defeated, and only ten or fifteen wounded men escaped back into the fort.—F. ii, 291.

time, as Mîrzâ Khân had already, in the hardness of his heart, blinded Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh[311] and outraged his honour, he considered that if he beheaded the king and threw his head down among the army, they would desist from the attack and acquiesce in accepting Ismâ'îl as their king. The wretch never considered that he who imbrues his hands in the blood of the kings and causes their death causes infinite strife and copious bloodshed and draws down upon himself the wrath of God.

It is said that Amîn-ul-Mulk was the instigator of this disgraceful crime and iniquity, and that the son of Zû-l-fiqâr Khân was its perpetrator, but God knows the truth.[312] In any case these cruel and vile men, regardless of the disgrace and calamity which would follow the crime, dared to kill the king and, severing his crowned head from his body with a dagger, placed it on a spear and brought it to a bastion of the fortress, whence they threw it down among the army.[313] The martyred king had barely time to look the attainment of his desires in the face, when he was pierced, like the rose with the thorn of disappointment, and the bird of his desire had barely spread his wings when he flew from the threshold of life to the nest of nonentity. As this young prince had been accessory to the death of his father and had, at the instigation of traitors, issued orders for the shedding of his blood, fate, in obedience to the decree of the Almighty avenger brought speedy punishment to him—as the poet says: "The kingdom becomes not a parricide, and if he succeeds his reign lasts but six months."

When the army saw the head of their king, they uttered a loud and bitter cry, and a world was thrown into mourning, so that all mankind were afflicted with grief. The army then arose and attacked the fortress. It was as though the gates and walls bore down, with their weight, on the bewildered gang within, and as though fate and time themselves declared war against them. The ill-fortune following on treason infused fear and dread into the hearts of Mîrzâ Khân and his gang and deprived them of strength, so that none was able to stretch forth his hands to battle, nor to keep his foot firmly planted in its place. From the first watch of the day until the evening the battle raged. Jamâl Khân, who had first set the fight going, was approved and followed by all and promoted his followers, giving to them the lands and titles of the *amîrs* who had followed Mîrzâ Khân. The *amîrs* who were in the fort had left their forces without, and had alone rebelled against the king in the fort, and these forces now joined the new *amîrs* who had been appointed to command them, and fought beside them.

As the blood of the murdered king cried out for vengeance against his murderers, the army of the Dakan, which surrounded the fort like a raging sea, all attacked the fortress at once, and swarmed over the walls like ants and locusts. One body forced the Daulatâbâd gate and poured into the fort, and another body set fire to the gate which faces the city and rendered resistance by the defenders impossible. When the defenders, who were but a small gang, saw fire and disaster threatening their lives on every side, and found the way of escape blocked whithersoever they turned, they ran confusedly and crept into holes and corners, crying, 'Here, here, is a refuge.' A number of Sayyids, *Qâẓîs*, and learned men who had not consented to the treason that had been committed and who had forcibly and against their will been brought into the fort by Mîrzâ Khân, such as Qâsim Beg, Mîr Sharîf, Mîrzâ Muḥammad Taqî, Mîrzâ Ṣâdiq, Mîr 'Izz-ud-dîn Astarâbâdî, Maulânâ Najm-ud-dîn Shûshtarî, Qâzî

311 Firishta does not mention the blinding of Ḥusain II.

312 Firishta says that it was Ismâ'îl Khân, son of the Foreigner, Zû-l-fiqâr Khân, who ordered the decapitation of Ḥusain II.—F. ii, 291.

313 According to Firishta, the head was only thrown down when Mirzâ Khân learnt that Jamâl Khân was trying to persuade the people that the head exhibited on the bastion was not that of Ḥusain II. —F. ii, 292.

Nûr-ud-dîn Iṣfahânî, Mîr Muḥammad Ḥasan Tabâṭabâ'î, and Mîr Ḥusain Gîlânî crept into holes and hid themselves from the sight of the violent and bloody men. The others, such as Mîrzâ Khân, the Khânkhânân, Jamshîd Khân with his son and brother, Amîn-ul-Mulk with his two sons, Sayyid Murtazâ Shîrvânî, Bahâdur Khân Gîlânî. Bâi Khân. Sayyid Muḥammad Samnânî with his brother, and a number of other men famous for their bravery who were not entirely enfeebled by fear, made some efforts in one direction or other. but as the army was pressing upon them both within and without, this wretched gang, though they sought in every direction for a way of escape, found none. They therefore made a stand in an open space between the two gates and opposed the troops as they came from the direction of each. The force which had entered by the Daulatâbâd gate ran hither and thither, plundering and slaying all whom they met, so that the broker of death was selling at one price the old man of 80 and the boy of 8, while the fire of their wrath burnt up young and old, rich and poor, alike.

Mîrzâ Muḥammad Taqî, Mîrzâ Ṣâdiq, Mîr 'Izz-ud-dîn. Maulânâ Najm-ud-dîn, Qâẓî Nûr-ud-dîn, and Mîr Muḥammad Ḥusain, each of whom was among the most learned and accomplished men of the age, were all slain by the sword on that night. When about seven hours of that night had passed and the fire which had been lighted at the gate of the fort was somewhat abated, the band which from fear of their enemies had taken up their stand between the two gates, ignorant of the consequences of drawing the sword of strife from the scabbard and of urging the charger on into the field, and of the bragging tongue of sword and spearhead, gave vent to their feelings and emotions and raised loud cries. Mirzâ Khân then asked Bahâdur Khân Gîlânî what plan could be devised for an escape, and who might be expected to help them in the extremity of their peril. Bahâdur Khân, who was one of the most eloquent of men, answered in poetry to the effect that there was nothing for it but to fight to the end. and at length all of them agreed to make a determined dash for the gate, trusting in God and treading the fire like Ibrâhîm the Friend. They then threw themselves on their enemies to fight valiantly for honour and a good name, and to lose, with good name and honour, their heads, or to escape from that whirlpool of destruction and to bring the bark of their hopes safely to shore. This gang, therefore, mounted their horses and charged out through the burning gate, attacking the army, which with its elephants was drawn up like Alexander's barrier along the edge of the ditch. Some of them, such as Bâ'in Khân, Sayyid Murtazâ and others, were slain at once, and the dust of the battlefield was their shroud, while others managed to break through their enemies and to free themselves, by a hundred stratagems, from their immediate danger, but of these some, such as Amîn-ul-Mulk, the Khânkhânân, and others and Muḥammad Samnânî and Âqâ Malik Mâzandarânî, were slain that night by the rabble of the city and the suburbs. Bahâdur Khân and some others, whom fate was less rapid in overtaking, escaped from their dreadful position, crept away into hiding places and, a few days later, managed to escape to a place of refuge. Mîrzâ Khân, although he escaped from the slaughter on the battlefield, could flee no further than a village in the environs of the city, where, as the reward of his treason, his horse was stopped by the wall of fate, and he fell into the hands of the villagers.[314]

[314] Firishta's account of the capture of the fort is as follows :—While the Dakanis and Africans under Jamâl Khân and Yâqût Khân were surrounding the fort, a hundred oxen laden with dried cowdung and millet stalks for sale passed. Jamâl Khân had their loads piled against the gate of the fort and lighted. Towards evening the gate was destroyed, but none could pass over the hot ashes for some time. At length Mîrzâ Khân and his followers, Bâ'ini Khân, Amîn-ul-Mulk Nishâbûri, the Khânkhânân, Sayyid Muhammad Samnânî, Bahâdur Khân Gîlânî, Nûr Ṭâhir Alavi, Âqâ Mîr Shirvânî, Shahbâz Khân Dakanî, and Ismâ'îl Khân the Kurd, drawing their swords, spurred their horses over the hot ashes and cut their way through the besiegers. Some were slain in the streets of the city and some in the suburbs—Mîrzâ Khân himself fled towards Junnâr and could not be found for some days, but was eventually captured and put to death.—F. ii, 292.

When Jamâl Khân with the Dakanîs and Africans had thus overcome the Foreigners and had taken the fort by storm, they seated Ismâ'îl Shâh on the royal throne and issued an order for a general massacre of the Foreigners. The blood-thirsty soldiery and cruel brigands slew and plundered in all directions, and the Foreigners were overwhelmed in the general destruction, so that their blood ran in rivers through the streets of the city.[315]

In those evil days the custom of general massacres and of general plunderings became so rife in the city and kingdom of Ahmadnagar that it was as though peace and security had fled from the world, while those who had formerly held their heads as high as the heavens in their pride were humbled to the dust, and chaste virgins, who had never shewn their faces to the sun or to the moon, were dragged by the hair of the head into the bazar among drunken men. Buildings which stood erect to heaven now bowed their heads as those ashamed, and the palaces, buildings and gardens of the Foreigners were destroyed.

When Jamâl Khân had carried out his great design and had completely and easily overthrown and extinguished that powerful party and destroyed the life of a world of persons, and had imprisoned Jamshîd Khân and his brothers and son, who had been captured, he arranged the funeral obsequies of Husain Niẓâm Shâh,[316] and when he had finished these he seated Ismâ'îl Niẓâm Shâh on the throne of his ancestors and opened a royal court for the administration of justice. He gave out the *jâgîrs* of all the Foreigners to the Africans and Dakanis, but especially to the *Mahdavîs*, and increased the allowances and grants of all, both gentle and simple, so that the people, who are ever the slaves of favour, readily yielded obedience to him.

In the meantime Farhâd Khân, the African, who was in Chîtâpûr, had heard of the death of Husain Niẓâm Shâh and the accession of Ismâ'îl Niẓâm Shâh, and hastened to court to pay his respects to the new king. When he heard of the general massacre of the Foreigners, he bargained with Jamâl Khân for the lives of the remnant which remained, and as all the Africans supported Farhâd Khân and Jamâl Khân's position was yet insecure, Jamâl Khân was compelled to agree to Farhâd Khân's proposals and to forgo the slaughter of the remnant of the Foreigners.

In the two or three days during which the slaughter had continued, all the Foreigners who had been in the fort or the city, the streets or bazars, had fallen into the hands of the Dakanîs and had perished, but a number who had been in the eunuchs' quarters and other *sarâîs* and private houses had fortified themselves, and defended themselves feebly and as best they could with stones and arrows. They were now weakening, and in their confusion and distress their affairs had reached such a pitch that they were on the point of falling into the hands of their enemies, when suddenly Farhâd Khân came among them, and having gone through the whole city and all its quarters, released a Foreigner whenever one was found in the hands of the mob, and stopped the aggression of the persecutors, and even slew some of the mob with the sword as an example to others. In every building in which he found a body of Foreigners defending themselves, he left a body of his own men, with instructions to protect them from all evil. By this means the persecution of the Foreigners ceased.

315 Firishta says that on the night on which the fort was captured about 300 Foreigners were slain, among them being Mirzâ Muhammad Taqî Naẓîrî, Mîrzâ Ṣâdiq Urdûbâdî, Mîr 'Izz-ud-dîn Astarabâdî, and Mullâ Najm-ud-dîn Shûshtarî. Only four escaped, Qâsim Beg, Sayyid Sharîf Gîlânî, I'timâd Khân Shûshtarî, and Khvâja 'Abd-us-Salâm Tûnî. On the following day the slaughter of the Foreigners began again and lasted for seven days, about a thousand being slain in all.—F. ii, 292, 293.

316 Husain Niẓâm Shâh II was buried at Rauẓah.—F. ii, 293.

In the meantime Jamâl Khân received news of the capture of Mîrzâ Khân, who was the originator of the rebellion and the prime cause of the general massacre of the Foreigners. He immediately reported the news to the king, and Mîrzâ Khân was by Jamâl Khân's orders imprisoned beside Jamshîd Khân and others.

The next day Burhân Khan, one of the valiant men of the army, was entrusted with the execution of that gang, and he put to death Jamshîd Khân, Sayyid Hasan and his brothers, and the son of Sayyid Murtazâ, a youth of great wit and great personal beauty.[317] He then loaded the gun—*Malik-i-Maidân*—with the bodies of these high born Sayyids and fired it, so that each fragment of their bodies fell in some spot where it could neither be seen nor identified. They then mounted the wretch Mîrzâ Khân on an ass and paraded him through the streets and bazars as an example, while crowds of the people followed, reproaching and cursing him. He was then flayed like a sheep and sent to his reckoning with every circumstance of disgrace, to the accompaniment of his cries of anguish and the eyes, which had been upraised in pride and haughtiness before sun and moon, were trampled at last, as a reward of their treachery, in the dust of disgrace, and the head, which in its pride was lowered before no Cæsar and no Faghfûr, was kicked to nothingness as a reward for its treason. And in truth that which was done to Mîrzâ Khân seemed to fall short of his deserts for his base actions and cruelty. The punishment of which he was worthy was rather that he should again live a hundred times in each moment and each time suffer the same punishment. If his father attempted his own life that wretch had deprived a whole people of life and had disgraced a party[318] which had hitherto always been able to boast of its sincerity, its truth and its fidelity, making it a by-word in the mouths of the gentle and simple, and as a reward for his treachery lost not only his life, but also his religion and his faith. He had consented to the murder of the prince of the age and received his punishment in the disputes which followed and hastened to the next world, and the hidden meaning of the verse "This, because God changeth not the favour with which He favoureth a people, so long as they change not what is in their hands," [319] had its effect on that people.

But when the fire of that world consuming strife leapt into flame its sparks spread to another party which had in no way consented to the murder of the king, but on the contrary had feared its results. They, nevertheless, were involved in the calamities which ensued on the acts of the traitors, which indeed flowed over the whole city like a destructive flood, destroying the lives of both, the evil and the good, both bond and free, and overthrowing them. A succession of calamities destroyed the peaceful country of this party and threw it into such confusion as reigns in the country of an unjust king, so that peace and prosperity disappeared from the earth and from the age and were succeeded by oppression and rebellion.

When fate took pity on the ruined remnant, and the intercession of Farhâd Khân, like the prayer of 'Isâ, revived them, some who had the strength and means to travel were dispersed among the various cities and countries, while a small body, hungry and naked, cast down from their former place by weakness and inanition, gathered together in the eunuchs' quarters and ever prayed to God for the arrival of His Majesty the Sâhib Qirân,[320] the protector of Foreigners.

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[317] These, according to Firishta, were Jamshid Khân Shîrâzî, his brothers Sayyid Husain and Sayyid Muhammad, and his son Sayyid Murtazâ.—F. ii, 293.

[318] The Foreigners.

[319] *Qur'ân* viii, 55.

[320] Burhân Nizâm Shâh II.

The rebellion having been thus suppressed, Jamâl Khân hastened to the house of Farhâd Khân and endeavoured to induce him to enter into an agreement with a view to their holding the office of *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* jointly, but Farhâd Khân would not accept this proposal and said that Qâsim Beg was the man for the office and that they ought to free him from prison and entrust the administration of the kingdom to him. When Jamâl Khân saw that Farhâd Khân would not co-operate with him in the office of *vakîl* and was convinced that he himself could not possibly become *vakîl* without the co-operation and consent of Farhâd Khân, he applauded Farhâd Khân's resolution, and it was decided that they should both go to court together the next day and give effect to whatever arrangement was best for the kingdom. But when Jamâl Khân left Farhâd Khân's house he resolved to imprison him.

The next day Jamâl Khân brought a body of his troops armed into the fort and stationed a company over the gate with orders to prevent any of Farhâd's men from entering the fort with him.

Early in the morning Farhâd Khân, as had been agreed, set out for the fort, and when he entered the fort he had no more than a few men with him, and as soon as he had made his obeisance to Ismâ'îl Nîẓâm Shâh, Jamâl Khân placed a guard over him and led the young king forth from the fort in royal state. Without the fort were the troops of Farhâd Khân, who were ignorant of what had befallen their leader. They were honoured by being permitted to pay their homage, and some of them received posts in the royal service, while others were promised higher rank and better pay, so that all were drawn by interest towards Jamâl Khân.

This faithless gang now forgot all that they owed to Farhâd Khân and went over to Jamâl Khân and entered his service.

When Jamâl Khân had led the young king through the streets and bazars for some time and had given the populace the opportunity of paying their homage to him, he took him back to the fort and again seated him on the throne. He then made Farhâd Khân over to a trusty body of his own troops and sent him to the fortress of Râjûrî.[321]

To fill Farhâd Khân's place Jamâl Khân selected Yâqût, who had belonged to Maulânâ 'Inâyatullâh and was distinguished no less by valour and courage than by goodness of disposition and beauty of person, and raised him to the rank of *amîr* and to the command of the army, conferring on him the title of Khudâvand Khân. In order to strengthen the friendship between himself and Khudâvand Khân he betrothed his daughter to the son of Khudâvand Khân and gave a banquet on the occasion which was honoured by the young king's presence, continuing the festivities for several days and extending his hospitality to all, both gentle and simple. He also promoted some of the Dakanîs and Africans to the rank of *amîrs* and officers, by this means ingratiating himself with them and ensuring the tenure of all power in the state by these two classes.

Among the *amîrs* who were promoted by Jamâl Khân above their fellows was, in the first place, Shâh Abû Turâb, the maternal uncle of the young king; then Amjad-ul-Mulk, the *Mahdavî*, who was made *amîr-ul-umarâ* of Berar. Then came Khân Malik, who was appointed *sar-i-naubat*, then Niẓam Khân Nîshâbûrî, Sone Khân, Kâmil Khân and others, who were promoted to be *amîrs* and officers. Likewise Miyân Amînullah Burhânpûrî, who had formerly been in the service of Khudâvand Khân of Berar and had been his lieutenant in his civil governorship, received the title of Amîn Khân, the rank of *vazîr*, and a governorship, and I'timâd Khân, the brother of Khaṭṭâṭ Khân Daulatâbâdî, received the appointment of *Sar-i-Khail* and the other *Mahdavîs*, likewise the friends and assistants of Jamâl Khân were appointed to appointments suited to their abilities and to rank suitable to their positions.

321 Perhaps Rahûrî, in 19° 24′ N. and 74° 40′ E.

CIV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE RELEASE OF ṢALÂBAT KHÂN FROM THE FORTRESS OF KHERLA BY MUHAMMAD KHÂN, THE *Amîr-ul-Umarâ* OF BERAR, AND OF THE GATHERING TOGETHER OF THE *Amîrs* UNDER HIM AGAINST JÂMAL KHAN.

A.D. 1589. At the time when Jamâl Khân was stirring up all this strife in Ahmadnagar, Muḥammad Khân, *sar-i-naubat*, was *amîr-ul-umarâ* of Berar and every Foreigner who could escape from the city found a refuge in Berar, until Muhammad Khan had assembled a large army. As he was apprehensive of Jamal Khân, and some of those in the capital had sought help from the *amîrs* of Berar against Jamâl Khân, some of the *amîrs*, such as Baḥrî Khân, Ikhlâṣ Khân 'Azîz-ul-Mulk and others, assembled to take counsel together. They decided to set Ṣalâbat Khân free and to make him their ruler, and then to employ themselves in overthrowing Jamâl Khân and the *Mahdavîs*. They therefore sent a messenger to Sayyid Muzaffar Khân Mâzandarânî, governor of the fort of Kherla, telling him of what had passed among them. Muzaffar Khân approved of the policy of the *amîrs* and released Ṣalâbat Khân from imprisonment and sent him to the *amîrs*. The *amîrs* received Ṣalâbat Khân with great honour and professed obedience to him. They then collected their troops and marched towards Aḥmadnagar. On their way thither Bahâdur Khân Gîlânî and other Foreigners of the court, who had escaped from Aḥmadnagar at the time of the fighting, met them, and attached themselves to Ṣalâbat Khân's army.

When the news of Ṣalâbat Khân's release from Kherla, of the confederacy of the *amîrs* and of their march towards the capital reached the misguided Jamâl Khân, he, inasmuch as his power was not yet firmly established, and he could not trust the royal army, became disturbed and apprehensive, and began to spend money freely, bestowing largesse on both poor and rich and making them all wealthy, until he was able to assemble a large army. He then sent forward the young king's *pîshkhâna* towards Berar, and taking the young king with him, set out with his army in the same direction.

Jamâl Khân reached the town of Shivgaon[322] and encamped before it with the prince, and hence were issued letters to the *amîrs* who were with Ṣalâbat Khân, promising them not only forgiveness but also promotion in the royal service if they would leave Ṣalâbat Khân.

When Ṣalâbat Khân reached the town of Paithan, a number of the *amîrs*, such as Ikhlâṣ Khân, 'Azîz-ul-Mulk and others, owing to relationships which are the cause of mutual attraction, disgraced themselves by violating their agreement, and fled from Ṣalâbat Khân's camp at midnight. Ṣalâbat Khân sent Bahâdur Khân with a number of Foreigners in pursuit of the fugitives, and Bahâdur Khân came up with them and captured and turned back 'Azîz-ul-Mulk and his brothers, but Ṣalâbat Khan, dreading the effects of the wiles of the Africans and Dakanîs and the strife which they had occasioned in his camp, considered it inadvisable to meet Jamâl Khân in the field, and without making any attempt to gain honour in battle, began to retreat towards Berar. The rest of Ṣalâbat Khân's army, who had placed confidence in the promises made by Jamâl Khân, now left Ṣalâbat Khân and hastened to join Jamâl Khân.

When Jamâl Khân heard of the retreat of Ṣalâbat Khân, he marched from Shivgâon and encamped before Paithan, and sent a body of Kolîs to pursue Ṣalâbat Khân and Muḥammad Khân. This body of Kolîs hastened in pursuit of Ṣalâbat Khân, Baḥri Khân, Muḥammad Khân, and the other Foreigners who had not dared to face Jamâl Khân and took from them their horses and elephants, while the inhabitants of the province of Berar also rose against them and reduced them to great straits. With great difficulty, and after suffering many hardships, they contrived to reach the frontier of Burhânpûr, where they

[322] In 19° 21′ N. and 75° 14′ E.

were safe from Jamâl Khân. Râja 'Alî Khân, the ruler of Burhânpûr, sent safe conducts for Ṣalâbat Khân, Muḥammad Khân, and Baḥrî Khân, and also sent fodder for their animals and assigned to each a dwelling in Burhânpûr, shewing them much courtesy and kindness.

In the course of this quarrel between Ṣalâbat Khân and Jamâl Khân, Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II had marched into the Niẓâm Shâhî kingdom with a great army. Jamâl Khân, therefore, as soon as he was free from anxiety regarding Ṣalâbat Khân, marched from Paithan with his army against the 'Âdil Shâhî army, and when the two armies came within striking distance of one another,[323] they remained for a long time facing one another without venturing into the field. Jamâl Khân, who was not strong enough to withstand Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, opened negotiations for peace and strove to keep himself clear of any appeal to arms, and as the 'Âdil Shâhî army was stronger than Ismâ'îl Niẓâm Shâh's army, they, rendered arrogant by their superiority, demanded the cession of Parenda and other forts as the price of peace. At length Nûr Khân went from Jamâl Khân's army into the 'Âdîl Shâhî camp and did his utmost to extinguish the fire of strife, offering a large sum as *na'l bahâ* [324] on condition that the 'Âdîl Shâhî army returned to its own country. Jamâl Khân sent the promised sum and the 'Âdîl Shâhî army retreated to Bîjapûr.

When the army had returned to Aḥmadnagar, Jamâl Khân, who had been made suspicious of the remnant of the Foreigners by the revolt of Ṣalâbat Khân, first considered plans for the massacre of them, and afterwards, moved by the intercession of Khudâvand Khân, gave them their lives, but banished them from the country and appointed a body of men to collect all Foreigners from their hiding places into one place. He then sent some to Bîjâpûr,[325] some to Golconda, and some to Chaul and other ports, but would give permission to none to go to Mâlwa to pay his respects to the Ṣâḥib Qirân.

Of the great men and officers among the Foreigners, Shâh Rafî'ud-dîn Ḥusain, Shâh Ḥaidar, Qâsim Beg, Mîr Sharîf Gîlânî, Sayyid Muḥammad Samanânî and Mîrzâ Muqîm Riẓavî were sent to Mecca. Jamâl Khân then took his seat on the *masnad* of the *vakîl*, nay, rather on the throne of the kingdom, with none to oppose or gainsay him, and bestowed much honour on the *Mahdavî* sect, the heretical belief of which is that Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpûr was the promised Mahdî.[326] He promoted several of these heretics to the ranks of *amîrs* and *vazîrs*, and placed every member of the sect above the reach of want.

323 At Ashtî. F. ii, 295.

324 The amount of *na'l bahâ* fixed was 70,000 (F. ii, 295) or 75,000 (F. ii, 116) *hûns*. Another condition of the treaty was that Khadîjah Sulṭân, widow of Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh II and sister of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II, should be sent back to Bîjâpûr.

325 It was now, Dec. 28, 1589, that the historian Muḥammad Qâsim Firishta fled from Aḥmadnagar to Bîjâpûr, where he entered the service of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II.

326 Early in the tenth century of the *Hijrah* era Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpûr claimed to be the promised Mahdî. He died in A.H. 910 (A.D. 1504-05) while returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca, but not before he had gained many adherents, including Maḥmûd I of Gujarat. The movement was continued by Shaikh 'Alâ'î of Biyâna who, in the reign of Islâm Shâh Sûr of Dihlî (1545-1552), travelled to Hindiya for the purpose of propagating his doctrine in the Dakan and gained many converts. Thence the doctrines spread to Aḥmadnagar. Firishta is mistaken in saying that Sayyid Muḥammad claimed in A.D. 1553 to be the Mahdî. The followers of Sayyid Muḥammad and Shaikh 'Alâ'î were schismatical Sunnîs, for the Shî'ahs believe that the Mahdî is alive but concealed, and Firishta says that Jamâl Khân, on establishing the Mahdavî heresy, abolished the Shî'ah *Khuṭbah*. He also says that many *Mahdavîs* came from northern India to serve in a state where their religion had been established, for they had been persecuted early in Akbar's reign, and were still regarded as unorthodox.

In the meantime news reached the wretch Jamâl that the Sâḥib Qirân had crossed the frontier of Mâlwa with a very large army, and was marching on his capital.[327]

Immediately after hearing this news Jamâl Khân received a royal *farmân* addressed to him, promising him a continuance and an increase of the favours which he enjoyed, and inviting him to appear at the royal camp to do homage. But the wretched Jamâl Khân was deaf and blind to what was to his own interest and to the interest of the people at large, and he not only refused to go to the royal camp, but raised the standard of rebellion, and from his mistaken view regarding the prince (Ismâ'îl Niẓâm Shâh), refused to be guided into the way of obedience until his disobedience overwhelmed him and many others, his friends, in ruin.

When the wicked Jamâl Khân heard of the intention of Burhân Niẓâm Shâh to march to his capital, he sent several of the greatest *amîrs* into the province of Berar, and with them a strong army to defend that province. He appointed Amjad-ul-Mulk, the *Mahdavî*, the greatest recipient of his trust and confidence, *Amîr-ul-umarâ* of that province, and bade him exercise the utmost caution, telling him that if Ṣalâbat Khân should go to make his obeisance to Burhân Niẓâm Shâh or should go to Akbar's court, it was possible that the allegiance of the *amîrs* of Aḥmadnagar would be much shaken, and that he should therefore send to Ṣalâbat Khân a promise of safety, fortified by bonds and agreements, and a promise of increase of favour and dignity from Ismâ'îl Niẓâm Shâh. He also wrote to Râja 'Alî Khân, the ruler of Burhânpûr, requesting him to urge Ṣalâbat Khân to return to Aḥmadnagar.

In the meantime the *farmân* of Burhân Niẓâm Shâh summoning Ṣalâbat Khân reached him from Hindiya. As it was not Ṣalâbat Khân's good fortune to be guided into the way that would have been best for him in the end, and as it was not given to him to discern the truth and what was right, he did not obey the royal *farmân*, but was misled by Jamâl Khân's deceitful words and went astray, going to Aḥmadnagar, and thus falling headlong into the pit of error and ignorance.[328]

When Ṣalâbat Khân reached the outskirts of Aḥmadnagar, Jamâl Khân sent a number of the nobles of the court to perform the ceremony of welcoming him with honour and consideration, but Ṣalâbat Khân saw that he would act wisely in seeking retirement, and requested Jamâl Khân to permit him to retire to some unfinished buildings which he owned in the town of Tisgâon and there to complete the buildings before death came upon him. Jamâl Khân granted his request and bestowed the town of Tisgâon [329] upon him. Ṣalâbat Khân took his departure for that village and there occupied himself in finishing his buildings and laying out his gardens, but Ṣalâbat Khân had, some time before this, been afflicted

[327] This is a mistake. Akbar, on learning of the elevation of Ismâ'îl Niẓâm Shâh to the throne of Aḥmadnagar, recalled the young king's father from Bangash, where he was employed, informed him that his son had usurped his throne, and offered him an army that he might seize it. Burhân rejected the offer, saying that his appearance at the head of a foreign army would raise the whole of the Dakan in arms against him. Akbar therefore permitted him to leave his court with a few followers in order that he might make an appeal to the loyalty of his subjects. Akbar's historians assert that Burhân promised, in the event of success, to cede Berar, but this is not to be credited, for Burhân had nothing but Akbar's goodwill, which was hardly a *quid pro quo* for a rich and fertile province. Burhân of course earned Akbar's permission to depart by a formal promise that he would hold Aḥmadnagar as a fief of the empire, but the promise was never kept, and Akbar complained bitterly of Burhân's ingratitude.

[328] When Burhân had returned from Bijâpûr to Aḥmadnagar in 1582, in the guise of a *darvish*, he had planned the assassination of Ṣalâbat Khân, whose power retained Murtaẓâ on the throne. Ṣalâbat Khân had a diligent search made for Burhân but the latter's disguise enabled him to elude him and escape from the kingdom. Ṣalâbat Khân succeeded, however, in capturing several of his adherents, and put them to death. Ṣalâbat Khân's unwillingness to put himself into the power of Burhân was, therefore, only natural.—F. ii, 299.

[329] Situated in 20° 16′ N. and 73° 57′ E. But Firishta says that Ṣalâbat Khân retired to the town of Yankâpûr, which he had built, and died there in A.D. 1590.

with a disease which caused sores to break out on his limbs, and now that disease returned with more violence than ever, and he entirely lost his health. He was compelled to go into the city for treatment and there his powers altogether failed him and he grew worse and worse until he drank the cup of death from the hand of the cup-bearer of eternity, and hastened to the place whence he had come. It is suspected by some that Jamâl Khân got rid of him by means of poison, and thus freed himself from the anxiety of his existence; but God knows the truth.

A.D. 1590. They buried Ṣalâbat Khân, after his death, under the dome on the top of the high hill known as Shâh Dungar,[330] which is within two leagues of Aḥmadnagar and which had been built by Ṣalâbat Khân as his tomb. This is a building which is famed everywhere for its height, beauty, elegance and strength. The height of the top of the dome from the ground is nearly 60 *ẓar'*. It is built of dressed stones and is octagonal in plan with a hall at every angle and four storeys, one below the other, with a hall and windows. On all sides of the tomb the ground is scarped from the top of the hill downwards to the middle of it, and trees and fruit trees have been planted thickly on the slope so that the eyes of all beholders are enchanted with the scene.

Many such stately and lofty buildings have been left by Ṣalâbat Khân in the Dakan, and bear witness to the high-mindedness of that age, and will endure to later ages.

The period of Ṣalâbat Khân's tenure of the office as *vakîl* and *pîshvâ* both alone and in association with Asad Khân, was nearly twelve years, in the course of which time he rendered great services in advancing the prosperity of the country and in exercising a proper control over the kingdom and the roads, but all to no purpose, for he was not allowed to bring his work to a prosperous conclusion.

After Ṣalâbat Khân's death, news came to Jamâl Khân that Burhân Niẓâm Shâh's army had entered Berar by way of Gondwâra.[331] Jamâl Khân, on hearing this news, was much perturbed, and at once set to work to prepare his army for the field. In the meantime fresh news was received to the effect that Jahângîr Khân,[332] the African, one of the *amîrs* of Berar, had dared to disobey the orders of Burhân Niẓâm Shâh and had even ventured to withstand him by force of arms, and as, in accordance with the saying, "everything is postponed to its proper time," some delay occurred in Burhân Niẓâm Shâh's career of victory, Chaghatâî Khân, who was one of the bravest of the Mughul army, was killed by a musket shot, and his troops, when they saw their leader killed, fled at once from the field. The wretch, Jamâl Khân, was much rejoiced by the receipt of this news and began to prepare for the downfall of the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar, and wrote a hypocritical and deceiving letter to Burhân Niẓâm Shâh, saying that quarrels had broken out between the Foreigners and the Dakanîs, and that a number of the former who were in the royal service were afraid to pay their respects at court. He proposed, therefore, that Burhân Niẓâm Shâh should come alone to the capital

330 'Six miles east of the city (Ahmadnagar), on a hill between 700 and 800 feet above the level of the fort and on the left of the Ahmadnagar-Shivgâon road, stands the tomb of the Nizâm Shâhî minister, Ṣalâbat Khân, commonly known as Chând Bibi's Mahall. It is an octagonal dome surrounded by a three-storied verandah.'—*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, v, 124.

331 That is to say, through the Sâtpûras, the country of the Korkus, not of the Gonds.

332 Jahângîr Khân, whose fiefs lay on the northern border of Berar, adjoining Khândesh, responded to Burhân's first appeal by promising to support his cause, and thus encouraged him to enter Berar with the small force at his disposal, but for some unexplained reason, probably owing to the presence of a few imperial officers among Burhân's companions, turned against him and attacked him. Burhân was defeated and fled to Hindiya, and thence to the court of Râja 'Alî Khân of Khândesh.

in order that the Foreigners might have no further excuse to delay coming to court and submitting to the royal commands. As the words of Jamâl Khân were far from the truth, they appeared to Burhân Nizâm Shâh to be exactly like the excuses for their enmity given to 'Alî by Talhah and Zubair,[333] and he paid no attention to them, but marched from the town of Hindiya to the village of Kandoya,[334] which is near Burhânpûr, where he occupied himself day and night in forming plans for the conquest of his hereditary dominions, the result of which plans will be shortly narrated.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION OF CERTAIN PLACES IN INDIA.

In *ante*, vol. LI (Supp.), p. 108, I find some corrections to be necessary. In fixing the geographical position of certain places in ancient and mediæval India, Mr. Nundolal Dey is naturally at a disadvantage so far as local knowledge is concerned, and has thus too readily accepted previous surmises by European orientalists, which can now be shown to be erroneous.

KUNDINAPUR. कुंडिनपुर.

For example, on p. 108 *Kundinapur* is described. The only approximately accurate suggestion is that of Dowson, but as will presently appear it is put forward with some hesitation. Other surmises, including those of Cunningham and Führer, are wide of the mark.

In fact Kundinapur is fortunately one of the few places in India that still exist under the same name and in the most convincing surroundings. Its present name is Kundinpur or Koundinyapur, and it lies about 25 miles east of the modern Amraoti, on the western bank of the Wardhâ (The Varadâ of the *Purâṇas*) in the Chandur *taluq* of the Amraoti district of Berar. In the neighbourhood and throughout the whole of Berar it is known as the ancient capital of the Vidarbhas. It has a famous temple of Krishna and Rukmini, where a large annual fair is held. It is now comparatively a small place. The old city, extending as far as the outskirts of the modern Amraoti, is buried underground.

KOSALA (DAKHINA). दक्षिण कोसल.

This place is rightly identified with Gondwana, *i.e.*, to the east of Nagpur; but Mr. Dey has quoted from Cunningham's *Ar. Sur. Rep.*, vol. XVII, p. 68, the following words :—

"Vidarbha or Berar was called, in the Buddhist period, Dakshina Kosala."

Some comment should have been made on the above statement, which is not wholly convincing, based as it is upon the solitary mention in Hiuen-Tsang's travels, where Kosala is said to be 1800 *lîs* (about 300 miles) to the north-west of Kalinga (Northern Sircars) and 900 *lîs* (1500) to the north of Andhra.[1] This description no doubt applies to Berar or Vidarbha, but looking to the want of proper maps and other advantages of modern times, it is not unlikely that it was applied to the region to the east of Berar, say Chanda District, which was the western portion of the Kosala country. Even after this date Berar is styled Vidarbha; and in later literature the name of Kosala is nowhere given to any part of this country. Vidarbha and Kosala are mentioned separately (*vide Mahâbhârata*, Vana P., A. 61). It is not thus safe to rely on the uncorroborated testimony of Hiuen-Tsang. Other orientalists like Fergusson and Grant did not support Cunningham's view (see *JRAS.*, 1875, p. 260; *JRAS.*, Bengal Br., vol. LX, p. 115).

BHOJAKATA. भोजकट.

This name appears in many *Purâṇas* and it may with advantage be added to the list of Mr. Dey. This was the later capital of Vidarbha after

333 Talhah and Zubair were two of the six electors appointed by the Caliph 'Umar to elect his successor. The choice fell upon 'Uthmân, much to the disappointment of 'Alî, who was himself one of the electors. Zubair, however, voted for 'Alî. Afterwards, in A.H. 36 (Aug. A.D. 656), when 'Alî, then Caliph, declared war against Mu'âviyyah, Talhah and Zubair deserted him.

334 Khandwâ, now headquarters of the Nimâr District of the Central Provinces, situated in 21° 50′ N. and 76° 22′ E.

1 See Watters' *Yuan Chwang*, vol. II, pp. 209—210.

Kundinapura. (*Harivamsa*, 60.) (*Mahâbhârata*, Sabha P., A 31.)

This place was founded by Rukmin, brother of Rukmini. It is now called Bhât-Kuli in the Amraoti District of Berar, where there is a temple dedicated to Rukmin. For some time Berar was also called by this name.

BHOGWARDHAN. भोगवर्धन.

A small kingdom to the west of Vidarbha (see *Mârkandêya Purâṇa*, 54 : 48). The place is now called Bhokardhan and is a Tahsil town in the Aurangabad district of the Nizam's dominions, on the western boundary of Berar.

If advantage is taken of local knowledge, Mr. Dey's ancient geographical list will be invaluable to students of ancient India.

Y. M. KALE.

TOPAZ : ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES.

With reference to my article on the term Topaz (*ante*, vol. L, 106 ff.), Professor J. Charpentier has supplied me with the following early instances of its use.

1553. " . . . il tempo mi porto à una costa della Pescheria dell' Agofar, doue stanno alcuni padri della compagnia . . . duo fratelli . . . & etiam gli attri fratelli, pero non han bisogno d'interpreti. che in quella lingua si chia mano Topazzi . . . " *Diversi Avisi particolari dall' Indie* &c., Venezia ?1562. fols. 115a-116.

1603. Giacomo Finicio hũ Badaga que sabia Malavar naõ se podeter subio onde eu estava & me falava Topas . . . somente o topas badega no sexto mandamento me fez instancia dissendo que [tamban] os Malavares taõ Semtinhao muitas molheres," &c., &c. *Reports of the Jesuit Missions in India*, 1601-1659. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 9853, fol. 41a.

From these two quotations, taken direct from the originals, it is quite clear that to the Jesuit Fathers in the 16th and early 17th centuries *topaz* meant merely interpreter.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK—NOTICES.

TWO ARCHÆOLOGICAL REPORTS—1. ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT, SOUTHERN CIRCLE, MADRAS, 1919-1920, by A. H. LONGHURST, Madras Government Press: 2. ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, EASTERN CIRCLE, BENGAL, 1920-1921, by K. N. DIKSHIT, Calcutta Government Press.

Both reports show substantial work accomplished and contain some very interesting bits of information. From the Madras Report there is a note of special interest to myself. "In the old days, most visitors to the Seven Pagodas from Madras did the journey by boat *viâ* the Buckingham Canal. But today they arrive by motor car, *viâ* Chingleput and Tirukkalukkunram," but it seems that the road beyond the latter place (itself ancient and most worthy of study) is still so abominably bad that the writer of the *Report* suggests that the Government should assist in its being put in order, "as the Seven Pagodas may be regarded as the most important and valuable group of ancient monuments in this [Madras] Presidency, and are visited by more tourists than any other place in Southern India." About fifty years ago the present writer visited the Seven Pagodas from Madras by the Canal in days when globe-trotters had not come upon the scene, and the knowledge thereof was much more limited than now. Indeed it was the cause of his first attempt (1875) to appear in the public press as a writer on Indian antiquities.

At p. 27 of this *Report* is a useful note regarding the brothers Akkanna and Madanna, the ill-fated Ministers of the Qutb Shâhî Kings, 'Abdu'llah Qutb Shâh and 'Abdu'l-Hasan (c. 1611-1687), who appear so often in the East India Company's *Records*. On pp. 31 ff. is another useful note on Raja Ranga of Chandragirî, who invited Francis Day, through the Kâlahasti Poligar, to settle at what is now Fort St. George in 1639-40.

The most important note in this *Report* is on pp. 34 ff. on the Buddhist remains at Sâlihundâm, Ganjam District. But the remains are quite late Mahâyâna.

In the second *Report* it is satisfactory to find that such historical tombs as those of Murshid Quli Khan at Katra and of Alivardi Khan and Suraju'ddaula at Khush Bâgh and Raushanî Bâgh are being looked after. Indeed the care of such memorials and of the graves and tombs of Europeans scattered about Bengal is most praiseworthy, names of great interest constantly occurring :—Alexander Cosma de Kórós at Darjeeling, Mahârâja Nand Kumâr at Kunjaghâta (Murshidâbâd), Mary Hastings and her daughter at Kâsimbâzâr, Grigoris Herklots at Kalkapur (showing incidentally that the author of the well-known *Qanoon-e-Islam* must have been an Armenian by birth), Henry Martin's Pagoda at Serampore, Sher Afghan's tomb at Bardwân, and so on.

An important feature comes to light in the notices of two Antiquarian Societies, the

Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi and the Kamarûpa Anusandhan Samiti of Gauhâti, both of which are highly commended in the *Report*, the former having established a good Museum.

R. C. TEMPLE

ANNUAL PROGRESS REPORT: Archæological Survey, Northern Circle (Hindu and Buddhist Monuments), 1920-1921. Lahore, Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1922.

This is an interesting and valuable *Report*, especially as regards the excavations at Harappa, where the invaluable ruins have so long been subjected to quite modern vandalism, and that to an extent which is worth quoting from the *Report* (p. 8): "The ruins have been subjected to continued exploitation for bricks by thoughtless Railway contractors and villagers. Already, before General Cunningham's visit in 1873, the site had furnished brick ballast for more than 100 miles of the Lahore and Multan Railway line. These depredations have, if anything, been carried on even more vigorously since General Cunningham's time, and it is patent that the town of Harappa has been built and rebuilt many times over with bricks obtained from this site." This has happily ceased at last with the establishment of a standard modern brick kiln in the neighbourhood. I may here say that during a hurried visit to the spot in 1878 many interesting sunken foundations and buildings were still extant, clearly showing the form that the ancient houses took. Despite the depredations, the Archæological Department secured 411 ancient objects from three trenches dug in January 1921.

The most interesting note (p. 11) is on "two seals [found at Harappa] in an unknown script," illustrated on plate IX. As to these seals Mr. Daya Ram Sahni, the Reporter, writes: "Several scholars have dealt with the seals deposited in the London [British] Museum, but evidently no satisfactory interpretation of the Legends has as yet been obtained. The excavations being [now] described have so far failed to supply any aid in the solution of the problem. Further particulars of these documents will be published in the special article on these excavations." It may help Mr. Daya Ram Sahni to say that illustrated articles, respectively by Mr. Longworth Dames and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, appeared in this *Journal*, vol. XV, p. 1, and vol. XLII, p. 203, on the Harappa Seals.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ANNUAL PROGRESS REPORT. Archæological Survey of India, Northern Circle (Muhammadan and British Monuments), 1921. By A. J. PAGE, Superintendent, Allahabad. Government Press, 1922

This is a very modest report on a great deal of work well done, and it is satisfactory to know that the classes of monuments are being well looked after, and that the graves of Englishmen who have died in, for them, lonely spots are now so carefully supervised.

There are two notes that have specially attracted my attention. On p. 5 we read that the Government of India has decided to treat Archæology as a "Central or Reserved subject" under the Imperial Government, and to undertake all the responsibility for administrative and conservation expenses hitherto placed upon Local Governments. This is one result of the "Reforms Scheme." Let us hope, with the writer of the *Report*, that the grant for conservation will cease to be "seriously inadequate to meet the many urgent demands on it."

The other observation of the *Report* is worth quoting in full. On p. 11 it says:

"With the appointment of a limited number of trained conservation assistants to the staff of the Archæological Department, and with the aid of a comprehensive *Manual of Conservation* now under preparation by the Director-General of Archæology, it is hoped that it will be possible to record considerable and progressive improvement in this direction in future years. The difficulty at present experienced is to impress sufficiently on the understanding of Public Works D partment subordinates the necessity of subordinating the effect of a repair to the appearance of the old weathered fabric in which it is being executed, their instinctive aim in many cases being apparently to advertise, either by widely spread pointing or patches of incongruous pink plaster, the extent of their activities on its behalf. Counterfeited antiquity, as such, can never be condoned, as it is indeed superfluous to remark; but there is a great deal of difference between this and the effective assimilation of, for instance, a patch of simple underpinning in rough rubble masonry with the undermined old structure it is intended to sustain; or the recessing of mortar jointing behind the face of the old stones to leave their naturally weathered arises quite clear and defined, colour-staining such mortar in the mixing to conform to the old tone; or again in similarly treating the mortar-infilling in a crack of a dome, rather than leave it shamelessly to invite comparison with the trailing depredations of white ants.

"Such items, it is at once admitted, are minor in themselves, but are very far from minor in their disastrous effect on an ancient fabric, whose age-worn beauty and mellowed charm it is the incidental aim of this department to conserve without undue and unnecessary advertisement of the process."

On p. 13 the writer brings home this view with the following remark:

"At Attock, work on the conservation of the Begamki-Sarai, one of the old Mughal caravan-sarais that marked the *badshahi* highway from the Indus across to Bengal, was taken in hand and Rs. 3,040 spent on the repair, which consisted principally in underpinning the undermined

portions of the old walls and the removal of the remains of modern bungalows within the area. The remarks made in the preamble of these notes relative to the necessity for subduing the effect of such repairs are unfortunately specially applicable to this building, the work executed on which cannot be instanced as a satisfactory piece of conservation."

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE CASTES AND TRIBES OF H. E. H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS by SYED SIRAJ-UL-HASSAN; volume I; The Times Press, Bombay, 1920.

This volume is one of the important series which owes its origin to the decision of the Indian Government in 1901 to conduct an ethnographical survey of the chief provinces of India, and to investigate the origin, social configuration, customs and occupations of their numerous tribes and castes on the lines suggested as long ago as 1885 by Messrs. Nesfield, Denzil Ibbetson and Risley. The territories of the Ruling Princes were not included in the original scheme: but several of the States have followed the lead of British India and have added to the general store of knowledge much information of the highest value about the social groups resident within their jurisdiction. The preface to the present volume shows that serious obstacles prevented its earlier publication, and indeed nearly prohibited its appearance altogether. Mr. Kale of the Education Department, who collected much of the information embodied in the book, died when the draft articles were on the point of completion, while Mr. Siraj-ul-Hassan, a Judge of the Nizam's High Court, who took over Mr. Kale's work at the request of the Finance Department, developed a serious affection of the eyes, which for some time forced him to relinquish the task of preparing the volume for issue. The help of friends, however, ultimately rendered publication possible.

These circumstances in some degree disarm criticism and may be held responsible for occasional errors in printing. Other mistakes of a more important kind appear in the article on Lingayats, in which King Bijjala is described as a member of the Chalukya dynasty, whereas he was a Kalachurya who usurped Chalukya dominion, and in the article on the Mahars, who are said to have probably given their name to Maharashtra. This derivation, originally suggested by the Mahars themselves and incautiously accepted by the late Sir W. Hunter, has long been proved untenable. A more accurate view of the probable origin of the name Maharashtra would have been obtained by referring to Mr. Enthoven's article on the Marathas in his *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*. The statement above-mentioned is the more remarkable in that the author on a subsequent page quotes Dr. John Wilson's reasons for believing that the country could not have been named after the Mahars.

Again, in the article on the Marathas, Risley's theory as to the Scythian or semi-Scythian origin of these people is apparently accepted without demur, despite the fact that authorities like Dr. W. Crooke have proved that this view rests upon a wholly inadequate basis, and that skill in horsemanship, which Risley regarded as one of the strongest indications of a Scythian ancestry, was equally characteristic of the Rajputs and of the despised Jats, and was really engendered by local conditions in the Deccan. The derivation of the name Vanjari (Banjari or Lamani) from Sanskrit *van* (forest) and *char* (to wander) is likewise obsolete and erroneous. Many years ago Sir Richard Temple pointed out in this Journal (Vol. IX, p. 205, footnote) that the Panjabi word *banaj* or *vanaj*, signifying trade, provides the true origin of the name. It is really an occupational designation for that large class which for centuries earned a livelihood by carrying grain and supplies for armies in the field. It is doubtful again whether the statement on p. 248 that "the Hatkars are all Bargi Dhangars" should stand without qualification. A reference to the account of this caste in the Bombay volumes shows that although the Hatkars *claim* to be Bargi Dhangars, the Bargis and Hatkars of Ahmadnagar and Sholapur are really two distinct sub-castes of the Dhangar tribe, and it seems probable that this statement is equally applicable to the Hatkars of Hyderabad.

The Chanchus (art. 22) are presumably identical with the wild forest tribe of the same name in the Nallamalai hills of Madras; and, if so, the brief account here given of their character and occupation should be read in conjunction with a pamphlet entitled "The Chenchus and the Madras Police" issued by the Madras Publicity Bureau in 1921, which describes a very remarkable attempt to reclaim them from their criminal habits. The articles on the Munnurs, the Mutrasis and the Telagas are interesting, and those on the Gollas, the Gonds, and the Dhobis will repay perusal. The claim of the Raj Gonds to a Rajput origin and their disinclination to give their daughters in marriage to the lower ranks of their own tribe is curiously reminiscent of the relations existing between the Marathas proper and the Kunbis. The book contains good accounts of the Bhils, who inhabit the hills on the north-western border of Aurangabad, of the Kapus, the chief cultivating caste of Telingana, and of various smaller groups like the Perika or gunny-bag weavers, the Pichakuntalas or peripatetic genealogists, the Satani, who are priests of the lower Telugu classes, and the Singe or mendicants of the horn (*singa*), who beg only from Hatkars and Devangas.

The ethnographical record of Southern India would be incomplete without authentic information about the various peoples of the Hyderabad State, and Mr. Siraj-ul-Hassan is to be congratulated on

having for the first time supplied an authoritative account of them. In conclusion, it may be mentioned that the use of the spelling Zansi for Jhansi, when speaking of the Rani Lakshmibai, is calculated to confuse the average English reader, and that if "Sir George Clark," whose opinion of Konkanasth Brahman cleverness is alluded to on page 100, is meant to be the present Lord Sydenham, his surname should have been correctly spelt with a final "e."

S. M. EDWARDES.

PROGRESS REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, Western Circle, for the year ending March 31, 1920, by R. D. BANERJI; Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press.

One can always be certain that any work by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the domain of Archæology will be well done, and the official report for the year 1919-20 fully confirms this assurance. Mr. Banerji's name has been so closely identified with the Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavela that one is not surprised at his having been deputed in October 1919 to Khandagiri to assist Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in making a fresh copy of the inscription. The results of Mr. Banerji's comparison of the letters of this inscription with those of the Nanaghat inscription of Queen Nayanika are bound to be interesting and will, it is hoped, find a place in the next annual report. Bombay antiquarians will be glad to know that at the instance of Mr. Banerji the Prince of Wales' Museum has secured the six important copper-plate grants which once belonged to Dr. Gerson da Cunha, and that one of these proves to be the earliest grant of the Silahara dynasty of the Konkan yet discovered. It establishes the existence of a hitherto unknown ruler of that family, and further discloses the interesting fact that so long as the Rashtrakuta dynasty existed, the Silaharas, who were its feudatories, forbore to assume the well-known title of *Tagarpuraparamesvara*. Another of the grants records the conquest of Goa from the Muhammadans at some date prior to A.D. 1391 by a minister of Harihara II. of Vijayanagar. The decipherment of four copper coins of the Nizamshahi dynasty, none of whose coins have hitherto been described, was another noteworthy achievement of the year.

Mr. Banerji's remarks on the condition of the Bhamburda caves, near Poona, and the fine palace, Faria Bagh, of the Ahmadnagar Sultans, exemplify the vandalism to which ancient monuments are still liable at the hands both of Indian and of European. The Army Remount Department which utilizes the palace as a bullock-stable and dries dung-cakes on its verandahs is perhaps more reprehensible than the Hindu mendicant who has converted the ancient caves into a kind of suburban villa. In the case of the Gol Gumbaz of Bijapur, too, it was apparently only a direct appeal by Mr. Banerji to the Governor of Bombay that prevented hideous modern buildings being erected under the orders of the Collector, Mr. Kabraji, in the very shadow of this magnificent relic of the Adilshahi Kings. The famous gun, *Malik-i-Maidan*, which was regarded with superstitious reverence by the people of Bijapur in the days of Pietro della Valle, suffered also during the year. A police constable broke off a piece of the gun and ordered a goldsmith to convert it into an amulet. Fortunately he was detected and punished.

To the influence and interest of Sir George Lloyd, the Governor, Bombay owes the exploration of the old palace of the Peshwas in Poona. Mr. Banerji deals very fully with the work of clearance, which has disclosed an elaborately laid-out garden, one side of which consisted of three terraces provided with fountains and minute reservoirs on the pattern of the famous Shalimar gardens of Lahore and Kashmir. On the top of the palace-plinth was found a large lotus-shaped fountain with more than 200 jets, the whole system of fountains and reservoirs being connected by pipes and ducts of pure copper. One wonders whether it was one of the pipes of the large fountain which caused the fatal injuries to the Peshwa Mahdu Rao Narayan in October, 1795. Mr. Banerji's report contains other interesting matter and will fully repay perusal.

S. M. EDWARDES.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

15. Discipline among Company's Servants, 1699.

20*th March* 1699. *Consultation at Fort St. George.* Upon some words yesterday at the Generall table Mr. James Eustace called Mr. George Shaw Son of a whore, of which he complained to the Governour (who was then present at the Table) and he promised that he would this day hear their difference in Council and punish him that was found guilty of giving occasion of so rude and uncivill a behaviour at the Companys table. But Mr. Shaw goeing from Evening Service to the Sea gate Struck Mr. Eustace, of which the Governour being inform'd confined both to their chamber, which being considered, it is agreed that Mr. Eustace was guilty of great insolence in calling Mr. Shaw son of a whore at the Comps. table, and Mr. Shaw of great disrespect, to the Governour in strikeing Mr. Eustace after he had declared he would Examine it and punish the offender.

It is unanimously resolved that for the future prevention of offences of the like nature, Mr. Eustace and Mr. Shaw be each of them fined their half years Salary payable in India, and confined to the Fort for one month and neither to wear Sword or cane for 12 months, which resolve they being both sent for, were acquainted with. (*Factory Records, Fort St. George,* vol. 10.)

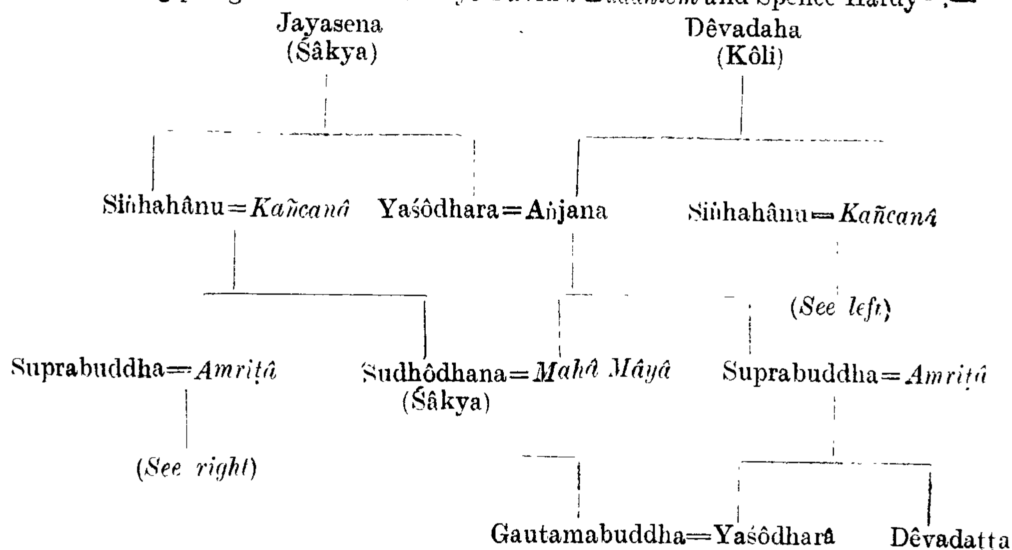
R. C. TEMPLE.

BUDDHA AND DEVADATTA.

BY A. M. HOCART.

DEVADATTA's constant, but unsuccessful, persecution of the Buddha, his cousin, is one of the main themes of Buddhist legend. It has usually been taken as a simple case of sectarian jealousy, requiring no further explanation. I believe there is a great deal more in it than that.

I will preface my remarks with the Buddha's genealogy. Spence Hardy, in his *Manual of Buddhism* (p. 140), relates how the thirty-two sons of Râma of the Kôli tribe married their thirty-two mother's brother's daughters of the Śâkya tribe. "From this time it became the custom of the Kôli and Śâkya tribes to intermarry with each other." This is borne out by the following pedigree taken from Rhys David's *Buddhism* and Spence Hardy[1] :—



Any one who has the slightest acquaintance with kinship systems will immediately diagnose the case. It is the cross-cousin system, under which a man's children are expected to marry his sister's children, but not his brother's children. In technical language a man marries his cross-cousin, a term invented to express the fact that they are cousins through parents of opposite sexes. Such a form of marriage results in a system of reckoning kin, in which the maternal uncle is the same as the father-in-law, the paternal aunt as the mother-in-law, and so forth, as any one can work out for himself on the above pedigree.

This mode of reckoning kin is found in its typical form among the Tamils, the Tôdâs, and other peoples of South India[2], among the Sinhalese, ancient and modern, the Torres Straits Islanders[3], the New Hebrideans, and in Fiji. With a trifling modification it occurs among the *Seneca-Iroquois* of North America.[4] Species of the same genus, or crosses between this and other species, are found broadcast from South Africa to America across the Pacific.

I assume straightaway that all these systems have a common origin. If we maintain that they have arisen independently, then good-bye to all history of civilization. We might just as well be consistent and say that the resemblances between Latin and Sanskrit, or Malagasy and Hawaiian are accidental.

If all these systems have a common origin, we are justified in drawing inferences from one to another, provided we observe the laws of evidence. Just as we compare the Latin *pater*,

[1] This Pedigree is given in *Mahâvaṃsa II*, 15ff.

[2] Richard's *Cross-cousin Marriage in South India* : Man. 1914, No. 97 : Rivers', *The Tôdâs*, p. 484 ; Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity*, Pl. X ff.

[3] *Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits*, VI. p. 92.

[4] Morgan, *of. cit.* Pl. IV ff.

with the Sanskrit *pitar*, the Gothic *fadar*, and so hark back to an original *pater*, so we are justified in placing the Sakya custom besides the Sinhalese, the Fijian, and the New Hebridean, and thus restore the original practice from which all these varieties are derived.

In a series of papers I have described the beliefs and practices that centre round cross-cousinship in Fiji[5]. In Fiji groups intermarry just like the Kôli and the Śâkya, and this tribal relationship is variously described in different parts as *tauvu*, *veitambani*, *veimbatiki*, *veikila*. People who are so related make a point of abusing one another, calling each other "cad," "orphan," "body fit to cook": they pull one another by the hair; they take each other's property without asking leave: on ceremonial occasions a man will seize a lot of stuff and get beaten in a playful way by his cross-cousins.[6] There is a great rivalry between such groups: "they are lands that vie with one another," says a Fijian. "it is a disgrace for them that the report should go forth that they have been overwhelmed in war, or in exchanges, or in eating, or in drinking."[7] All this rough handling, and rivalry and abuse is done, mind you, in a friendly way; in fact a man's proper "pal" is his cross-cousin, and tales are told of the endless tricks inseparable cross-cousins played on one another. So essential is this cheating that over and over again tribes will derive their relationship from two gods of whom one cheated the other, who, thereupon, retaliated with bad language. So essential is the fighting that in the Windward Islands of Fiji, where they have forgotten the meaning of *veitambani*, they will tell you that two tribes are *veitambani* because they could fight one another!

This constant feud between cross-cousins was not a local growth in Fiji, for traces of it are found elsewhere. In the New Hebrides the two halves of society "are said to have different characters . . . . In the old time members of the two moieties hated one another and even now there is a feeling of enmity between the two."[8] Among the Thonga of South Africa, just as in Fiji, the uterine nephew steals the offering and gets pelted by the others[9]. This therefore looks like an original feature of the cross-cousin system sufficiently ancient to have spread to South Africa at one end, and Fiji at the other.

The reader will long ago have seen what we were coming to, namely to the conclusion that the rivalry of Buddha and Dêvadaṭṭa is an echo of the friendly and ceremonial antagonism of cross-cousins. We must leave it undecided, however, whether there existed between the Buddha and his cousin a friendly feud, which, with the disappearance of the custom, was misinterpreted as a bitter enmity; or whether in those days an originally friendly opposition had degenerated into hate: or whether, finally, there never was such a rivalry between the two, but traditions of cross-cousin rivalry became attached to the pair. It matters little to our purpose what may have been the case, for we are not concerned here with events, but with customs, and it is sufficient if we can show that the legend of Buddha and Dêvadaṭṭa is evidence that similar customs once prevailed in Northern India as they do now in the Pacific.

At the suggestion of Rao Saheb S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar let us consider the exact form taken by the feud between Buddha and Dêvadaṭṭa. "Shin-i-tian" quoted by Klaproth and Remusat in their edition of *Fa Hian* (p. 201) records a rivalry in mighty deeds between Nanda, the Buddha's brother, and Dêvadaṭṭa, in which, of course, Nanda surpasses his cousin. Late in life, according to Spence Hardy (*Manual of Buddhism*, p. 326) Dêvadaṭṭa thought thus:—"I am equally honourable as to my family with Buddha, before I became a priest I was treated with all respect, but now I receive even less than my previous

[5] "The Fijian Custom of *tauvu*," *JRAI.*, 1913, p. 101; "More about *tauvu*," Man, 1914, No. 96; "The Uterine Nephew," Man, *ibid.*, 1922.

[6] "Chieftainship in the Pacific." *American Journ. of Anthropology*, 1915, p. 631.

[7] "The Common Sense of Myth," *ibid.*, 1916, p. 316.

[8] Rivers' *History of Melanesian Society*, I, p. 22. The author probably took it more seriously than it was meant.

[9] Junod. *Life of an African Tribe*, I, p. 162.

followers. I must take to myself 500 disciples; but before I can do this, I must persuade some king or other to take my part; great monarchs of Râjagahâ, and other places, are all on the side of Buddha; I cannot therefore deceive them, as they are wise. But there is Âjâsaṭ, the son of Bimsâra; he is ignorant of causes, and disobedient to his parents; but he is liberal to his followers; so I must bring him over, and then I can easily procure a large retinue." Thus Dêvadaṭṭa enters into rivalry with the Buddha: the Buddha founds a monastic order, Dêvadaṭṭa must do the same; the Buddha is patronised by a great monarch, Dêvadaṭṭa must also seek such an exalted patron. Dêvadaṭṭa preaches "in imitation of Buddha" (p. 339); but like our Fijian *veitambani*, Dêvadaṭṭa must go one better than the Buddha, only he does so in the spiritual, they in the material. When he finds his Order fall to pieces he comes to the Buddha, and says (p. 337): "I have hitherto been refused that which I asked at your hands, but this is not right, as I am the nephew of Śudhôdana:" (here I must interrupt to inquire whether this is not an echo of the right a man's sister's son has of taking everything of his uncle's without his uncle being allowed to say him nay; otherwise what is the meaning of Dêvadaṭṭa's words?). Dêvadaṭṭa then proceeds to ask that on five points the discipline of the Order should be made more severe. The Buddha calls on men to leave the world and retire into monasteries; Dêvadaṭṭa wants them to retire to the forest. Buddha allows his disciples to eat what is brought by the people to the monasteries; Dêvadaṭṭa wants them to eat nothing but what they have begged from door to door, and so on. The only motive that influences Dêvadaṭṭa from beginning to end is rivalry, a desire to surpass his cousin.

If the hostility of Dêvadaṭṭa is merely the record of ordinary hatred, it is difficult to understand why Dêvadaṭṭa possesses the power of flying through the air and of performing miracles (Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 326). Here we have a man who, according to existing accounts, is utterly wicked, so wicked as to oppose the Saviour of the World, yet endowed with a power which is normally attained only after treading the path of meditation and renunciation towards the goal of sanctity. Buddhist tradition seems to have felt the difficulty, for it is at pains to explain that to him the power of passing through the air and of assuming of any form was only a curse, which "led him on to do that which involved himself in ruin." If on the other hand this antagonism is really the echo or the continuation of an old sporting feud involving no moral stigma on either side, it is only natural that the rival chiefs should both be endowed with wondrous power; only one surpasses the other. When at a later time it came to be interpreted as the malice of the Evil One against the Good One, a difficulty arose which had to be explained away. A similar difficulty beset our theologians of old, who accepted the wonders tradition ascribes to "Osiris, Isis, Horus and their train;" yet deeming them to be devils, were perplexed by the power wielded by the enemies of God and were reduced to suppose that only

"Through God's high sufferance, for the trial of man,
By falsities and lies the greatest part
Of mankind they corrupted to forsake
God their Creator.

But to return to our problem, can we find in Modern India any evidence that the kinship customs were similar to those that now prevail in Fiji, any trace of that playful antagonism of cross-cousins? Unfortunately kinship and its customs has not received the attention it deserves, and therefore there is a dearth of evidence. I have made inquiries in Ceylon and this is the result: "If cross-cousins are of equal age they talk to one another like chums. If they are of different ages, the younger one treats the older as if he were his elder brother. Brothers don't discuss private matters, such as love affairs, with each other: but cousins of equal age discuss such matters freely. They call each other names, if they are angry . . . . Brothers abuse one another when they are very young." All that survives then in Ceylon is a

greater familiarity between cross-cousins, and even that is restricted by the respect for age, which is such that "a man will address his servant as *ayya* (elder brother), if he is older."

Thanks to Rao Saheb S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, I am able to produce more definite evidence from South India. I will quote his letter :—"Whether they actually marry or no, these cross-cousins usually enjoy that license, particularly as between men, to indulge in free talk, which between others would be regarded as insulting. As between these cousins there is infinitely more freedom of talk. This habit has even invaded the castes to whom marriage between cross-cousins is a prohibition, such as, for instance, the Brâhmans. The habit is almost general among all classes other than that of the Brâhmans."

Another way of approaching the problem is by looking for divisions that fight one another. The only case I know of is the hostility between the right-hand and left-hand factions of Southern India, as described by Dubois in his *Hindu Manners and Customs* (Oxford ed., p. 25). The left-hand includes the Vaiśyas, a high caste, and also the lowest of all. The right-hand consists of most of the higher Śûdras and of the Parias. Their disputes centre, it should be noted, round religious ceremonies. It may be objected that these two groups do not intermarry and that there is no evidence that they ever did ; on the other hand there is no evidence that they did not. The rigidity of caste is admittedly not early. Even at the present day cases of intermarriage are not uncommon, and I need not dwell upon them beyond quoting Mr. H. Codrington's information as regards Ceylon :—"The castes used to intermarry, *i.e.*, a higher caste man took a wife from the caste next below. This is still done in parts of Ceylon by the Hali (*Salagama*. Tamil, *Śâliyar*) and Vahunpurayo."

But whether caste ever intermarried or not, the Tamil and Sinhalese kinship system is there to prove that there must at one time have been in the South intermarrying groups like the Sakya and Kôli, for the Tamil system is based on the dual organization and is sufficient evidence of its former existence. If in Tamil land this system divided the clans into two intermarrying groups, we should get back to a state of society such as exists in Fijî. There each state is divided into two groups of clans : the nobles and their councillors or heralds are always in one,[10] the vanguard in the other ; it can be shown that marriage into the other half was, until recently, the proper thing ; but the nobles have tended to form alliances with the nobles of foreign states and thus to become endogamous within their rank or caste ; the carpenters are strictly endogamous because no one will marry into them, they are so despised.

The Tôdâs, who have the cross-cousin system are divided into Tartharol and Teivaliol. These two divisions do not now intermarry, but the following custom is significant. When a girl reaches a certain age "a man belonging to the Tartharol, if the girl is a Teivali, and to Teivaliol, if she is a Tarthar, comes in the day-time to the village of the girl, and, lying down beside her puts his mantle over her so that it covers both and remains there for a few minutes. Fifteen days later she is deflowered by a man of either division."[11] This looks very much like a survival of the time when a woman's proper husband came from the opposite division. She still, in the majority of cases, finds her official paramour in the opposite division.[12] The Tôdâs therefore constitute the first link in the chain with which we want to connect the Tamil social organisation with the Fijian. Students of Indian society may well find some more links among the backward tribes of India, for those who are out of the swim of civilization move more slowly and are often to be found now exactly where their neighbours stood thousands of years ago.

The use of the terms 'right' and 'left' as applied to social divisions, lends probability to my suggestion. Among the Elema of New Guinea the clubs are divided into right and left.

10 It is quite possible that they have the same origin as the Kṣattriyâs and Brâhmans of India.

11 Rivers' *The Tôdas*, p. 503.

12 *Ibid*, p. 526.

If I understand Dr. Seligman's note, the right and left intermarry, but not right with right, or left with left.[13] The Galla of East Africa also divides society into a right and left wing, each of which can only marry into the other.[14]

I must apologize for producing such flimsy supports to the argument. As a matter of fact, they are intended not as proofs, but as clues for dwellers in India and round the Indian Ocean to follow up, and thus link up Africa and the Pacific with Northern India. Such a result might have far reaching consequences, so far reaching indeed that I am almost afraid of hinting at them, for fear of being utterly discredited, but here goes.

The antagonism of the Buddha and Dêvadaṭṭa is that of Good and Evil, which appear again in the persons of Osiris and Seth, Ahura Mâzda and Angro-Minyus, Christ and Satan, the Dêvas and Asurâs. If it is based on the rivalry of two intermarrying groups, may not those other antagonisms go back to the same source. In Fiji we have seen that the gods of intermarrying tribes over-reach one another just as their descendants do. May not the same have happened in other parts of the world, and the rivalry of the tribesmen be shared by their gods? I must insist that this institution is essentially religious: in Fîji the relation of *tauvu* is defined as "having gods in common;" and a man who resents the seizing of property by his cross-cousins is made ill by the spirits. In South Africa the pelting of the uterine nephew is part of a religious ceremonial. The story of the malice of Dêvadaṭṭa has only been preserved by the Buddhist religion. It is not therefore surprising that a feud, which is essentially religious, should have been preserved in the annals of religion; nor that, once the custom had died out, the tradition should have been misunderstood, and an animus crept in which was not there before. Scholars may fail to see how a theory of good and evil can have arisen out of a mere system of intermarriage; but it is not a mere system of intermarriage; it is an elaborate theology of which the intermarriage of two tribes or families is only one consequence. That theology is only beginning to unfold itself. As the picture becomes clearer and more detailed we shall cease to find it difficult to believe that the powers of good and evil go back to the ceremonial antagonism of intermarrying groups.

Appendix A.

I should like to draw the reader's attention to *Vinaya*, vol. II, p. 188, where Dêvadaṭṭa approaches Buddha most respectfully and offers to relieve his age of the burden of administering the Order. The Buddha replies with abuse, calling him "corpse, lick-spittle" (*chavassa, kheḷâkapassa*). This seems scarcely in keeping with the character of the Buddha, but it is with that of a cross-cousin.

Dêvadaṭṭa is hurt and one day when Buddha is walking up and down on Gṛdhrakûṭa hill throws a stone at him (*op. cit.*, p. 193).

Hiuen Tsiang saw the stone which was 14 or 15 feet high.[15] Evidently we have here an old world legend of a type that covers a good part of the world, and is far more ancient than Buddhism. An example from the *Pacific* will be found in my "Cult of the Dead in Eddystone Island," pt. II.[16] It is remarkable that in Fîji this kind of legend is often told to account for the cross-cousinship. Thus the people of the island of Nayau and of Vanuavatu intermarry a great deal and are relations (*veiwekani*): they tell a legend which is the nearest approach I can think of to the legend of Gṛdhrakûta. The gist of it is that the ancestor god of Nayau stole the water which the ancestor god of Vanuavatu had hung on a tree while he was at work. When the god of Vanuavatu discovered this he looked towards Nayau and saw the god of Nayau fleeing towards Nayau. He picked up a stone and threw it, and struck the bottles so that they broke. The stone broke in two and one half is in Nayau.

[13] *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, p. 28. [14] A. Werner, *Some Galla Notes*, 1915, No. 10.

[15] Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, 153.

[16] *JRAI.*, July-December, 1922.

A similar legend without the stone throwing is told to explain why Undu in Totoya and Natokalau in Matuku are tribal cross-cousins (*tauvu*)

Appendix B.

Rao Saheb S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has given me further particulars about the abuse usual among cross-cousins, from which it appears that they indulge in obscenities; for he says, "These expressions have reference more or less to matters of banter not usually permissible except as between husband and wife." Among the hill tribes of Fîjî the banter of cross-cousins alludes to sex.[17]

I think enough has been said to show that the use of abusive language among cross-cousins is a very ancient feature of the cross-cousin system, as ancient as the nearest common ancestor of the people who introduced the system into India, the New Hebrides, and Fiji. It follows that normally Siddartha and Dêvadatta would have behaved in this characteristic manner.

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE FOUR STAGES OF LIFE (*ASRAMAS*).

BY DR. NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., PH.D.

SCHOLARS are divided in their opinion as to the time of origin of the four stages into which the life of a Hindu came to be divided. According to Prof. Deussen, the theory of the four *âsramas* is in the course of formation in the older Upanisads. *Chând. Up.* (VIII. 15) mentions only the Brâhman student and householder. The same work (II. 23. 1) names *tapas* of the anchorite as part of *dharma*. The words *muni* and *pravrâjin* are found in the *Br. Up.* (IV, 4, 22) in addition to the references to the practisers of *vedânuvacana* (study), *yajña* (sacrifice), and *tapas* (austerity). But at that time, they did not form part of a progressive series, and until a late period, the separation between the third and fourth *âśramas, i.e.*, between the *vânaprastha* and the *pravrâjin* was not strictly carried out.[1] According to Prof. Rhys Davids, the four stages of life came into vogue after Buddha or after the compilation of the *piṭakas*, because these works do not mention them. He says that even the names of the four stages are not found in the older Upaniṣads. The term *brahmacârin* has in many places been used to denote a pupil, and the word *yati* occurs in two or three places to mean a *sannyâsin*, but there is no mention of *gṛhastha*, *vânaprastha*, and *bhikṣu*. The first use of the four stages is found, according to him, in the law-codes of Gautama and Apastamba, but even there, they were not settled as to details.[2] Prof. Jacobi, however, states in his Introduction to the translation of the *Jaina-Sûtras* that the four stages are much older than both Jainism and Buddhism.[3] The object of this article is to attempt to substantiate the view of Prof. Jacobi by showing that the four stages of life were well developed at the time of the older Upanisads, and the mutual relations between them had been fixed before that period.

A little thought will make it evident that the first two stages of life of a Hindu had their origin in the usual divisions of life into (1) preparation for bearing the burden of later life, (2) actual bearing of the burden as a householder, while the last two stages of life originated in the feeling of worry, and hankering after detachment from worldly troubles, that naturally come upon a man's mind in later life. Though the word *âsrama* may not be found in use in a very early period, yet it cannot be denied that there existed in the Aryan

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[17] Man, *Note on various definitions of Totemism*, 1920 No. 12

[1] *The Philosophy of the Upanisads*, pp. 367, 368

[2] *The Dialogues of the Buddha*, vol. I, pp. 212, 213 [3] *SBE.*, XXII, p. xxix

society from very early times the student (*brahmacârin*), the householder ((*gṛhastha*), and the person who renounced the world (*muni* or *yati*), as evidenced in the earliest *Vedic* works. Before dwelling on the question whether any fixed relations were established among the several stages of life at that time, we would first deal with the descriptions with which we are furnished by the Vedic *saṃhitâs*, the *brâhmaṇas*, and the *Upaniṣads*.

Brahmacarya means the state in which learning is acquired in a well-regulated way. The provision for *brahmacarya* existed at the time of the Vedic *saṃhitâs*. It is found in the *Ṛg-veda* (I, 112. 2 ; I, 112. 4) that the students of those days used to study under a *Guru*, obtained recognition of their merit as students from learned men assembled at a place (*RV*., X. 71), and met with odium if they were unsuccessful in their careers (*RV*., X, 71, 9).[4] The use of the term *brahmacârin* is also found in the same work (*RV*., X. 109, 5). Bṛhaspati has been called *brahmacârin*, because he was living as a widower. The primary sense of the word *brahmacarya* is the study of the Veda, *brahma* meaning *veda*, and as the control of the senses was compulsory for a *brahmacârin*, the word *brahmacarya* came secondarily to mean 'control of the senses.' The application of the term to *Bṛhaspati* was on the strength of this secondary sense. It is therefore evident that at the time of the *Ṛg Veda*, not only was there a regulated provision for the study of the Vedas, but also the student had to practise chastity. The *Taittirîya-Saṃhitâ* (VI, 3. 10, 5) refers to *brahmacarya* as a compulsory duty of the Brâhmaṇas. It has also been stated that a Brâhmaṇa boy is born with three debts: the debt to the *ṛṣis* is paid off by *brahmacarya*, that to the gods by the performance of the sacrifices, and the one to the ancestors by the birth of a son. In the face of such passages in the Vedas, Prof. Deussen[5] remarks that up to the time of the *Chândogya-Upaniṣad*, the study of the Veda was not universally enjoined upon the Brâhmaṇas.

The *brahmacârin* has been extolled in the *Atharva-veda* (XI. 15). It appears from here that the duties prescribed for the *brahmacârin* in the *dharma-śâstras* were substantially the same in the *Atharva-veda*. Hence, the evidences from the *Ṛg*, *Yajur* and *Atharva Vedas* make it clear that the Brâhmaṇa boy had to perform regularly the duties of the first *âśrama* from the time of the *Saṃhita* period. That the *gṛhastha* (householder) existed at that time with his duties as such, needs no mention. The passage from the *Taittirîya-Saṃhitâ* cited already shows that a Brâhmaṇa youth had to enter upon the second *âśrama* by marriage, to pay off the debt to the forefathers.

The next point for our enquiry would be whether the third and the fourth stages of life (*âśramas*) are also mentioned in the *Saṃhita* with details, if any. The *Ṛg Veda* (X, 109, 4; 154, 2; VI, 5. 4) mentions in several places terms like *tapas*, *tapasvânu*; but it is difficult to say whether this *tapasyâ* had any connection with the *vânaprastha* (third stage of life). It is however clear that the '*munis*' mentioned in the same Veda formed a class distinct from the *gṛhasthas*. They used to read the *stôtras* (VII, 56, 8), had Indra as their friend (VIII, 17, 14), were dear to the gods and moved about in the air by virtue of their occult powers (X. 136). One of the *sûktas* (X, 136) describes the Keśins. It seems that the *munis* with long hair were given this appellation. It is stated by Dr. Roth in his *Nirukta* (p. 164) that the *keśins* of this *Sûkta* bear a strong resemblance to the *munis* described in the literature of the following period. Some of these *munis* went naked (*vâtaraśanâra*) and some wore yellow clothes, and all of them possessed occult powers. The *Atharva-Veda* (VII. 74, 1) also mentions the occult powers of the *munis*. The *Ṛg Veda* (VII, 3. 9 : 6, 18) refers

4 Cf. Kunte's *Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization*, p. 129 and *ERE*., vol. 5, p. 190.

5 *The Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, p. 369

also to the *yatis*, but particulars about them do not appear in the text. The three *Saṃhitâs*, viz., *Taittirîya* (II, 4, 9, 2: VI, 2, 7, 5), *Kâṭhaka* (VIII, 5, 12, 10; XXV, 6, 36, 7), and *Atharva* (II, 5, 3) contain an *âkhyâyikâ*, in which Indra is described as killing the *yatis* by throwing them into the mouth of an animal named *śâlâvṛk*. The *Atharva Veda* (XV) mentions another class of *sâdhus* called *Vrâtya*. Though the text does not expressly state that the *munis* used to renounce the world, yet the fact that they resemble the *vânaprasthas* of the *dharma-śâstras*, and are mentioned as belonging to a class separate from the ordinary men, and are superior to the latter, justifies the inference that they did not belong to the second *âśrama*. It is found from the *Brâhmaṇas* (see below) that there is no radical difference between the *munis* and *yatis* of the *Saṃhitâs* and *Brâhmaṇas*, and those mentioned in the literature of the following periods. However, this enquiry leads us to the inference, that though the *Veda Saṃhitâs* contain references to the states of life similar to those involved in the four stages, they are mentioned separately without any express statement that they were inter-related, nor do they detail clearly the duties of the *munis* and the *yatis*.

The *Brâhmaṇas* contain all the four terms. It is found in the *Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa* (XI, 3, 3) that the *brahmacârin* had to perform duties like the collection of fuel, begging of alms, looking after the comforts of the preceptor, etc. The *Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa* (XXII, 9) mentions Nâbhânediṣta as living in the house of his Guru as a *brahmacârin*. The *Pañcaviṃśa-Brâhmaṇa* (XIV, 4, 7) contains an *âkhyâyikâ* which relates that Indra restored to life his favourite *ṛṣis* called Vaikhânasas who had been killed by the Asuras at a place called Muni-maraṇa. We have found in the *Ṛg Veda* (VIII, 17, 14) that Indra was the friend of the *munis*. In the present passage from the *Pañcaviṃśa-Brâhmaṇa*, Indra is also the friend of the Vaikhânasas. The Vaikhânasas appear therefore to have taken the place of the *munis* of the *Saṃhitâs* in this *âkhyâyikâ*. The narrative as to Indra killing the *yatis* is also found in the *Brâhmaṇas* (*Ait. Br.*, XXXV, 2; *Pañc. Br.*, VIII, I, 4: XIII, 4, 16). The *Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa* (XXXIII, I) moreover, hints at the four *âśramas* together. Here Nârada while extolling the birth of sons depreciates the *âśramas*: "Of what good will *mala* (impurity of blood and semen), *ajina* (the hairy skin of a black antelope), *śmaśru* (beard), and *tapasyâ* (austerity) be? O. Brâhmaṇas! pray for sons, sons stand for a world beyond cavil." Sâyaṇa while commenting on the passage says, "*Mala*, *ajina*, *śmaśru*, and *tapasyâ* indicate the four *âśramas*. The *âśrama* of the *gṛhastha* is indicated by *mala*, because of its connection with the *mala* (impurity) of blood and semen: *brahmacarya* is indicated by the skin of the black antelope which is used by the *brahmacârin*; *vânaprastha* is indicated by the beard, the shaving of which is prohibited in this *âśrama*: and *pârivrâjya*, the fourth *âśrama*, is indicated by the term *tapasyâ* which involves the control of the senses." The terms, indeed, do not yield any reasonable interpretation if they be taken in any other sense (see Haug's transl. of the *Ait. Br.* p. 461). It is now clear that the *Saṃhitâs* and *Brâhmaṇas* mention all the four stages of life corresponding to the four *âśramas*; but they do not furnish any clear evidence bearing on the details of life of the *yatis*. It is inferred by many from the narrative of the killing of the *yatis* that they were opposed to the Vedas and the Brahmanic religion, and hence references to the punishment to which they were subjected are found in several places in the Vedic literature. But if we look closely into the passage of the *Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa* (XXXV, 2), we shall find that such an inference is not justified. It is found in the narrative that the gods excommunicated Indra for misdeeds committed by him. He was even forbidden to drink *soma*. One of the misdeeds was the killing of the *yatis*. Had the *yatis* been opposed to the Vedas, the same Vedas would not have contained a reference

to the punishment of Indra for doing away with their lives. Hence, it can be inferred that the modes of living of the *brahmacârin*, *gṛhastha*, *muni*, and *yati* were all in compliance with the Vedas from the time of the *Saṃhitâs*.

We would now enquire as to when the four modes of living came to form a progressive series in the life of a Hindu. The *Taittirîya-saṃhitâ* (VI, 3, 10, 5) shows that both *brahmacarya* and *gṛhastha* were practised by a particular individual, and the *Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa* (XI, 3, 3, 7) lays down as a duty of the *gṛhastha* that a *snâtaka* (*i.e.*, one who has formally concluded his life as a *brahmacârin* for entering upon the second stage of life) should no longer beg for alms as he used to do as a *brahmacârin*. This passage establishes the connection between the stages of a *brahmacârin* and a *gṛhastha*. Then again we meet with the narrative in which Manu is said to have partitioned his properties among his sons during his lifetime. The partition took place during the absence of his youngest son Nâbhânediṣṭa, who was staying as a *brahmacârin* in the house of his *Guru*. According to the *Taittirîya-Saṃhitâ* (III, 1, 9), Manu himself divided the properties, while according to the *Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa* (XXII, 9), the elder brothers of Nâbhânediṣṭa appropriated the properties among themselves. When Nâbhânediṣṭa returned from the house of his *Guru*, he was asked by his father not to be sorry for his exclusion from a share in the properties, for he would be able to earn money by his own exertions. This narrative shows that Manu gave away his all to his sons and was living detached from the world in his old age. He could not wait for the return of his youngest son from the house of his *Guru*, because the time for living detached from the world demanded immediate action. It may be that Manu instead of returning to the forest was living under the care of his sons ; but such a mode of living may be termed the third or fourth stage of life. The *Manu Saṃhitâ* (IV, 257, 258 ; VI, 94, 95) and the *Vasiṣṭha Dharma-sûtra* (X, 26) of a later period have applied the appellation of *âśramin* to men living in this way. We can therefore infer from their narrative that the stages of a *brahmacârin*, a *gṛhastha*, and one living detached from the world existed at that time. These three states of life are the foundation of the *âśramas*. As the result of our enquiry, it may now be laid down that the terms *brahmacârin*, *gṛhastha*, *muni* (or *vaikhânas*), and *yati* are found separately in the Vedic *Saṃhitâs* and *Brâhmaṇas*, and in a few places, as shown already, we meet with instances of entrance into the life of a *gṛhastha* after the conclusion of studentship ; and moreover, we meet with the example of living detached from the world in old age after the end of a period lived as *gṛhastha*. In addition, we find a reference to all the four stages of life in the *Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa*. Hence, it would not, I think, be unreasonable to infer that as early as the period covered by the *Saṃhitâs* and the earlier *Brâhmaṇas*, the stages of life emerged with their inter-relations established between them in a progressive order.

The point next engaging our attention is the development reached by the stages of life at the time of the Upaniṣads. The *Chândogya* and the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka* are regarded as the earliest of the Upaniṣads ; hence we would confine ourselves to the evidence furnished by only these two works. It is found in the *Chândogya* (II, 23, 1) that *Dharma* has been divided into three parts in the following way :—*yajña* (sacrifice), *adhyayana* (study of the scriptures), and *dâna* (gift) form the first part ; *tapasyâ* (austerity) forms the second part ; and life-long residence in the house of the preceptor forms the third part. Of these three parts, the first is meant for the householder, the second though practisable by all is specially meant for the *vânaprasthin*, and the life-long residence in the house of the preceptor is meant for the *naiṣṭhika-brahmacârin*. Two classes of *brahmacârins* are found from the time of the Upaniṣads. The student who after staying at the house of his preceptor for the prescribed period and

fulfilling his duties returned home, was called *upakurvâṇa-brahmacârin* (*Châ. Up.*, VIII, 15, 1), while the student, who lived life-long at the house of his *Guru*, was called *naiṣṭhika-brahmacârin* (*Châ. Up.*, II, 23, 1). After the mention of the *gṛhastha*, *vânaprastha*, and *naiṣṭhika-brahmacârin* in the above way, it has been laid down that they all reach *puṇyalôka*, while the man who is *brahma-saṃstha* gets *amṛtatva* (immortality). The man who is *brahma-saṃstha* belongs to the fourth stage of life. Hence, we have the mention of all the four *âśramas* together in one place. Again, in the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka* (IV, 4, 22), Yâjñavalkya, while discoursing on the knowledge of *âtman*, says, "The Brâhmaṇas try to know Him (*Âtman*) by the study of the Vedas, and by knowing Him by *yajña*, *dâna*, *tapasyâ*, and freedom from worldly desires (*anâśaka*) attain the stage of a *muni*." In this passage, the study of the Vedas stands for *brahmacarya*, *yajña*, *dâna*, and *tapasyâ* stand for *gârhasthya*, and lastly, the terms *anâśaka* and *muni* stand for the renunciation of the world. Immediately after this passage, we find it laid down that the Parivrâjakas take *Pravrajyâ* with the object of getting Him. Hence, here also, all the four *âśramas* have been mentioned together. Though the states of life corresponding to the four *âśramas* are found separately mentioned in the *Saṃhitâs* and the *Brâhmaṇas*, particulars about the third and the fourth divisions of life are found in a large measure in the Upaniṣads. In the latter works, two paths are mentioned as leading to the next world. Those who live in the villages and perform sacrifices, make gifts, practise austerities, and engage in works of public utility like the digging of wells, etc., go to the higher regions along the path called *Pitṛ-yâna* and return to this world, *Châ. Up.* (VI, 2, 16); and those who live in the forests and practise *sraddhâ*, *satya*, and *tapasyâ* go to the *brahma-lôka* along the path called *Deva-yâna* and never return to this world (*Châ. Up.*, V, 10, 1; *Br. Up.*, VI, 2, 15). It is clear from the passages that the dwellers in the village stand for the *gṛhasthas* and the dwellers in the forests stand for the *sannyâsins*. We find elsewhere that the *sannyâsins* beg for alms (*Bṛ. Up.*, III, 5, 1) and wander about (*Bṛ. Up.*, IV, 4, 22). By putting together the distinctive marks of a *sannyâsin*, we find that they were these, viz., dwelling in the forest, begging alms, and wandering. It is inferable from the narrative relating to the partition of Manu's properties that he detached himself from the world at the end of his life as a *gṛhastha*; but the Upaniṣads make the point clear by showing in the life of Yâjñavalkya that he detached himself from the world at the end of the second stage of his life. Yâjñavalkya called his wife and told her that he intended to take up *pravrajyâ* (*Bṛ. Up.*, IV, 5, 1). The renunciation of the world at the conclusion of the second stage of life was so very common a matter, that the husband did not say anything by way of broaching the subject before the wife. The latter also was not surprised in the least at hearing the intention of her husband. That a particular individual entered upon different *âśramas* at different periods of his life is also found in a few other instances in the Upaniṣads. The life of a Hindu was divided into three parts from very early times. In the *Aitareya-Âraṇyaka* (V, 3, 3), it is laid down in regard to a certain *vidyâ* that it should not be taught either to a boy or a *tṛtîya* (*na vatsye na ca tṛtîye*); here the word *tṛtîya* stands for an old man. Further, in the *Châ. Up.* (III, 16), man has been compared with a sacrifice and the following analogies have been drawn: the first twenty-four years of man's life have been mentioned as corresponding to the *prâtaḥsavana* of the sacrifice, the next forty-four years to its *mâdhyandina-savana*, and the following forty-eight years to its *tṛtîya-savana*. It is not clear, on what principle, a man's life has been divided in this way; but it should be noticed that in the *dharma-śâstras* (*e.g.*, *Manu*, IX, 94), the second stage of life is put as generally commencing from the twenty-fifth year, while in the *Châ. Up.* (VI, 1, 1), Svêtakêtu is found to conclude his career as *brahmacârin* at the same age for entering

upon the second *âśrama*. After the said passage, the comparison between the man and the sacrifice has been further drawn in the following way: the fact that he does not satisfy his desire for food and water, though he is hungry and thirsty, corresponds to the *dîkshâ* of the sacrifice; drinking, eating, and indulgence in the sexual passion correspond to its *upasad*, *stotra* and *śastra*: austerity, gift, simplicity, non-injury to living beings (*ahiṃsâ*) and truthfulness correspond to its *dakṣiṇâ*; and death corresponds to the *avabhṛta* bathing of the sacrifice (*Châ. Up.*, III, 17). Here, the abstinence from food and drink implies *brahmacarya*. A sacrifice commences with the *dîkshâ*; similarly, the life of a man begins with *brahmacarya*. Next, indulgence in the desire for food, drink, and the sexual passion forms part of the duties of a *gṛhastha*; and as the *dharma* of a *gṛhastha* is practised in the middle portion of a man's life, similarly the *upasad*, *stotra*, and *śastra* come in the middle portion of a sacrifice. Then, austerity, gift, non-injury to beings, and truthfulness are the marks of a *sannyâsin*. The *dharma-śâstras* mention gift (*Vaśiṣṭha*, IX, 8) and non-injury to sentient beings (*Vaśiṣṭha*, X, 3) as the *dharma* of a *sannyâsin*. It has also been shown above from the Upaniṣad that the *sannyâsins* practise *śraddhâ*, *tapasyâ*, and *satya* in the forests, and as *sannyâsa* is adopted by a man towards the last portion of his life, so *dakṣiṇâ* is paid towards the end of the sacrifice. Then the very last ritual of the sacrifice, viz., the *avabhṛta* bathing has been compared to a man's death. So, it is apparent that the several rituals composing a sacrifice have been compared to the various stages of a man's life with the duties attaching to them.

In the above comparison between a man and a sacrifice, the human life has been divided into three parts. The life of Yâjñavalkya instances the entrance upon three stages of life in succession. Hence, it should be made clear whether at the time of the earlier Upaniṣads, there existed any difference between the third and the fourth *âśramas*. We find in the *Châ. Up.* (II, 25, 1) that the *brahmacârin*, *gṛhastha* and *tapasvin* got to *puṇyalôka* after death, while one who is *brahma-niṣṭha* attains immortality. The *Bṛ. Up.* (IV, 4, 22) mentions both *muni* and *pravrâjin* in the same place, and informs us that the last-mentioned *sannyâsins* used to wander about. The passage in the *Bṛ. Up.* (IV, 3, 22) contains the two separate terms *sramana* and *tâpasa*, and it is also found in the Upaniṣads that some living in the forest practised *tapasyâ* with great devotion (*Châ. Up.*, V, 10), while others, non-attached to the world, wandered about and subsisted on alms (*Bṛ. Up.*, III, 5, 1). Hence, at the time of the earliest Upaniṣads, there existed two *âśramas* that were entered upon after the conclusion of the career of a man as a *gṛhastha*, and these were the third and the fourth stages of life. We have seen already that the *Saṃhitâs* and *Brâhmaṇas* mention both the terms *muni* and *yati*. Though the third and the fourth *âśramas* were different, they were founded upon the common basis of the renunciation of the world. One was the first stage of *sannyâsa*, while the other was its mature stage. These two divisions of life have been most probably combined and referred to only as one in the Upaniṣads cited above, giving rise to only three stages of life, viz., *brahmacarya*, *gârhasthya*, and *sannyâsa*, and it is perhaps for this reason that the terms like *muni* were applied to members of both the third and the fourth stages of life. The *vânaprasthin* used to practise *tapasyâ* and cogitate on *brahma* in a particular place in a forest; but a *yati* had no fixed place of abode, and wandered about, giving himself up solely to *brahma* to the exclusion of all other works. We cannot infer from the case of Yâjñavalkya, as mentioned in the Upaniṣads, that because he adopted *pravrajyâ* or the fourth *âśrama* from his life as a *gṛhastha*, therefore all used to enter upon the fourth *âśrama* without going through the third. In fact, it all depended upon the intensity of one's feeling of non-attachment to the world, and of devotion to *brahma* and things of the spiritual world. It may not be possible for a man to enter upon the fourth stage immediately after the second stage on account of the hardships involved in the change, and the mental, moral and physical training

required to prepare him for the arduous fourth *âśrama*. Hence, the third stage has been put in to make the transition slower and more convenient. It cannot be inferred from the example of Yâjñavalkya that there was no difference between the third and the fourth stages of life. It cannot be also stated that the difference between the third and the fourth stages of life of the earlier Upaniṣads was less than that in later times. The *Jâvâlopaniṣad* (4) clearly describes the progressive order of the four stages of life, *brahmacârî bhûtvâ gṛhî bhavet, gṛhî bhûtvâ vanî bhavet, vanî bhûtvâ pravrajet* (a man is to become a householder after he had been a *brahmacârin*; he becomes a *vanî* (forest-dweller) after having been a householder; and he becomes a *pravrâjin* after he had been a *vanî*). Immediately after this passage, the following is laid down: "*Yati-dharma* can be adopted from the stages of a *brahmacârin, gṛhastha*, or a *vânaprasthin*." The law-codes of Vasiṣtha (VII, 3), Âpastamba (II, 9, 21, 1) and Baudhâyana (II, 10, 17, 2-6) lay down that any *âsrama* can be taken up at will. Manu (VI, 68) also has allowed an individual to go over to the fourth *âśrama* if he chooses to do so, and Yâjñavalkya (III, 56) is of opinion that the fourth *âśrama* can be entered upon from the house or the forest (*i.e.*, from the second or the third stages of life). We do not however see any provision for the entrance upon one *âśrama* from another in the reverse order. It has rather been expressly prohibited in the law-code of Daksha (I, 12). Hence, it was the general rule at the time next to that of the earliest Upaniṣads that the four stages of life should follow each other in due order, with this exception that the first stage could lead to any one of the remaining three stages, according to the desire of the *brahmacârin* (*cf.* Âpastamba's *law-code*, II, 9, 21, 4). This rule is also noticed in the earliest Upaniṣads. Thus, one could remain a *brahmacârin* for life (*Châ. Up.*, II, 23, 1), or after *brahmacarya*, could remain at the dwelling-house for life, devoting one self to the cogitation of *brahma* in old age (*Châ. Up.*, VIII, 15). A man could also become a *yati* without becoming a householder if his feelings prompted him to do so (*Bṛ. Up.*, IV, 4, 22); while again, Yâjñavalkya complied with the requirements of the three *âśramas* in due order (IV, 5, 1). From this collocation of the available evidence, it is allowable to infer that at the time of the two earliest Upaniṣads, the *Chândogya* and the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, the four *âśramas* existed as a firmly established institution.

THE ANDHAU INSCRIPTIONS.

BY H. C. RAY.

THE history of ancient India from the fall of the Maurya dynasty to the rise of the Guptas is still imperfectly known. Some welcome light has recently been thrown on this period by the discovery of the Taxila Scroll and the Andhau Inscriptions. The first of these has received its due share of attention from many scholars.[1] But the Andhau inscriptions, since their discovery by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar,[2] have hardly received the attention they deserve. It is with interest, therefore, that we open the pages of the January issue of the *Epigraphia Indica*[3] to read an article on this subject from the pen of Mr. R. D. Banerjee.

Mr. Banerjee accepts the view that the inscriptions are dated in the reign of Rudradâman alone, which was put forward by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil some two years ago in his *Ancient History of the Deccan.*[4] He rejects the theory of Prof. Bhandarkar of the conjoint

[1] Fleet, *JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 992-999; Marshall, *JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 973 *et seq*; Chanda, *JRAS.*, 1921, pp. 319-24; Sten Konow, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 284 ff. Raychaudhuri, *Calcutta Review*, December 1922, p. 493. Deb. *JRAS.*, 1922, pp. 37-42.

[2] *Progress Report—Archæological Survey of India*, 1905-06, pp. 35, A; 1914-15, pp. 67 ff.

[3] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XVI, 1922.

[4] Pages 26 and 27. It is curious that Mr. Banerjee gives no reference in his paper to this important conclusion of the learned French Professor.

rule of Châṣṭana and Rudradâman,[5] and remarks that 'Apart from the possibility of such an event in India, nobody having ever thought or tried to prove conjoint reigns of two monarchs except Messrs. Bhandarkar, there is sufficient evidence in the Andhau inscriptions themselves to prove that the author of the record was quite ignorant as to the exact relationship between Châṣṭana and Rudradâman.' This is a strange statement. Every student of ancient Indian history, who has an acquaintance with either the Greek authors or the *Arthaśâstra* of Kauṭilya, knows that there are distinct references to conjoint rule in Ancient India. In the chapter on *Râjı-rajyayor=vyasana-chintâ* Kauṭilya distinctly refers to *dvairâjya* or the rule of a country by two kings,[6] while the constitution of the city of Tauala as described by Diodorus is apparently conjoint rule of that type.[7] The *Mahâvaṁsa*[8] also refers to the conjoint rule of the sons of Kâlâsoka. Again we do not understand how a trained archæologist of Mr. Banerjee's eminence could disregard the evidence of Indian numismatics and epigraphy. The joint coins of Lysias and Antialkidas, Strato I and Agathocleia, Strato I and II, Azes and Azilises, and Vonones and Spalahores clearly indicate conjoint rule in ancient India.[9] The conjoint rule of Huvishka and Kanishka of the Âra inscription is also supported by some scholars. Thus it is quite clear that there is distinct evidence for the existence of conjoint rule in India.

The next question that arises in this connection is, why the name of Jayadâman has been given the fourth and the *last* place in the list of the Kshatrapa names occurring in the Andhau inscription and not *third* as would normally have been the case if the inscription had really belonged to Rudradâman alone (*Râjño Châṣṭanasa Ysâmotikaputrasa râjño Rudradâmasa Jayadâmaputrasa......*)? In all Kshatrapa inscriptions, when the writer gives the pedigree of the reigning king, we have first the name of the remotest ancestor, next the name of his son and so on, as in the Gunda and the Jasdan inscriptions edited by Mr. Banerjee himself. (If Châṣṭana and Jayadâman were dead, both ought to have been mentioned similarly, *i.e.*, either Jayadâman would also have been given the honorific "*râjan*" as in the Gunda and Jasdan inscriptions, or Châṣṭana would, equally with Jayadâman, have been mentioned without it.) With reference to the ignorance of the scribe we might well ask Mr. Banerjee, how is it that he knew the relationship between the great-grandfather (Ysâmotika) and the grandfather (Châṣṭana) of the reigning king, but did not know the relationship between the grandfather (Châṣṭana) and the grandson (Rudradâman)? It seems rather strange that the man should know a relationship so remote and yet be ignorant of one so recent.

Again the omission of the title "*râja*" in the case of Jayadâman, which is found in the Gunda and the Jasdan inscriptions, is significant, if we take into account the order of mention of the names in the Andhau inscriptions.[10] The names of Châṣṭana and Rudradâman are mentioned exactly in the same way, preceded by the royal title and then the father's name. The father of Châṣṭana is also without any title honorific or otherwise.

Consideration of the above facts leaves little doubt that the inscriptions belong to the joint sovereigns Châṣṭana and Rudradâman, and not to Rudradâman alone as advocated by Dr. Dubreuil and Mr. Banerjee. (I am indebted to Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri for some of the suggestions contained in the paper.)

5 "Deccan of the Sâtavâhana Period," *ante*, vol. XLVII, p. 154, footnote 26.

6 Mysore edition, 1919, p. 325. *cf.* Do-rajja of the *Ayâraṁgasutta*.

7 *Ancient India, its invasion by Alexander the Great*, ed. by McCrindle, p. 296.

8 Geiger's Eng. trans, p. 27.

9 *Whitehead's Catalogue of Coins in the Lahore Museum*, pp. 6, 81, 132, 141

10 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XVI, 1922, p. 233.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES IV.

By H. A. ROSE, I.C.S. (*Retired.*)

(*Continued from page* 124.)

Chhânbar : a shrub ; = Bhikon, *q.v.*

Chhanchi : an umbrella, Kulu : Gloss., I, p. 432.

Chhapânj : $\frac{1}{5}$th or $\frac{1}{6}$th, a due paid for grazing sheep : Mandi 47.

Chharâ : a bachelor : B., 101.

Chharda : a cairn, commenced by a woman prepared to become *sati* : Mandi, 35.

Chhat : a measure of capacity ; 60 *olîs* make 1 *chhat* : but in some villages of the Boî *ilâqa* a *chhat* contains 80 *odis* : Hazâra.

Chhatar : a *large* umbrella, used at weddings : B., 114.

Chhati : lit. '6th.' The 6th day after a birth on which the child may be named ; other rites also being observed : B., 99.

Chhatrora : the son of a Râjpût by a woman whom he might have married, legitimized by her subsequent marriage to his brother : Gloss., III, p. 67.

Chhâya dân, = akhîrî dân : lit. 'last gift,' made by a dying man : Gloss., I, p. 842.

Chhe-châp : an undefined term in marriage : Ch., 126.

Chhelu : a small goat (or Rs. 1 or 1½) paid as a cess for the upkeep of a temple : SS. Bashahr, 75.

Chhed-karâi : lit. 'boring through,' the annulment of a marriage at a wife's instance, on payment of the *rit* and a rupee : Bashahr, 14.

Chhidra : a terrifying spirit which must be propitiated by incense of mustard-seed ; Simla Hills ; hence *chhidra-shânti*, a rite to exorcise the *chhidra* ; and *chhidra* or *chhûâ kholnâ*, 'to secure release from an interdict,' and so bring about a reconciliation : Gloss., I, pp. 470, 436, 437 and 433.

Chhilbichhli : a day on which a picture of pine (? *chîl*) is made ; Bashahr : Gloss., I, p. 346.

Chholpa : a rite corr. to the Hindu *kiria karm*, in Kanâwar : SS. Bashahr, 36.

Chhûâ : a species of boycott : SS. Bashahr, 33.

Chhuhâru : rice, grown on unirrigated land : SS. Kumhârsain, 14.

Chichârî : certain minor rites observed at a wedding : Ch., 143.

Chikri : a small hoe : Simla S. R., xlv.

Chìkûn : (? *chikûn*) ; the *chîkûn-dî* is the day on which *batnâ* is rubbed on the bodies of the boy and his bride at a wedding : B., 105.

Chilla : *Casearia tomentosa* : Sirmûr, App. IV, v.

Chikri : a small hoe : SS. Bashahr, 46.

Chilirâ : a small loaf ; see under *doyân* : B., 97.

Chileri : a pancake : SS. Kumhârsain, 12.

Chilta : a kind of food : SS. Bashahr, 41.

Chimu : *Morus serrata* : Sirmûr, App. IV, vii.

Chinâi : a grain, *Panicum miliaceum*, eaten in Pângî and Lâhul : Ch., 204.

Chingar : hill shoes with leather soles and woollen tops : SS. Jubbal, 20.

Chîni-bahin : a sister in religion : Gloss., I, p. 907.

Chinjâr : shoes ; = Lowâta : Simla S. R., xlv.

Chinjarol : a woodcock : Ch., 37.

Chinolti : *chapâtis* made from *chîna :* Simla S. R., xxxix.

Chîra : mixed crop, = *barra :* SS. Jubbal, 16.

Chirara : *Litsaea zeylanica* : Sirmûr, App. IV, vii.

Chirauli : *Buchanania latifolia :* Sirmûr, App. IV, iv.

Chirî : the breaking of jasmine (*mâltî*) twigs under the bridegroom's foot : Ch., 143.

Chirindi : *Litsaea zeylanica :* Ch., 239. Cf. Chirara.

Chirna : a trance ; Simla Hills : Gloss., I, p. 456.

Chiryâ kâ bârat : a fast in which no food cooked on a hearth is eaten by women : Suket, 22.

Chitra : snake-wood ; *Staphylea Emodi :* Ch., 237.

Chiûnkal : a game in which a plank is balanced on an upright support and swung round by two boys, one leaning on each end : Ch., 212.

Choah : three : SS. Bashahr, 73.

Choba : rice or bread with *ghî* and sugar : B., 104.

Chobhanj : an exchange of brides in which four are involved : Comp. 2. Cf. Trebhanj.

Choha : 2 *chohas* = 1 *odî*. But in the Dannah (?) *ilâqa* the Dhunds use a *choha* containing 4 *kurras*, so that it = 1 *odî*, *i.e.*, it is twice the usual size.

Choharta : a kind of rice : SS. Bashahr, 48.

Chola : lit. 'bodice' (dim. -î) ; *chola* is the ceremony on the 13th day after a birth, when the child is clothed in a *chola ;* cf. Dasothan : B., 99.

Cholâî : *amaranthus* : Sirmûr, 58.

Cholî-dorî, = Gudanî, *q.v.*

Cholumang : a cess levied to pay for the Râjâ's wardrobe : SS. Bashahr, 75.

Cholti : a cess levied for officials : SS. Bashahr, 75.

Choprî rotî : bread spread with *ghî* : B., 192.

Chorpith : damages for breach of a contract not to take a second wife : Comp., 59.

Chothâî : see under Lap and Bohnî.

Chuba : a woman's frock : SS. Bashahr, 41.

Chudda : buttocks ; cf. Chadha ; also *chut*, debauchee : *chutanhru* and *chutrainya*, debauched : Ch., 138-9.

Chukka : a half handful : D. I. K.

Chukrî : rhubarb : Ch., 222.

Chulî : apricots : -kî phand, stewed apricots : SS. Bashahr, 41.

Chulîân lenâ : lit. 'to take handfuls of water,' to drink water from the Ganges from each other's hands and so become brothers or sisters : Gloss., I, p. 903.

Chûne (pl.) : long hair : *vingre chûne*, long curling hair : B., 195.

Chûng : a rite to preserve the bride from ever becoming a widow. Flour is ground by *sat-suhâgans* and distributed, probably in handfuls (*chûng*). A repetition of the rite is the *chhoṭi chûng*, also called *jind rorî :* B., 108-9.

Chunta : a goad ; = Cheunta.

Chupta, = *chapkan*, a frock : cf. Chuba : SS. Bashahr, 42.

Chur : wild apple (Pângî) ; *Pyrus malus :* Ch., 238.

Chûrî : probably a kind of sweet : B., 106.

Chut : Chutânhru and Chutrainya, see under Chudda. Chut chipat, 'impure' ; Simla Hills : Gloss., I, p. 456.

Dachhna, = *dakhna*, = *dakhshna :* Gloss., I, p. 360.

Dâdasrâ : husband's grandfather.

Dadiora : father of one's father-in-law (?)

Dadsâl : a term used vaguely for the family or village in which one's grandfather married.

Dâdu : 'elder'; Simla Hills : Gloss., I, p. 459.

Dafi : a broad verandah : SS. Bashahr, 43.

Dâg : fem. *dâgnî* (1) a spirit : Sirmûr, 51-3 ;—specially associated with fields ; Simla Hills : Gloss., I, p. 470. (2) the evil eye : SS. Kumhârsain, 7.

Dajh : presents from bride to bridegroom : Multân. Cf. *dâj*, 'dowry' : Comp., 62.

Dâkar : a hard soil with much clay : Sirmûr, App. I. Cf. P. D., 261.

Dâll : a big wicker receptacle : Sirmûr. 68. Cf. P. D., p. 265, *s.v.* Ḍall.

Dalla : a go-between : B., 203.

Dân : dowry.

Danda : see Biha Bhat.

Danda : a receptacle for grain made of wicker-work smeared with mud : Ch., 208.

Dânga torâî : a payment to the State of As. 2 out of the *rît* : SS. Kumhârsain, 8.

Dan-gîr : a receiver of dues : B., 129.

Dangra : axe : Sirmûr, 62.

Dânî : an inspector on a mine : Mandi, 51.

Danovar : the return visit of a newly wed couple to the bride's parents : SS. Bashahr, 13 and Kumhârsain, 8.

Daonî : Dauni, an ornament worn on the forehead : B., 112. Cf. Ḍanwani, P. D., 272, and Ḍanwan, 'hobble.'

Dapher : lazy : Ch., 139.

Darâî : a cess, levied for the men who ferry people across the river on skins : SS. Bashahr, 75.

Dareoti : a small shrine built to house a *pâp* or 'ghost'; Gloss., I, p. 471.

Darnâ : a scarecrow : Sirmûr, 69. Cf. *Daṛnâ*, 'to hide oneself' and *Daṛnâ*, 'to fear.'

Darohi : an oath, on the Râjâ ; implying that if the man on whom the oath is imposed does something he will have to pay a penalty to the Râjâ ; cf. Baran and Thâl : SS. Bashahr, 35.

Daṛopa : in Daska Tahsil, Siâlkot—

1 *paropî* = 6 *chhitânks*.
1 *topa* = 4 *paropis* = 1 *ser* 8 *chhitânks*.
1 *daṛopa* = 2 *topas* = 3 *sers*.
1 *mânî* = 7 *mans* 20 *sers*.

But in Pasrûr Tahsil—

1 *paropi* = 6½ *chhitânks*.
1 *topa* = 1 *ser* 10 *chhitânks*.
1 *daṛopa* = 3 *sers* 4 *chhitânks*.
1 *mânî* = 8 *mans* 5 *sers*.

In some parts of Siâlkot 1 *pai* = 4 *topas* or 2 *daṛopas*.

Dasâwal : a chief official or manager : Sirmûr, 63.

Dashongi : a headman, in Chînî Tahsîl of Bashahr, = Pâlsarâ : SS. Bashahr, 65.

Dasothan : lit. 10th, a ceremony observed on the 10th day after a birth, when all earthenware is broken : B. 99.

Daspindi : a rite performed on the 10th day after death by the nearest *gotrîs* with the aid of the *parohit* : Ch., 148.

Dastâr : lit. 'turban'; lands set aside as the appanage of an eldest son : Comp., 77.

Datha : a handful of grass clutched in cutting. Then :—20 to 40 *dathas* =1 *gaddî*.

Kagan Valley, Hazâra—
5 *gaddis* = 1 *gadda*.
3 *gaddas* = 1 *bhari*.

But in Bhogarmang—
8 *dathas* = 1 *gaddi*.
9 *gaddis* = 1 *gadda*.

And in Tanâwal—
10 *gaddîs* = 1 *gadda*.

Daulântî ; the 2nd day of the Mâgh festival : Sirmûr, 64.

Dauri : the Hill *tun*, *Cedrela serrata* : Ch., 236.

Dâwan-wâtrâ ; see under Songî.

Dawâtin : a square piece of silver worn round the neck : B., 105.

Deh, = *bakâin*, *Melia azadirachta* : Sirmûr, App. IV, iii.

Dehl : a doorway : Ch., 146. Cf. III *s.v.*

Dehri : a room attached to a temple ; -ru, a temple ; Kulu ; *dehra* also seems to = a room attached to a temple : Gloss., I, pp. 432 and 434.

Deti-danda, tip-cat ; fr. *danda*, 'club' ; = Cull-danda : B., 201.

Devidiâr (? or) shur : *Juniperus macropoda ;* in Lâhul : Ch., 240.

Dewâ : a Kanet who performs priestly duties : Sirmûr, 35.

Dewa-dhâmî : the third ceremony during a pregnancy ; the husband's father worships ancestors with special rites : = Nau-girî : B., 98 and 109.

Dhabli : a blanket, = *gudma* : SS. Jubbal, 18. Cf. III.

Dhadu : an assistant to the Dhauri : Mandi, 51.

Dhageta : a cragsman : Ch., 139.

Dhagmohru, = Chaukhandû ; in Kulu.

Dhai : *Woodfordia floribunda :* Sirmûr, App. IV, v.

Dhaj : a slab of stone, usually long, erected to a deceased person ; hence :—

Dhajî : a monolith (Pângî) : Ch., 159, 161.

Dhâki : a musician ; cf. Dhoki : Sirmûr, 26.

Dhâl : revenue imposed on land : Suket 16 (cf. *dâl tar* on p. 413) and SS. Mahlog, 7

Dhal : a fair, held from 12th to 25th, Poh ; -baya, a cess levied on houses at the fair : SS. Bashahr, 61 and 74.

Dhalka : lit. 'passing,' so evening ; cf. *dopahar dhale*, 'afternoon' : Mandi, 31.

Dham : a feast : Sirmûr, 26. (2) Dhâm, an observance on the 3rd day after a wedding, when the wedded pair go to the house of the boy's father : Glossary I, p. 824. Cf. Ladhitaṛu. (3) a payment made by Râjpût relatives of the Chief to the State at a son's marriage : SS. Kunhiâr, 5.

Dhamin : *Grewia vestita* and *tiliaefolia :* Sirmûr, App. IV, iii.

Dhâng : an inferior soil : Sirmûr, 65.

Dhâni : irrigated land : ? fr. *dhân*, 'rice' : Ch., 223. Cf. Dhânû in, III.

Dhanphari : a variety of buckwheat : SS. Bashahr, 48.

Dhar : a kind of soil (? = *bârânî*) : Sirmûr, 73.

Dharantû : bankrupt : Ch., 138.

Dharel : a wife married by Dharewa, *q.v.* : Comp., 42.

Dharewa (or) karewa : remarriage of a widow with her husband's (? younger) brother, as opposed to *jhanjarâra*, remarriage with a man who is not his brother : Mandi, 25.

Dhari : (1) a measure of capacity for grain now rarely used ; 1 *dharî* = 2 *chohas :* Hazâra. (2) a weight, = 10 *sers kachcha :* Suket, 32.

Dharm-bhâî : fem. -bahin, a brother or sister by mutual adoption : Gloss., I, pp. 903 and 905.

Dharothî : a partition for storing grain ; = *Kuthâr* : Sirmûr, 60. (Add *s.v.* in III.)

Dhatu : a square cloth head-dress : SS. Bashahr, 41.

Dhauldhak : *Erythrina suberosa :* Sirmûr, App. IV, iv.

Dhaura : *Lagerstraemia parviflora :* Sirmûr, App. IV, v.

Dhauri : a ganger under whom miners work : Mandi, 51.

Dheli : a cake of herbs, fermented and used to make *sur* : Mandi, 32.

Dheta : bride's father : B. 102.

Dhiâlchî : a tenant who gets cattle and implements free from the landlord and pays him half the produce : Sirmûr, 72.

Dhiankra : an offering : SS. Jubbal, 13.

Dhimadâr : an official, the deputy of the *siânâ* or village headman : Sirmûr, 63.

Dhîlo : 'hide and seek,' usually played at night : Ch., 212.

Dhira udeo : sunset : Mandi, 31. Syn. Sanpari.

Dhiri : middle finger : Attock Gr., p. 114.

Dho : wedding ; *dhoe-dî*, the date of the wedding : B., 105.

Dhodâ : ? bread : B., 192. P. D., p. 310 = bread of *jowâr* or *bâjrâ*.

Ḍhok : the setting out of the wedding party to the house of the girl's father : (Bhakkar.)

Dhokî : a low caste, a musician ; ? = Dhâkî : Sirmûr, 63.

Dhonâ : lit. to remove or transport ; also to give or present, as in *tewar ḍhonâ*, to present a *tewar* or set of three garments to the bride's *lâgîs* : add to P. D., 311. (Mukhtsar.)

Dhori : a bride-price : SS. Bashahr, 13.

Dhûb : the stunted *juniperus recurva* : Ch., 235.—*petar* on p. 240.

Dhuâl : = Panj. *udhâl*, a wife married by a brother of a Râjpût to whom she has borne a son : Gloss., III, p. 67. Cf. Bothal.

Dhuj : a pole, set up in front of a temple, probably to represent the *dhajja* or standard of the god : Ch., 186.

Dhwâd : land on which two crops are regularly cultivated : Mandi, 42.

Diâî : an image, of a childless (? sonless) man, = Newa *q.v.* : SS. Bashahr, 33.

Dib : an ordeal : SS. Jubbal, 23.

Dikâshta : a rite observed for 9 days in which offerings are put on the road taken at a funeral : Mandi, 34.

Diljân : ('heart's life'), a sister by mutual adoption : Gloss., I, p. 907.

Dilmila, = Diljân.

Dingi : a small stick, broken in the Chhed karâî divorce : SS. Bashahr, 14.

Dinnâ : black : Ch., 138.

Disa-sul = Jognî : the unlucky direction for the day : Sirmûr, 56 . [Add to Panj. Dy., p. 323.]

Diun : *Sarcococca pruniformis* : Ch., 239.

Dlâû, = Biyâû, feast : Ch., 159.

Do : a kind of bread, in Kanâwar ; = Bâri : SS. Bashahr, 41.

Doah : two : SS. Bashahr, 73.

Dod : ? morning, as in Dod kî rotî, 'breakfast' : SS. Bashahr, 41.

Dodan : *Sapindus Mukorossi*, whose fruit is used as soap ; = *ritha* : Ch., 237.

Dode : soap-nuts : Ch., 243. Also a game played with 5 soap-nuts of which 4 are placed on the ground, while the 5th is thrown into the air. The rest must be picked up and the 5th caught before it reaches the ground : Ch., 212.

Dogrû : a small fish : Ch., 39.

Dohchi : a detached habitation : Sirmûr.

Domang : 'blacksmiths and carpenters' ; cf. Chamang : SS. Bashahr, 22.

Dopâî : the midday meal ; = Rasoî : Ch., 204.

Dorâ : a woollen cord or girdle : Ch., 149, 206.

Doru : a blanket, worn by women : SS. Bashahr, 42.

Doyân : a ceremony observed on the 6th or 11th day after a birth, at which *chillre* or small loaves, also called *doyân*, are cooked, dipped in syrup and distributed : B. 97. Cf. Ḍoi, 'a small spoon' : P. D., 327.

Drudh : Druhrî, a mouse's hole : Ch., 139.

Duâen : (pl. of Ar. *du'a*, 'prayer'), = *hamail*, a necklace of rupees : B., 195.

Dudharî : *Ficus glomerata* : Sirmûr, App. IV, vii.

Dudhârû : rich pasture ; = Adhwârû : Ch., 228. But on p. 277 the form is given as *dudhâri*.

Dudhi : *Wrightii tomentosa* : Sirmûr, App. IV, vi.

Dudhiâru : a collector of milk (*dudh*) for officials : Ch., 264.

Dudh-sharîk bahin : a foster sister : Gloss., I, p. 907.

Dûgâna : a sister by mutual adoption : Gloss., I, p. 907.

Dujang : = the Hindu *shrâdh* in *Kanâwar* : SS. Bashahr, 37.

Dulgi : a cess, spirits made from a forest tree called *khim* : SS. Bashahr, 74.

Dunda : one-handed : Ch., 138.

Dunu, Dunun : garlic ; = *wasan* : Simla S. R., xli, and SS. Bashahr, 49.

Dur : a rope : Gloss., I, p. 392.

Durbiyâl : an official in Brahmaur who performs the duties of an *ugrâhikâ* or *muqaddam* : Ch., 265.

Durohî : an oath, as in 'Râjâ kî durohî,' an oath sworn on the Râjâ : Ch., 154.

Dushman : a sister by the implication that the enemy of one is the other's enemy also : Gloss., I, p. 907.

Ehupra : *myrsine africana* : Sirmûr, App. IV, vi.

Elo : (*ailo*), barley : Ch., 8.

Farûrî : the ceremony of blowing *bihan* at each other by bride and bridegroom : Ch., 143.

Fulgar : the horned pheasant, *Ceriornis melanocephala* : Ch., 36.

Gabhrû : the son of a man by a widow with whom he lives in her dead husband's house ; = Riondha : Mandi, 23.

Gach : gypsum : Ch., 241.

Gachi : Gâ- , a cord, worn as a waist-belt, made of wool : Mandi, 32, and SS. Bashahr, 42, etc.

Gâd : unirrigated land in an upper valley : Mandi, 42.

Gadar : = Paraina, *q.v.*

Gadd : an observance at which women of the bride's family distribute *tikre* (sweetmeats) and those of the boy's *chûri*, while the women of the brotherhood put *patâsâs* in the bride's lap : B., 106. Cf. God paunî, 'to put presents in a bride's lap' : P. D., 351.

Gadda : see under Datha.

Gaddan : a small fish : Ch., 39.

Gaddî : see under Datha.

Gadhaidî : one of the two kinds of edible arum : Simla S. R., xli.

Gadhelra : = *pichhlag*, the son of a remarried widow by her first husband : Comp., 113 Cf. Parkhatt and Niâmar.

Gadhîl : a rich soil of hard clay which forms large hard lumps : Sirmûr, App. I.

Gâgar : a brass pitcher : B. 196. Cf. P. D., 353.

Gaggal : land full of stones : Ch., 220.

Gahorî : a poor stony soil : Sirmûr, App. 1.

Gaihrî or **-rû** : patches of land made by terracing the hill-sides ; = Ghâd : Mandi, 65.

Gainâ : an earthen lamp with 32 wicks, used in ritual cures : Sirmûr, 25.

Gajre : bracelets ; = *paunhchiân* : B., 112.

Gâl : (1) 'neck' : a woman must not wash her head on a Friday or her brother will fall sick— *gâl lagdî* : Ch., 194. (2) = Nihâsa, a prayer to injure an enemy ; Kulu ; Gloss., I, p. 433.

Galaund : the snow pheasant, *tetrasgallus Himalayensis* : Ch., 36.

Galdî : a small fish : Ch., 39.

Galsarî : the chief ornament of a Gaddî woman : Ch., 206.

Gâmî : a man represented by a mask at the Châr or Spring festival : Ch., 45.

Gânâ-chhoran : lit. 'loosening of the *ganas*,' 3 or 6 days after marriage : B., 106.

Ganâr : a hive : Ch., 228.

Gandala : *Sambucus Ebulus* : Ch., 239.

Gandhali : one of the two kinds of edible arum, *A. colocasia* : SS. Bashahr, 48.

Gandhin-pawan : fixing the programme for the wedding ceremonies : B., 105.

Gane : the owner of sheep or goats grazed by a shepherd other than their owner at a fixed rate of remuneration : Ch., 279, n. 1.

Gangâ-bhâî : fem. -bahin, a brother or sister made by visiting the Ganges together and there drinking as in Chulîân lenâ., *q.v.*

Ganorî : a large round basket ; = *pîrî*.

Gaawsar begâr : *corvèe* for travelling officials : SS. Bashahr, 73.

Garib-chârâ : (? Gh-), a quiet form of Sargudhî marriage. The *lâg*, etc., are not all rendered as in that form, but on an auspicious day the bridegroom and his sister go to the bride's house and worship the vessel (*kumbh*). He then seats himself on the blanket and the bride's mother places her by his side. After a meal the pair go to the groom's house and the *kumbh* is again touched. This second worship of it makes the marriage binding : Ch., 153.

Garol : 'Traveller's joy,' *Clematis montana* : Ch., 236.

Gârri : a player on a one-stringed instrument : Ch., 193.

Gat : a hole : *gat nahân*, 'bathing over the hole' or grave, is practised by women whose childern die, in Churâh : Ch., 125.

Gaterir : a demon, = Ghaṭiâlu ; Simla Hills : Gloss., I, p. 470.

Gatha : see under Sathri.

Gato : small or younger : SS. Bashahr, 16 ; -lang, 10 *a.m.* : *ib.*, 41.

Gatod : a plant : Sirmûr, 25.

Gatta : a Gaur Brahman of illegitimate descent : Sirmûr, 35.

Gattî (khelna) : = (1) *goṭî q.v.* Ch., 211. (2) an oath sworn against (? on) the authority of an official ; = Châwal : SS. Bilâspur, 12.

Gaugatî : *Arum colocasea* : Sirmûr, 65 and 69.

Gautura : *Nerium odorum* : Sirmûr, App. IV, vi.

Gawâi : a lower storey in which cattle are kept : Mandi, 33.

Gâwatî : (a meal) eaten in the morning : Sirmûr, 58.

Gelar : fr. *gel*, 'with,' the child which accompanies its mother, when she remarries : Comp., 113. Cf. Gadhelra.

Geriân : a game played with small bits of wood : B., 202.

Ghâd : terraced fields ; = Gaihrî : Mandi, 64.

Ghagarû : -grû, coloured cloth for a skirt : Ch., 142.

(*To be continued.*)

THE HISTORY OF THE NIẒÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AḤMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR WOLSELEY HAIG, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(*Continued from page* 262.)

CV.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE COMING OF IBRÂHÎM 'ÂDIL SHÂH II TO THE ASSISTANCE OF BURHÂN NIẒÂM SHÂH, AND OF HIS BATTLE WITH JAMÂL KHÂN.

When Burhân Niẓâm Shâh had established his camp at Khândwa he sent letters to the Sultans of the Dakan, summoning all of them to his aid. Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II, guided by God's grace and on the advice of Dilâvar Khân, who was the *vakîl* of the kingdom of Bîjâpûr, girded up his loins to assist Burhân Niẓâm Shâh, and marched with a very large army from Bîjâpur.[335]

Râja 'Alî Khân, the ruler of Burhânpûr, when he heard of the march of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh from Bîjâpûr, resolved to assist Burhân Niẓâm Shâh, and came forth to meet the latter before Asîrgaṛh, offered him *pîshkash* and entertained him at the feast, and then marched, in company with him, into Berar. The wretch Jamâl Khân heard of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh's departure from Bîjâpûr and also of the invasion of Berar by Burhân Niẓâm Shâh and Râja 'Alî Khân, the ruler of Burhânpûr, and thus found the whirlpool of destruction closing in upon him on every side. He regarded the business of confronting Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh as the more urgent and, taking with him the prince Ismâ'îl, marched against the Bîjâpûrîs with nearly 10,000 horse. When the two armies met, at the village of Kârî-nârî, the news of the arrival of Burhân Niẓâm Shâh in Berar and of the submission to him of the principal *amîrs* of that province, on whom Jamâl Khân specially relied, was received: but Jamâl Khân, lest the news should spread in the army and cause it to disperse, caused the kettledrums to be beaten and circulated the news that Burhân Niẓâm Shâh had been defeated, while he himself prepared for battle with the 'Âdil Shâhîs.

That night Abhang Khân the African, who was one of Jamâl Khân's principal *amîrs*, fled with his troops from Jamâl Khân's camp to the 'Âdil Shâhî camp, and thence to Berar, where he joined Burhân Niẓâm Shâh's army.

Although the flight of Abhang Khân and the news of the submission of the *amîrs* of Berar to Burhân Niẓâm Shâh combined to shake the resolution of the foolish Jamâl Khân, the obstinacy of ignorance was sufficient to keep him steadfast in his plans, and on the next day he prepared to attack the Bîjâpûrî army. Dilâvar Khân, leaving Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh in camp, marched with the army to repulse Jamâl Khân.

When the two armies were drawn up, the warriors on either side prepared to attack their enemies. Bahâdur Khân Gîlânî and the Foreigners, who had escaped from the battle with Jamâl Khân and had taken refuge in the Bîjâpûr kingdom, charged Jamâl Khân's army. Jamâl Khân's gunners, who had drawn up their heavy guns in front of his army so as to form an impenetrable barrier, now fired. The noise and smoke were tremendous, but as the guns were on an eminence and the 'Âdil Shâhî troops were in a hollow, the fire passed harmlessly over their heads, and the valiant Foreigners charged up to the guns, broke the line of carriages, and then

335 Sayyid 'Alî's account of Burhân's proceedings dislocates the order of events. Burhân's cause had been commended by Akbar to Râja 'Alî Khân of Khândesh, but when Burhân, after his first ill-advised attempt to gain his throne, appealed to Râja 'Alî Khân, the latter counselled him to avoid employing imperial troops, whose presence would only raise the whole of the Dakan against him, and undertook to obtain for him the aid of Ibrâhîm of Bîjâpûr, or rather of Dilâvar Khân the African, in whose hands Ibrâhîm was a puppet. He fulfilled his promise, and Dilâvar Khân not only assisted Burhân by creating a diversion to the south of Aḥmadnagar, but exhorted the *amîrs* of Berar to espouse his cause—F. ii, 119.

fell on Jamâl Khân's force and attacked it bravely. At this juncture 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Ankas Khân, who were the foremost of the Âdil Shâhî army, came round behind Jamâl Khân's army, plundered his baggage and dispersed his army, so that most of Jamâl Khân's troops broke and fled. Jamâl Khân then, with a body of picked cavalry who had withdrawn from the field in good order, observed that most of the Âdil Shâhî army was engaged in gathering the spoils and collecting the beasts of the army of Aḥmadnagar and that Dilâvar Khân, with a small force, remained in order on the field. He, therefore, taking advantage of the opportunity thus offered, fell on Dilâvar Khân like a thunder-clap and slew many of his men. Dilâvar ân, although he strove manfully to meet the attack, was unable to keep his men together, and they fled, leaving their elephants, horses, tents, and camp equipage, and Dilâvar Khân himself escaped with difficulty.[336]

When the fugitives arrived at Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâhî's camp, he seeing that no stand could then be made against the enemy, fled to the fortress of Naldrug, and halted nowhere until he reached that fortress, which is seven *gâû* distant from the battlefield, and the whole of the 'Âdil Shâhî tents, camp equipage, baggage, elephants, horses, arms, and munitions of war fell into the hands of Jamâl Khân's army. Among the spoils were nearly 200 elephants, and the rest of the spoil may be estimated on this scale. The wretch Jamâl Khân retained only the elephants and caused all the other plunder to be divided among his troops.[337]

The next day Jamâl Khân turned and marched northward towards Berar to meet Burhân Niẓâm Shâh.[338] He was puffed up with pride by his victory over the 'Âdil Shâhî army and regarded a battle with the army of Burhân Niẓâm Shâh as a very easy matter. He

336 The army of Bijâpûr advanced to Naldrug and then to Dhârâsiv, in Aḥmadnagar territory. Jamâl Khân, taking with him Ismâ'îl Nizâm Shâh, marched southwards and occupied an extremely strong position some miles to the north of Dhârâsiv. Dilâvar Khân, misled by reports to the effect that Dilâvar Khân meditated flight, incautiously advanced, with 30,000 horse ill prepared for battle, in the hope of capturing Jamâl Khân. So defective was his system of intelligence that when he saw Jamâl Khân's camp, he suspected it to be that of his own master, Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, with whom he had lost touch. He had only just discovered that it was the enemy's camp when a courtier arrived with a message from Ibrâhîm ordering him not to attack, as he was not prepared, but to await reinforcements. He was inclined to repent his rashness, but his pride would not allow him to withdraw, and he trusted to his superiority in numbers and to Jamâl Khân's sense of weakness as betrayed in his determined efforts to patch up a peace. He therefore pushed on across the difficult and broken ground which lay between him and the enemy. The desertion of Abhang Khân decided Jamâl Khân to fight, for he perceived that if he remained inactive, all his partisans would fall away one by one, and as Dilâvar Khân had sent his Marâṭha troops to the rear of the camp to cut off supplies, immediate action was necessary. On Feb. 28, 1591, Dilâvar Khân's force, having crossed the broken ground which lay between him and the enemy, arrived within striking distance in the greatest disorder. 'Ain-ul-Mulk Kan'âni, Ankas Khân and other *amîrs* commanding the wings, knowing that Dilâvar Khân was in disfavour and was fighting against orders, fled with their contingents, with the intention of informing Ibrâhîm that Dilâvar Khân's disobedience had involved the army in defeat. Dilâvar Khân, though much embarrassed by the desertion of these *amirs*, still had a large force under his command, and pressed on to the attack.—F. ii, 121—124.

337 Dilâvar Khân was left with only seven attendants, one of whom was the historian Firishta, who was wounded, and fled with all speed in order to forestall, if possible, those *amîrs* who had deserted him and wished to destroy him. Before reaching Naldrug he was joined by two or three thousand of his broken troops. Firishta, owing to his wounds, was left in Dhârâsiv and fell into the hands of Jamâl Khân, but somehow contrived to escape.—F. ii, 124.

338 Râja Ali Khân and Burhân were much alarmed by the news that Jamâl Khân was marching against them. They wrote to Ibrâhîm, imploring him to harass the enemy as much as possible and sent as prisoners to Asirgarh, Sayyid Amjad the *Mahdavî* and other *amîrs* of Berar whose fidelity they suspected. Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh, who had been eight days behind Jamâl Khân, halted at Pâthrî, near the Godâvari, but sent a force of Marâṭha horse to harass him and cut off his supplies. Dilâvar Khân wished to push on towards Rohankhed, but the king would not move and the quarrel which ensued brough about Dilâvar Khân's downfall.

therefore marched with great speed, covering two stages every day, little thinking that he was marching to meet his fate. The hand of fate had seized his reins and was leading him straight to the slaughter house, and he therefore passed on, intent on battle and disregarding all advice, until he reached the neighbourhood of the *ghât* of Rohankhed.[339]

But before Jamâl Khân could reach the *ghât* already named, the royal army had already seized on it, and Jamâl Khân therefore turned aside to another *ghât*, by crossing which he would be able to attack the royal army. When Burhân Nizâm Shâh heard of the intended passage of Jamâl Khân by another *ghât*, he was inspired to march thither to meet him, and with Râja 'Alî Khân and the whole army, marched towards the ford for which Jamâl Khân was making. The royal army reached this ford before Jamâl Khân's arrival, and by great good fortune obtained possession of the only water which was to be found in the neighbourhood. At the hottest time of the day, when the sun was at its height, Jamâl Khân and his army descended the *ghât* and caught sight of the royal army.

When they descended from the hills into the plains, they saw a land which resembled the plain of the resurrection in heat, and dry in the extreme. Jamâl Khân's army marched hither and thither in that dry land in search of water, but found nothing but a mirage.[340]

When Jamâl Khân found matters to be thus, he turned his heart aside from thoughts of eating and drinking, and even from those of the kingdom and of the wealth, and on that very day, Rajab 13 (May 7, A.D. 1591),[341] resolved to attack the royal army at once. In company with Khudâvand Khân he drew up his army, placing the artillery in front and the rest of the army in its rear, and then marched to attack the royal army.

It so happened that between the two armies there was an impassable slough, on the edge of which the royal artillery was drawn up in ambush, and Jamâl Khân's army, knowing nothing of this obstacle, came on at a rapid pace, when suddenly the greater part of their elephants and cavalry stuck fast in the mire, and Jamâl's army, though they hastened to the right and the left to find a passage, were unable to find one, or to cross the slough. The royal troops, who were drawn up on the edge of the slough, then opened a heavy artillery fire on Jamâl Khân's troops and threw them into the greatest confusion.

At this juncture Habshiyân, who was one of Jamâl Khân's *amîrs*, led by his good fortune, turned his face from Jamâl Khân and went over, with nearly 1,000 horse, to Burhân Nizâm Shâh, and his defection caused still greater confusion among Jamâl Khân's troops. Jâmal Khân was now much perturbed and rode backwards and forwards trying to make his men fight by promises of money rewards. He then came to his artillery and used every effort to induce the gunners to fire their guns, but nobody fired a gun. Failing in his object he was overcome with wrath, and cut off the head of Mâdho Râm, the *havâldâr* of the artillery, with a sword. Then, when he looked around and saw the way of safety closed on every side, he washed his hands of life, and he and Khudâvand Khân then rode into the thick of the fight and fought bravely.

In the meantime victory declared for Burhân Nizâm Shâh[342] and the proud banner of Jamâl Khân was hurled down into the dust. Jamâl Khân was now hit in the forehead by a musket ball, drank the hot draught of death at the hands of the lord of hell, and went

339 In 20° 38′ N. and 76° 12′ E.

340 Jamâl Khân, arriving within striking distance of the enemy after a long and hot march, found him in possession of the only water within view. After some search a grove of date palms was found, which contained just enough water to slake the thirst of Jamâl Khân's men and their horses. Jamâl Khân attacked as soon as his men had refreshed themselves—F. ii, 297.

341 Firishta (ii, 297) agrees in this date, but the *Akbarnâma* has April 5, 1591.

342 According to Abûl Fazl, in the *Akbarnâma*, the victory of Rohankhed was due almost entirely to Râja 'Alî Khân. He and Burhân agreed that it would not be politic for the latter to be prominent in hostilities against his future subjects, if it could be avoided, and thus Burhân stood aside, with a small contingent, while his ally engaged the enemy.

to receive the punishment of his crimes. One of the warriors of the royal army recognized him, severed his evil head from his vile body, and having thus cleansed the earth from the pollution of his existence, hastened with the head to Burhân Niẕâm Shâh.

Khudâvand Khân, when he witnessed the end of Jamâl Khân, turned his horse's head away from the field of battle, and with a few of his brave warriors, took to flight. A troop of brave warriors from the royal army gave chase to him, and soon came up with him, and although Khudâvand Khân turned to meet them, it availed nought, for his hour was come, and the swords of the warriors finished his business and sent him to join Jamâl Khân.[343]

But Dastûr Khân,[344] the eunuch, who had been placed by Jamâl Khân and Khudâvand Khân in charge of the young prince Ismâ'îl, when he saw the death of Jamâl Khân and Khudâvand Khân, took the prince with him and fled. When the news of the flight of the traitor Dastûr Khân reached Burhân Niẕâm Shâh, he sent a troop of his cavalry in pursuit of him. This troop pursued him hotly, and when Dastûr Khân saw that he could not, encumbered as he was, escape from them, he left the prince and continued his flight alone. The pursuers took the young prince and led him into the presence of the king, his father, by whom he was kindly received. The king kissed his forehead and forgave him all his faults, including even his rebellion, following the dictates of mercy and parental feeling.

When the hand of fate sealed the book of the life of Jamâl Khân with the seal of death and closed his unworthy existence with the pistol of destruction, bringing to an end the days of his rule which were, indeed, a night of misfortune to the good and a festival of wealth and power to the wicked, the glorious sun of the kingdom of Burhân Niẕâm Shâh by God's grace rose and illumined the world, gladdening and profiting all.

The king gave thanks to God for his great victory, and in gratitude therefor, issued an act of indemnity to the whole of the army of Jamâl Khân. The great men of the court then came before the king and congratulated him on his great victory, and all received honours and rewards befitting their rank. The king's secretary wrote an account of the victory and accession, and thus spread the glad news throughout the world.

The length of the reign of the prince, Ismâ'îl Niẕâm Shâh, and of the tenure of office by his vakîl, Jamâl Khân, was nearly two years.

The battle of Rohankhed was fought on Rajab 13 A.H. 999 (May 7, A.D. 1591). An account of the life of Burhân Niẕâm Shâh from his birth and his glorious reign until now would be so long that this book could not contain it. I will, therefore, turn my attention to writing a fresh volume for the delight of the world. I hope that his kingdom will endure as long as the sun shall shine.

CVI.—An Account of Burhân Niẕâm Shâh's Despatch of an Army against the Franks (Portuguese) and of some of the Events which happened at that Time.

In accordance with the orders of God and the prophet, which enjoin holy wars, the king was ever occupying his mind with thoughts of waging holy wars against infidels and misbelievers and in designs of conquest. But especially did he desire to uproot and overthrow those causes of strife and mischief, the wicked Portuguese, whose tyranny had laid waste countries and cities, and against whose oppression both bond and free cried aloud, and who were thus more obnoxious to the king than other polytheists, for this irreligious nation is distinguished above other polytheists and heretics by its great power and majesty, and Musalmans are ever suffering at their hands.

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343 Firishta says (ii, 297) that Yâqût Khân accompanied Khudāvand Khān in his flight and shared his fate.

344 Firishta (ii. 297) calls this eunuch Suhail Khân. He fled to Bijâpûr.

The late king, Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh, had, in the early part of his reign, led an army against the Portuguese in Revdanda and had besieged that fortress for a long time, in the course of which much fighting took place between the royal army and the Portuguese, and most of the dwellings of the polytheists were destroyed by artillery fire, while many of the Musalmans attained martyrdom. But at length the king, being annoyed with some of the *amîrs* and officers of state who had entered into correspondence with the Portuguese, and in accordance with agreements entered into with them, had hung back in the day of battle, had abandoned the siege and returned to his capital and had punished the treacherous *amîrs*, as has already been related. Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh had had no other opportunity of avenging himself on the misbelievers, and from that time until the time of his ascending the throne, it had been the desire of Burhân Niẓâm Shâh to take revenge on the misbelievers and polytheists, and he had been meditating a holy war against that irreligious and evil tribe.

One of the ships of Burhân Niẓâm Shâh, named the "Ḥusainî," was sailing from Mecca to the port on Murtaẓâ-âbâd Chaul with a large number of Musalmans and much treasure and property on board and had been sucked into a whirlpool and sunk in the neighbourhood of the port of Vaîsî which is in the possession of the Portuguese, and the Portuguese had recovered most of the treasure and property by means of divers, and had thus opened the doors of war in their faces.[345] Fahîm Khân, who was governor of that district and was, by the royal command, engaged in endeavouring to recover the cargo of the ship, reported the affair to the king, and the report aroused the king's old zeal against the Christians, and a command was issued that as Fahîm Khân was well acquainted with the circumstances and conditions of that part of the country and of its forts and strongholds, he should repair immediately to court. Fahîm Khân obeyed the order and travelled in great haste to court. On his arrival the king questioned him regarding all the circumstances and conditions of that country, and then commanded that the map-makers of court should draw an accurate map of the village of Revdanda, of Chaul and of the hill of Kârla,[346] which is opposite to these villages and commands them, and should submit it to him. The order was obeyed, and a very accurate map was drawn and submitted to the king. The king then decided that the troops should first build a fort on the Kârla hill and should garrison it and mount guns in it in order to strike terror into the hearts of the polytheists and to overthrow their buildings and dwellings, and to close the way by sea which was their only way of obtaining supplies, thus reducing them to extreme straits. The position of the Kârla hill was such that the only way to Revdanda by sea lay past it, and after a fort had been built on its summit it would be impossible even for birds to find a passage by that way. The *amîrs* and officers of state applauded this plan of the king's.

In spite of the fact that most of the *amîrs* and troops had been detached to Berar, which was on the frontier of Akbar's empire and was, as was then rumoured, likely to be attacked by Sulṭân Murâd, of the fact that the grounds of quarrel between Burhân Niẓâm Shâh and Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh had not been entirely removed, and of the fact that 'Imâd Khân with a number of the best known *amîrs* had been detached to the assistance of Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh, Burhân Niẓâm Shâh, having resolved to wage a holy war against the infidels,

345 This provocation is not mentioned by Firishta. The Portuguese account says :—'This action (the attack on Revdanda) was taken by the Nizamaluco (Burhân Niẓâm Shâh), notwithstanding the treaty that still existed between him and the Portuguese, which had been concluded by Francisco Barreto ; but he justified his action in this respect on the ground of certain complaints which he preferred against the present governor, Matthias de Albuquerque'—Danvers, ii, 89. 'Vaîsî' was perhaps Bassein.

346 Firishta (ii, 302) calls this hill **Khorla**. According to the Portuguese account, the commander of the 'Moorish' settlement on the opposite side of the river, who had once been in the service of the Portuguese, 'had collected on a height called the Morro a body of 4,000 horse and 7,000 infantry, with which he overawed the Portuguese city, and inflicted considerable damage on the place with sixty-five large cannon which he had placed there'—Danvers, ii, 88, 89.

paid no heed to other enemies, but commanded all *amîrs* then present at court to prepare themselves and their troops for a holy war against the unbelievers.

In accordance with the royal command, Farhâd Khân the African, who was one of the slaves of the court, prepared to march against the misbelieving Franks and was invested with a robe of honour and appointed to the command of the expedition, and I'timâd Khân, *sar-i-naubat* of the left wing, was appointed *sar-i-naubat* and muster master of the force, and assistant to Farhâd Khân, and a large number of the famous *amîrs*, such as Shujâ'at Khân, Tâj Khân, Bajlah Khân, Bahâdur Khân, Nasir-ul-Mulk, Âne Râo, Kâmil Khân, Mujtabî Khân and Shaikh Farîd Râja, who commanded all the *silâhdârs*, with most of the *havâldârs* and officers of the army, and all the troops—Africans, Turks, Dakanîs and Khurâsânis—were appointed to the army under the command of Farhâd Khân, and on Tuesday, Sha'ban 2, marched towards the port of Revdanda—an army such as had never marched to battle before.[347]

Fahîm Khân, who was an old servant of the Nizâm Shâhî dynasty, and had long been governor of the whole of the Konkan, was now appointed on account of his intimate knowledge of that country, to be special assistant to Farhâd Khân and his army. Bakhtyâr Khân, *sarpardadâr*, who was a specially trusted servant of the king, was appointed to the command of all the infantry, gunners, archers and spearmen of the expedition—a very large force—and marched with them for the land of the unbelievers. Asad Khân, one of the trusted servants of the kingdom, who was distinguished for his political wisdom and had for a long time held the office of *pîshvâ* and *vakîl*, as has been said, and who was also unequalled in the art of besieging and reducing fortresses and in his knowledge of artillery, was sent, in company with Rûmi Khân, who was also one of the most famous artillerists of the Dakan and was in command of the artillery of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, with the heavy artillery of Ahmadnagar to overwhelm the polytheists.

The zeal of Burhân Nizâm Shâh against the polytheists was such that he continually went in person to the gun park and urged the expediting of the dispatch of the artillery, until at length all the great guns were sent against the Franks.[348]

347 The date here given is equivalent to May 4, 1593, but according to the Portuguese account :—" The Moors began a regular siege of Chaul in April, 1592." It is clear that hostilities began some time before Farhâd Khân was appointed to the command of the besieging force, for Firishta says that the Portuguese, before his arrival, had already made two successful night attacks on the Muslims, killing, on each occasion, two or three thousand Dakanis, at whose destruction Burhân Nizâm Shâh secretly rejoiced. The Muslims were at first commanded by 'the eunuch Taladar,' who was wounded and died. A Turk who succeeded him was also killed, and Farhâd Khân, who arrived from Ahmadnagar with 10,000 horse, then took command of the besieging force. The Portuguese were also reinforced by sixty grabs laden with fighting men and munitions of war, according to Firishta. The Portuguese account is more explicit : " Dom Alvaro de Abranches shortly arrived with a reinforcement of 300 men from Bassein and 200 men from Surat, and the garrison then consisted of 1,500 Portuguese and about an equal number of slaves." Firishta says that on July 17, 1593, 1,000 Portuguese and many African slaves attacked Khorla and were defeated, 100 Portuguese and 200 other Christians being slain, and Burhân II gave a great banquet to celebrate this victory. The Portuguese account does not mention this reverse.—F. ii, 302, 303; Danvers, ii, 89.

348 Sayyid 'Ali does not mention the disgraceful end of the expedition to Chaul. Firishta says (ii, 304, 305) that on the night of Friday, September 13, 1593, 4,000 Portuguese attacked Khorla. Tâj Khân and Âne Rao were encamped without the fort with a force and bore the first brunt of the attack. The gates of the fort were opened to admit the fugitives but could not be shut in time to exclude their pursuers, and the Portuguese followed them into the fort and began to lay about them. The uproar awoke Farhâd Khân, Asad Khân, and the other *amirs* from their sleep, but they were too confused to devise any measure of defence, and the slaughter continued. Ten or twelve thousand Muslims were slain and Farhâd Khân and his wife and daughter were taken alive. His wife was ransomed, but he and his daughter became Christians and went to Portugal. The Portuguese account places the number of the killed at 10,000 " whilst others have stated that they amounted to 60,000." The spoils were considerable, and of the Portuguese only twenty-one were killed. (Danvers, ii, 90.) Firishta (ii, 304) attributes the apathy of the officers to disaffection caused by the tyranny of Burhân II, and adds that Burhân regarded this slaughter of the Dakanîs as a victory.

CVII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE PUNISHMENT OF SOME FOES IN THE GUISE OF FRIENDS WHO, THOUGH IN THE SERVICE OF BURHÂN NIẒÂM SHÂH, WERE SECRETLY LEAGUED WITH HIS ENEMIES AND ENDEAVOURING TO BRING ABOUT THE RUIN OF THE KINGDOM.

In the meantime, while the army was being despatched against the polytheists, the king received news from the *kotwâl* of the fortress of Jond that a number of rebels, headed by that chief of rebels and enemy of the family of the prophet—Amjad-ul-Mulk the *Mahdavî*—Amjad-ul-Mulk, had formed the design of rebelling and had sent a large sum to the *nâikwârîs* of that fort to induce them, by some means or other, to set free the prince Ismâ'îl, the son of Burhân Niẓâm Shâh, who had himself been king, and to hand him over to them, in order that he might become the nucleus of a rebellion.[349]

Burhân Niẓâm Shâh, who was under God's special protection, although he knew all about the actions of these seditious persons, had, nevertheless, been indisposed to punish before any overt act had been committed. Now, however, that the treason of these traitors had been exposed and they had been shown in their true light by the petition of the *kotwâl* of the fortress, and the petition of Rashîd-ul-Mulk, the Bîjâpûr envoy, the king set himself to prevent the rebellion before it had actually broken out, and issued an order summoning the wicked Amjad-ul-Mulk from his *jâgîr*, where he had been compelled to dwell by a royal *farmân*, to court, in order that his case might be tried and that he might be handed over to the police officer in the event of his guilt being proved.

Maḥalldâr Khân, in accordance with the royal command, went to summon the rebel and dragged him to the royal court. After he had been tried, a number of his fellow conspirators who had been concerned in his plot, were brought to trial, and were sentenced to be flayed alive, while Amjad-ul-Mulk, who had been a traitor to his master and benefactor and had earned the reward of his treason, was blinded, but as this was not all the punishment due to his treason, after his eyes had been torn out and he had been subjected to blindness, which is the worst of punishments, the lord of hell hastened to receive his wicked spirit and reunited him with the evil Jamâl Khân and the other lords of error who had been his companions, and it was proved to the world that the way of transgressors is hard and their end evil.

CVIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE ACTS OF JUSTICE OF BURHÂN NIẒÂM SHÂH, WHICH WERE PERFORMED ABOUT THIS TIME.[350]

In the course of these events it was reported to the king that Sayyid Nûr Muḥammad Amîn, who had proceeded as an ambassador, Jalâl-ud-dîn Muḥammad Akbar Pâdshâh, to the

349 Burhân II had from the first been obnoxious to the Dakanîs and Africans, and there had been more than one plot to depose him and restore his son Ismâ'îl. Sayyid Amjad-ul-Mulk, though a Foreigner, had adopted the *Mahdavi* religion, the professors of which were chiefly Dakanîs and Africans. Firishta does not mention Amjad-ul-Mulk's plot.

350 Sayyid 'Alî mentions his patron's acts of justice, but not his tyranny. During the siege of Chaul he formed the habit of seizing and dishonouring the wives and daughters of his subjects. He commanded Shujâ'at Khân the African, one of his chief *amîrs*, to send him his wife, and when he refused, he had him imprisoned and had his wife brought to the royal harem by force. The lady did not find favour in his eyes and he sent her away unmolested, but in the meantime Shujâ'at Khân had committed suicide by stabbing himself in the stomach. The king's act aroused a storm of indignation, and the officers at Chaul neglected their duty and thought of nothing but returning to Aḥmadnagar and deposing the tyrant —F. ii, 304.

court of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II, was returning from Bîjâpûr and had arrived within a short distance of Aḥmadnagar, and the king decided, in view of the service formerly rendered by him to the Niẓâm Shâhî dynasty, to honour him by summoning him to the capital and entertaining him, and by the royal command the learned and distinguished Sayyid Ghanâ'im, who was one of the king's most intimate courtiers, was sent to invite Nûr Muḥammad Amîn, whom he found in the neighbourhood of the capital, and brought to court. When he arrived at the outskirts of the garden of the 'Ibâdatkhâna, a number of the nobles, such as Miyân Manjhû Jânî Begî, Sharza Khân, *sar-i-naubat* of the right wing, and other officers of the army, went forth by the royal command to welcome the Sayyid, and brought him to the outskirts of the garden of the watercourse where they lodged him. After that great quantities of fodder, of food, drink, and all sorts of fruits were sent for use of the Sayyid and his followers, the plain being loaded with these evidences of royal generosity.

After Nûr Muḥammad Amîn had been thus royally entertained at a banquet, it was reported to the king in a petition from Nûr Muhammad Ṭâhir Mûsawî that when he was ambassador from Quṭb Shâh to 'Âdil Shâh it had been reported to that king that Nûr Muḥammad Amîn had oppressively possessed himself of the property of certain merchants who were travelling in the same direction as he was. The petition expressed a hope that the king would not pass over such tyranny but would see that those who had suffered wrong were righted. Now, although the offence had not been committed within the dominions of Ahmadnagar, the king's sense of justice, hatred of oppression, and benevolence towards all who were desolate and oppressed were such that he determined to right the wrong. In spite of what was agreeable to that Sayyid in particular, and to all other Sayyids in general, and in spite of Nûr Muhammad Amîn's high post in the service of so mighty a monarch as Jalâl-ud-dîn Muḥammad Akbar, who had for nearly 40 years sat upon the imperial throne, ruling over most of the countries of Hind, Sind, Kabul, Kashmîr, Bengal, Mâlwa, Gujarât and Somnât, and was above all the kings of the earth by reason of the numbers and strength of his armies—in spite of all these considerations—Burhân Niẓâm Shâh resolved that justice should be done. He therefore commanded that Nûr Muḥammad Amîn should settle the claims of the merchants and leave the country, but that he should not venture to march until he had settled their claims.

Although Nûr Muḥammad Amîn, after admitting the justice of the claim, excused himself, and through the mediation of the great officers of state and the king's courtiers represented that consideration was due to him on account of the services which he had formerly rendered to the state, the king's love of justice would not permit him to listen to such pleas, and he insisted on nothing short of restoration of the property to those from whom it had been taken, and the satisfaction of those who claimed justice.

In short, thanks to the king's justice, the property which Akbar Pâdshâh's ambassador had unjustly taken was restored, willingly or unwillingly, and he obtained leave to depart.[351]

[351] Sayyid 'Alî's history ends here, what follows being merely a supplement or appendix. Burhân Niẓâm Shâh II died on April 13 (*Akbarnâma*) or April 28 (F. ii, 307) 1595, and his elder son, Ibrâhîm, to whom Ismâ'îl had formerly been preferred, was raised to the throne. Ibrâhîm, who was a worthless sot, was killed in a faction fight on Aug. 22, 1595, and Chând Bibî supported the claim of his infant son, Bahâdur, to the throne, while Miyân Manjhû and the Dakanîs, with whom the Africans were, for once, not in accord, raised to the throne the pretender Ahmad.

Supplement.

CIX.—An account of the march of the Mughul Army to the Dakan, and of their return without accomplishing their object.

It is evident that when God opens the door of prosperity in the face of a fortunate man and fortifies him with trust in Himself, fulfilment hastens to greet his hopes in which direction soever they may turn. This proposition is well exemplified in the coming to the Dakan of the Mughul army and in their retreat, after besieging Aḥmadnagar, and after much fighting, without obtaining a glimpse of victory or success, and also in the persevering loyalty of that Bilqîs of the age, Chând Bîbî Sulṭân, daughter of Ḥusain Niẓâm Shâh I, may God most High extend the shadow of her majesty over the heads of all creatures.

The account of these events is as follows :—After the martyrdom of Ibrâhîm Niẓâm Shâh, Miyân Manjhû stepped aside from the path of obedience and faithful service and placed on the throne of the Dakan a young boy whom he named Aḥmad Shâh,[352] and sent the true prince, Bahâdur Niẓâm Shâh, a prisoner to Jond, which is one of the strongest forts of the Dakan ; nor did he content himself with this, but posted a body of doorkeepers around the private pavilion of the chaste Chând Bîbî Sulṭân to prevent the access of the servants and personal slaves to her, and to prevent any one from approaching the pavilion. Nay more, he entertained the thought of overthrowing her altogether.

The African *amîrs*, however, refused to support Miyân Manjhû, and besieged the fortress of Aḥmadnagar,[353] reducing the garrison to considerable straits. Miyân Manjhû in his difficulties, sent a petition to the prince, Shâh Murâd, who was ever meditating the conquest of the Dakan and an expedition towards Aḥmadnagar, enticing and instigating him to attempt the conquest of the Dakan. Before this letter reached Shâh Murâd, he had already received from Akbar Pâdshâh a *farmân* directing him to undertake the conquest of the Dakan, and all the *amîrs* stationed on the frontier had received similar orders. Now that Shâh Murâd learnt from Miyân Manjhû's petition of the quarrels between the *amîrs* of Aḥmadnagar, he seized his opportunity, and with the *amîrs* of Gujarât, Mâlwa and other districts marched towards the Dakan.

When Râja 'Alî Khân, the ruler of Burhânpûr, heard of the approach of that great army, he gave up all hope of receiving any assistance from the army of the Dakan, and in obedience to the orders of Akbar Pâdshâh, joined the prince and the officers of the army, and

352 Some years before this a person named Shâh Tâhir had appeared in the Dakan, representing himself to be the son of Muḥammad Khudâbanda, son of Burhân Niẓâm Shâh I, on whose death in A.D. 1554 all his sons, except Ḥusain, his successor, had left Aḥmadnagar. Shâh Tâhir said that Khudâbanda had died in Bengal, and that he was his son. Some trustworthy men who had known Khudâbanda personally were sent to Burhân II, then an *amîr* at the court of Akbar, to investigate the matter. Burhân informed them that Khudâbanda, who was his uncle, had died in his house, that all his offspring were still with him, and that Shâh Tâhir was an impostor. Shâh Tâhir was imprisoned in a fortress, lest he should create disturbances, and died, leaving a son, Aḥmad—F. ii, 310, 311.

353 On September 5, 1595, Ikhlâṣ Khân and the other African and *Muwallad amîrs* drew up their forces in the plain of the *Kâlâ Chabûtra*. Miyân Manjhû enthroned Aḥmad Shâh on a bastion of the fort and sent out his son, Miyân Ḥasan, with 700 horse, to attack the Africans. A ball struck the umbrella of Ahmad Shâh and caused much consternation, and Miyân Ḥasan's force was defeated and fled within the fort, which was then besieged. The Africans were then reinforced by Abhang and Ḥabashî Khân the *Muwallad*, who were released by the commandant of Daulatâbâd. The governor of Jond, however, refused to release Bahâdur without an order from Miyân Manjhû ; and the Africans, who had ten or twelve thousand horse, but required a figure-head, set up a child picked out of the bazars of Aḥmadnagar, whom they entitled Motî Shâh. It was now that the traitor Miyân Manjhû applied to Sultân Murâd for help—F. ii, 311, 312.

professed obedience.[354] He had an interview with the Khânkhânân, who placed great confidence in him and introduced him to the prince. The combined forces then marched for the Dakan by way of Sultânpûr.

Sa'âdat Khan, one of the *amîrs* of the reign of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, had, since the death of Ibrâhîm Nizâm Shâh, behaved with great courtesy and consideration towards the traitor Miyân Manjhû, and Miyân Manjhû now sent him to Kâlba [355] and Nâsik which he held in *muqâsâ* from the Nizâm Shâhî government. At this time, when the great Mughul army was passing by these places, Sa'âdat Khan, having regard to the smallness of his numbers and the great strength of the enemy, saw no suitable opportunity of opposing them, and the Mughul army marched without any opposition into the Dakan. Miyân Manjhû, who had in the meantime been relieved from his troubles by the cessation of the siege of Ahmadnagar by the Africans,[356] repented of having called this army to his aid and took counsel with the chief statesmen of the kingdom. As he was very apprehensive of Chând Bîbî Sultân, and feared her greatly, he treated her with great deference, in order that he might again worm his way into favour. He then marched with his troops from the fortress of Ahmadnagar to meet, as he said, the Mughuls. He had to halt for three days without the walls to await the assembling of the army of the Dakan and the arrival of his son, Miyân Hasan, who had been sent with some other amîrs to suppress the rising of Ikhlâs Khan and the rest of the African *amîrs*. While he was halted here, news repeatedly arrived of the approach of the army of the Mughuls, and he took counsel with the *amîrs* as to whether they should halt where they were and meet the enemy in the open field. Most of the *amîrs* advised retreat rather than battle, but Chând Bîbî Sultân summoned Mujâhid-ud-dîn Shamshîr Khân the African, who had been brought up at the court of Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh and, having risen by slow degrees from the position of a slave to the rank of an *amîr* and an officer, had then withdrawn himself from public business, both civil and military, and had chosen a life of holy retirement devoted to the study of theology, and now that Miyân Manjhû was reduced to impotence by his fear came forth to aid the state with his advice, and Ikhlâs Khân and the rest of the Africans, and asked them for their advice in the matter of opposing the Mughuls in the field. Mujâhid-ud-dîn Shamshîr Khan the African forbade Miyân Manjhû to carry out his intention of fleeing, saying that to flee before an enemy's army without appeal to the arbitrament of the sword and to leave one's country and one's fellow subjects to the mercy of the enemy was a course approved by no faithful follower of the true religion and would bring a heavy punishment at the day of judgment. Miyân Manjhû replied that the army of the enemy was thousands more

[354] Râja 'Alî Khân of Khândesh had long been in a difficult position. His sympathies were with the independent states of the Dakan, but he could not openly oppose the emperor. Abûl Fazl says in the *Akbarnâma* that he now for the first time ranged himself definitely on the imperial side. He had long made profession of loyalty, but his actions had not always coincided with his words, and it was only in the presence of envoys from Akbar that the *Khutbah* had been recited in the emperor's name. He had opposed Khân-i-A'zâm when he invaded Berar, but had repented of his action. It was Faizî who first seriously influenced him, and now that the Dakan was to be invaded by two large imperial armies he once more received an envoy from Akbar, who conciliated him by promising that the rich district of Nandurbâr should be added to his kingdom. Miyân Manjhû's appeal to Sultân Murâd had deprived Râja 'Alî Khân of every pretext for standing aloof.

[355] Kalvan in 20° 30′ N. and 74° 2′ E.

[356] Miyân Manjhû, on September 30, 1595, attacked the African *amîrs* at the *'Îdgâh*, defeated them and captured their 'king' Motî Shâh. It was now that he repented of his message to Sultân Murâd.—F. ii. 312.

than double in number the army of the Dakan, and that even if the latter endured all the toils and hardships of a fight against such odds, it would only be to lose all their elephants, all their artillery and all that enabled Aḥmadnagar to exist as an independent kingdom. Philosophers, he said, had said that the wise man was he who refrained from fighting with one stronger than himself and appealed to arms only as a last resort. He said that it would be the wisest course to flee to the court of Ibrâhîm ʻ Âdil Shâh II and make Bîjâpûr their place of refuge, and to appeal for help also to Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh and then, with the assistance of these two powerful kings, to return and drive out the invaders. Mujâhid-ud-dîn Shamshîr Khân replied that if Miyân Manjhû would but remain where he was and hand over the command of the forces to him, leaving the duty of fighting the enemy to him, he would, with God's help, make such a night attack on the enemy and so fight that the stories of *Dâstân* and *Qiṣṣa-yi-Haft Khvân* should be forgotten. If, he said, he were victorious over the enemy, all would be well, and if not, he would become a guerrilla leader and would devote himself to harrying the enemy on all sides, and would slay any that might be delivered into his hand, would make all roads difficult for them, would cut off all their supplies of water and forage, and thus so encircle them that they would be unable to move, and would be reduced to such severe straits that they would return ashamed and unsuccessful.

But Miyân Manjhû was not sure of Shamshîr Khân's goodwill towards himself, and on the pretext that the army would not follow him, refused to accede to his request, but in order to satisfy him, appointed him *amîr-ul-umarâ* and commander-in-chief of the province of Aḥmadnagar, in order that he might preserve order in that country and protect the people, and that the scattered army might gather together under his command and that his commands and prohibitions might be obeyed.

A written *farmân* to this effect was issued and Shamshîr Khân was invested with the robe of honour of *amîr-ul-umarâ* of the country and people. The command of the fort of Aḥmadnagar was given to Anṣâr Khân,[357] one of Shamshîr Khân's friends and supporters, and he was ordered to repel some of the nobles and some of the people of the kingdom.

Then Aḥmad (Niẓâm) Shâh, taking with him all the cash and valuables that were in the treasury, nearly 300 elephants, the whole of the artillery, all the insignia and paraphernalia of royalty, and about 8,000 horse who had chosen to accompany him and to serve him, retired disgracefully on Friday, Rabi II, 20 (December 23, A.D. 1595) to Bir.[358]

A number of the great nobles and officers of state, such as Afẓal Khân, who had more experience of the service of kings than any of his contemporaries, now privately assured Chând Bîbî Sulṭân of their fidelity to her and entered the service of the Niẓâm Shâhî house. Also Maulânâ Shams-ud-dîn Muḥammad Lârî, the ambassador of Ibrâhîm ʻ Âdil Shâh II, Maulânâ Ḥâjî Iṣfahânî, the ambassador of Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh, Ḥabîb Khân, who was at that time made an *amîr* and a local governor, the Sayyid Mîr Zamân Riẓavî-yi-Mashhadî, and a large number of other Foreigners, of whom the author was one, withdrew from public affairs, and being no longer content to be associated with Miyân Manjhû preferred the service of the Queen to the company of that chief of evil men.

357 According to Firishta (ii, 312) Anṣâr Khân was a follower of Miyân Manjhû.

358 Firishta says (ii, 312) that Miyân Manjhû and Aḥmad Shâh retired to Ausa, in order to summon help from Bîjâpûr and Golconda. Miyân Manjhû had three good reasons for retiring from Aḥmadnagar. He was apprehensive of Chând Bîbî, he feared to meet the imperial army in the field, and his position, as the statesman who had invited imperial intervention, would have been most embarrassing

Miyân Manjhû, fearing the opposition of the Foreigners, sent a messenger to Ṣaffdar Khân, governor of the city of Burhânâbâd, ordering him to bring all the Foreigners, whether they would or not, with all the artillery, firearms, and munitions of war belonging to the government, to the royal camp. Ṣaffdar Khân, Ḥabîb Khân, Asad Khân, and some other Foreigners were thus compelled to march, whether they would or not, and join the camp of Miyân Manjhû, but a number of other (Foreign) officers sat at home, closed their doors to the world, and refused to join the army of Miyân Manjhû.

When Chând Bibî Sulṭân heard of the flight of the traitors and revolutionists, she devoted the whole of her attention to the settling of the affairs of the faith and of state and to strengthening the foundations of the realm and the monarchy and repairing the breaches caused by the recent disorders. . . . being. . . . [359] of the royal family, had been from time to time when he came to years of discretion, always scrupulously observant of the orders issued by royal authority, and firm in his obedience thereto, especially during the supremacy of Miyân Manjhû, and had always entered into engagements with Afẓal Khân regarding the repelling of the enemies of the state and evolved effectual plans to this end, now that Miyân Manjhû had left the capital empty and retreated, Chând Bîbî Sulṭân sent for Afẓal Khân and Muḥammad Khân and urged them to oppose Anṣâr Khân. As most of the chief men and nobles of the state had left the army of Miyân Manjhû, Anṣâr Khân, *kotwâl* of the fortress of Aḥmadnagar, becoming apprehensive of them, prepared, in pursuance of the instructions which he had received from Miyân Manjhû, to oppose them ; and as he feared Muḥammad Khân, who was the chief and leader of all the Dakanîs, more than any of the others he regarded his overthrow as the most important of all the steps to be taken.

On Monday, therefore, Rabî-'uṣ-ṣânî 23 (December 26, A.D. 1595) which day was in truth, the morning of the prosperity of the good, and the evening of the downfall of the foes of the state, having made all arrangements with his brethren and his partisans for slaying Muḥammad Khân,[360] he sent a man to the Khân saying that he urgently desired his presence to consult with him and carry out certain important affairs of state. Muḥammad Khân, as I have heard from him, trusting entirely in God's mercy and goodness, went with a few of his sons and relatives to the fort to confer with the wretch Anṣâr Khân. Anṣâr Khân, making the excuse that the consultation must take place in private, first took the Khân to his own quarters, he having posted there a body of troops to whom he had given instructions to attack and overpower the Khân when he should give the signal. Muḥammad Khân, ignorant of the wiles of his enemies, entered the quarters with two of his sons and one other of his relatives, but Multân Khân Sayyid Ḥasan, Aḥmad Shâh and Shîr Khân, although they were ranked among the partisans of Anṣâr Khân, secretly associated themselves with Muḥammad Khân, and had already entered into an agreement with the Queen's servants to bring about the downfall of Anṣâr Khân. These men suspected the design of Anṣâr Khân and were doubtful of his intentions regarding themselves. They therefore seized the door of the quarters and allowed no one of Anṣâr Khân's men to enter. Anṣâr Khân began to ask Muḥammad Khân's advice on the matters in connection with which he had called him and, in the midst of his conversation, made a sign to his brother to slay Muḥammad Khân. Anṣâr Khân's brother laid his hand on his sword and was about to

359 These blanks in the original MS. may be filled in as follows :—' Muḥammad Khân, son of Muḥibbullâh . . . a connection . . . . Muhibbullâh had been the foster-brother of Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh. —F. ii, 312.

360 According to Firishta (ii, 312) Chând Bibi commissioned Muḥammad Khân to slay Anṣâr Khân.

attack Muḥammad Khân, when the latter's sons, becoming aware of the guile of their enemies, drew their swords and attacked the brethren and partisans of Anṣâr Khân. Anṣâr Khân now attempted himself to attack Muḥammad Khân, but Abû'l Qâsim placed Anṣâr Khân in front of him like a shield and the wicked Anṣâr Khân received his brother's sword in his breast, and it came out at his back. Muḥammad Khân then stretched forth his hand and seized the sword of Anṣâr Khân's brother and by main strength wrenched it from his grasp, and struck him so shrewd a blow in the chest with it that its point came out of his back, and he and his brother, those two leaders of strife and wickedness, both fell, and the days of their treachery and deceit came to an end. Although the sons of Muḥammad Khân were wounded, yet, by God's grace, they obtained the mastery over the partisans and brethren of Anṣâr Khân and separated the wicked ones of the kingdom from its loyal subjects and freed the realm from their vile existence.

When Muḥammad Khân and his sons had finished with Anṣâr Khân and his partisans, they cut off Anṣâr Khân's wicked head and exhibited it at the door of the palace, without which his followers were trying to gain admittance in spite of the resistance offered by Multân Khân, Aḥmad Shâh, Sayyid Ḥasan, and 'Alî Shîr Khân. When his followers saw the severed head of their leader they desisted from fighting and submitted to the victors.

Muḥammad Khân, after slaying Anṣâr Khân, waited on Chând Bîbî Sulṭân and related to her all that had occurred. A royal command was issued to the effect that the traitor's head should be placed on a spear and paraded through the bazars as a warning to other traitors, and that the good news of their victory over treason should be published abroad both to high and low in the kingdom. When these orders had been carried out Chând Bîbî Sulṭân, in order to allay the fears of all, showed herself on one of the bastions of the fort, like the sun in his glory, with the royal umbrella over her head. When Mujâhid-ud din Shamshîr Khân, who had undertaken the defence of the fort and was engaged in collecting men to oppose the enemy, as has been said, heard of the death of Anṣâr Khân and of the appearance of Chând Bîbî on the bastion of the fort, he hastened with all his sons to pay his respects to her, and his example was followed by Afẓal Khân, while Nûr Muḥammad Khân had outstripped them all in paying his respects to her. Then all the nobles and the people of the city, both great and small, hastened to the bastion to do her reverence.

In the meantime an army was seen approaching the city from the north, and reached the neighbourhood of the *'îdgâh*. Some of them galloped up to the top of the *'îdgâh* hill, and the rest of them marched towards the city.[361]

[361] The advance of the imperial army had been delayed by the quarrels between Akbar's son, Sulṭân Murâd, viceroy of Gujarât, and the Khânkhânân. The prince had insisted on the Khânkhânân's joining him in Gujarât, that they might advance together on Aḥmadnagar, but the Khânkhânân, with whom was Shâhrukh Mîrzâ of Badakhshân, refused to march as a mere follower of the prince, and maintained that each should march from his own province and that they should converge on Aḥmadnagar. The prince, angered by the Khânkhânân's dilatory movements, began his march on Aḥmadnagar, and the Khânkhânân, leaving Shâhrukh Mîrzâ with the guns, heavy baggage, and main body of his army, hastened forward and met the prince on December 11, 1595, at Chândûr (20° 19′ and 74° 15′ E.) Here he showed so little respect to the prince that for some time the latter would not receive him formally, and their relations were further embittered by a violent quarrel between Ṣâdiq Muhammad Khân, the prince's tutor, and Shahbâz Khân, one of the Khânkhânân's chief *amirs.* However the army advanced and the Khânkhânan arrived before Aḥmadnagar, as stated here and by Firishta (ii, 312) on December 26, 1595. See *Akbarnâma.*

Nobody had had any idea that the army of the Mughuls was so near at hand. Some thought it to be the army of Sa'âdat Khân, while others thought that it was the army of the Africans. Shamshîr Khân sent a man out to them to ascertain the truth, and he returned with the news that the army was the Khânkhânân's and was the advanced guard of the Mughuls. When the nobles and the garrison of the fort learnt of the arrival of the Mughul army, they sent out some guns against them and opened fire upon them with a view to breaking their line, which had now reached the edge of the plain of the *Kâlâ Chabûtra*, and used their utmost endeavours in repairing and strengthening the defences and preparing every thing that was necessary for the siege.

As the day had now drawn on to evening the Khânkhânân's army did not halt longer in the neighbourhood of the fort, but retired and joined the Khânkhânân who had halted near the old garden of the watercourse, and kept careful watch all that night until the breaking of the true dawn on the following morning. Chând Bîbî Sultân also paid attention to the needs of her subjects and appointed Muhammad Khân vakil and *amîr-ul-umarâ* as a reward for his great services, entrusting to him the duty of fortifying and defending the fort, and warning him to exercise all possible care in the execution of these duties. The protection of the poor subjects living without the fort and the duty of meeting the enemy in the field were entrusted to Mujâhid-ud-dîn Shamshîr Khân, with whom were associated Nûr Muhammad Zamân and a number of other brave officers.

The next day was Tuesday, Rabî-'us-Sânî 24 (December 27, A.D. 1595). The Khânkhânân, detaching a number of his chief officers to protect the city and Burhânâbâd and to look to the safety of the poor inhabitants, proclaimed a general amnesty to all, both small and great. A number of the poor and weak dwellers in the suburbs, who had remained in their houses because they had no means of transporting themselves and their property within the city, were much reassured by the proclamation of this amnesty, and took advantage of it to move into the fort and into other fortified posts.

On this day Nûr Muhammad Zamân was deputed to summon Sayyid Jalâl-ud-dîn Haidar and brought that Sayyid and his noble sons to court, and Afzal Khân was deputed to summon the ambassadors of the Sultans of the Dakan and brought those two pillars of the faith and of the state to court; and on the same day a battle was fought between Mujâhid-ud-dîn Shamshîr Khân and his loyal army on the one side and a force of the Mughuls which had had the temerity to occupy the plain of the *Kâlâ Chabûtra* on the other, and in the battle Nûr Muhammad Zamân displayed the valour which is ever the mark of Sayyids, and with a small force charged the compact mass of the Mughul army and scattered it. When the garrison of the fort saw the standards of the army of Ahmadnagar borne triumphantly aloft in the hour of victory, their courage was renewed and the despair and discouragement which had afflicted them disappeared, so that they took the field valiantly, confident of victory.

In the evening of the same day the army of the highborn and successful prince Shâh Murâd, with his great *amîrs* and Khâns, such as Mirzâ Shâhrukh, governor of Badakhshân, Shahbâz Khân, Sâdiq Muhammad Khân, Sayyid Murtazâ and the rest of the *amîrs* and officers, an army swift to shed blood, covering with its hosts both mountain and plain, darkening the sun with its dust, and advancing like a tempestuous sea, arrived at the environs of the city, and encamped near the garden of the old watercourse, which is called the ***Bâgh-i-Bihisht,*** where the prince's pavilion was set up.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK—NOTICES.

REPORT OF THE SUPERINTENDENT, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF BURMA, 1921-22, by CHAS. DUROISELLE. Rangoon Government Press, 1922.

Like all Mr. Duroiselle's work, this Report is extraordinarily full and instructive; and it is to be hoped that the Government of India, under the new arrangements necessitated by the Reform Scheme, will leave the Provincial Government and its Archæological department to carry on unmolested the work they are now doing so well. A list of 102 ancient monuments in Burma, to be maintained by the Imperial Government, has been prepared, ranging from the seventh century remains at Prome to the comparatively modern structures at Mandalay. If one may judge from the very inadequate sum allotted by the Indian Government during the year under review for the conservation of Burma's historical buildings, as well as from the evidence given in the report of the interest frequently taken by Burmans themselves in the exploration and maintenance of their country's antiquities, it is obviously desirable that Archæology in Burma should be a provincial subject. As has been the case in India, careless vandalism on the part of the local authorities has still to be reckoned with and forestalled by the Archæological department. An instance occurred at Amarapura where, in defiance of the law, permission was granted to a Muhammadan merchant to erect a factory on the site of the old palace; and though the continuance of the work was ultimately prohibited at the instance of the Survey, the remains of the ancient walls had already been dismantled to provide a brick foundation for the approach to the factory.

Excavation at Sameikshe yielded among other things a tablet of King Aniruddha (1044-1077), a bronze Bodhisattva of the eleventh century, and a small votive tablet containing figures surmounted by a legend in North Indian characters, which, unfortunately, are too faint for decipherment. It is clear that this region once contained an important settlement, and further exploration of the numerous mounds a few miles from Sameikshe will probably give interesting results. At Pagan other votive tablets were found containing legends in Sanskrit, Pali, Burmese and Talaing, which date back to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and it is proposed to publish full details of them, as well as of many similar tablets unearthed during the last few years, in *Epigraphia Birmanica*. The pictures of Mongol soldiers, found at Pagan in company with a portrait of a Buddha seated in European fashion in a high chair, are wonderfully lifelike and give a very good idea of Kublai Khan's warriors. Equally interesting are the representations of Christian crosses, which suggest the presence of Christians in the Buddhist metropolis between the sixth and thirteenth centuries. Mr. Duroiselle holds that these symbols reached Burma from the north-west and not, as one might suppose, through the Nestorian Christians of Madras. After a succinct review of the available evidence he ascribes the presence of these crosses in the midst of a group of Mongolo-Chinese portraits to the influence of Christian soldiers serving in the army of the Great Khan, who entered Pagan in A.D. 1287. The testimony of Marco Polo appears to support this conclusion.

Space does not permit of more than a passing reference to the subject of European influence on the old paintings and carvings at Amarapura, which is discussed in the Report; and we press forward to the welcome announcement that the Superintendent has nearly completed for publication a trustworthy guide-book to the Palace at Mandalay. No one is better qualified to explain the details of a structure which, in his own words, is "the last, and only one preserved to us, of a long series of similar structures built by succeeding dynasties at the numerous capitals of Burma. . . . Its plan is not merely old Indian, but rather pan-Asiatic, for its prototypes were found scattered over a vast stretch of country from Patna to Peking, and perhaps as far as Nineveh." Contemplation of the former home of Burmese Royalty may thus perchance help towards a livelier conception of the appearance of the great Mauryan palace at Pataliputra in the days of Chandragupta and his famous grandson, which itself seems to have been an echo of the palaces of Babylonia and Assyria.

The year under review witnessed the completion of a list of European cemeteries and tombs in Burma, containing inscriptions anterior to 1858, the earliest record of this type being dated 1682, and also the provision of an inscribed marble tablet on the remains of the old East India Company's factory on Hainggyi island in Bassein. Other noteworthy features of the Report are the list of dates in the Burmese common era appearing in the "Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava" with their English equivalents,—a work which has been admirably performed by Diwan Bahadur L. D. S. Pillai Avargal of Madras,—and secondly, a discussion of the legend of *Wasundhaye*, the Earth-goddess, the origin of which, based as it seems to be upon purely oral tradition, is at present undetermined. A valuable contribution by Mr. San Shwe Bu, honorary archæological officer for Arakan, forms the conclusion of a record upon which the Government of Burma can be heartily congratulated.

S. M. EDWARDES.

LATER MUGHALS, by W. IRVINE, I.C.S. (*Retd.*); edited by JADUNATH SARKAR, I.E.S., vol. I, 1707-20; vol. II, 1709-39. Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar & Sons. London: Luzac & Co.

We welcome an edition of the late William Irvine's *Later Mughals*, edited by Professor J. Sarkar, whose

own scholarly researches in the Mughal period of Indian history have gained wide recognition. These two volumes open with a short biography of Irvine, written by Professor Sarkar, and a list of the books and papers which he published during his lifetime. From the former we gather that Irvine joined the I.C.S. in 1863 and retired as District Magistrate of Saharanpur in 1888, in order that he might devote his leisure to literary work in Indo-Muhammadan history, which he first began to study seriously about 1875. By dint of constant practice he had made himself master of the Persian language during his service in India, and had formed a fine collection of Persian historical MSS. as the basis of his later historical researches. After his retirement also he maintained a Muhammadan scribe in India to hunt up fresh MSS. and make copies of them where necessary.

His plan was to write an original history of the decline of the Mughal Empire, to be called *The Later Mughals,* and to cover the period from the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 to the capture of Delhi by the English in 1803. He worked so conscientiously, verifying his references so often and consulting so many sources of information, th a he ultimately completed the tale of only thirty-one years out of the century contemplated in his original plan. Moreover, he laid the work aside for about eight years in order to publish his great edition of Manucci's travels and his well-known treatise on the Army of the Indian Mughals. We share Professor Sarkar's profound regret that Irvine was not spared to complete the task which he had mapped out. He died at the end of 1911. after a long and painful illness borne with admirable fortitude, leaving his history incomplete.

Professor Sarkar, with whom he corresponded during his lifetime, pays an eloquent tribute to Irvine both as a historian and as a man. Certainly Irvine was one of the old type of studious and intellectual Civil Servants, now alas! well-nigh vanished, who utilized their official sojourn in India to perfect their knowledge of its history, antiquities, customs and civilization, in order that they might interpret their significance to succeeding generations. Professor Sarkar realizes this fully; and with the object of paying a tribute to a departed friend and fellow-student in the same field of research, he has taken Irvine's incomplete work and prepared it for publication

The history commences with the accession o: Bahadur Shah and ends with the departure o! Nadir Shah from Delhi in May 1739. Professo. Sarkar has edited the two volumes with discretion; for he has pruned and abbreviated many of th voluminous footnotes which Irvine had writter rather for his own satisfaction than for the purpos of illuminating the text, and has carefully revised the text itself from February 1725, which Irvine had left incomplete. The latter task has involved much labour, for the narrative has had to be checked by constant references to original Persian documents and also to the Marathi letters and reports, which have only come to light since 1898 and were unknown to Irvine. Fortunately there is no one better qualified than Professor Sarkar to perform such a task.

From a work which every student of Indian history ought to read from beginning to end, it is fruitless to quote notes or passages. It is full of valuable information, historical and chronological. In a foreword Irvine himself described his task as having been "its own exceeding great reward (the only one, I fear, ever likely to come to me); it has served to bridge over the period between active life and the first advances of old age, and through it I have failed to feel "the weight of too much liberty." At some future day the genius may arise who shall make these dead bones live: and when in a footnote this "Gibbon of the future" flings me a word of acknowledgment, I shall be satisfied." Irvine's work will live,—there is little doubt of that—and had he known, he might well have echoed the words of the Roman poet "*Non omnis moriar*, etc." To secure this happy consummation of his friend's long labours in the field of Mughal history has been the pious task of Professor Sarkar,—a striking instance, it seems to us, of the *camaraderie* which unites the true scholars of the East and West.

S. M. EDWARDES.

CATALOGUE OF THE MUSEUM OF ARCHÆOLOGY AT SANCHI, BHOPAL STATE, by MAULVI MUHAMMAD HAMID, B.A., and PANDIT RAM CHANDRA KAK, B.A., and MR. RAMPRASAD CHANDA, B.A., with a foreword by SIR JOHN MARSHALL, KT., C.I.E. Calcutta: Superintendent, Government Printing, India, 1922.

In the foreword to this catalogue of the Sanchi antiquities Sir John Marshall explains that it is intended partly as a complement to the *Guide to Sanchi*, which he has already published, and partly as a supplement to the larger and more elaborate monograph on the monuments, which is now being prepared. Of the antiquities now in the Sanchi Museum, which was built, furnished and arranged under Sir John Marshall's supervision, some were discovered in the jungle which formerly enveloped the ruins, and others were unearthed in the course of the excavations carried out by the Archæological Survey. To the three Assistants to the Director-General of Archæology, whose names are given above, the task of describing the exhibits was entrusted, their work being assisted in some measure by Sir John Marshall himself, and these being verified by Monsieur A. Foucher. As a result the catalogue is lucid and complete.

The exhibits herein described comprise many figures of Buddha, in varying conditions of preservation, dating from the seventh to the tenth centuries A.D. No. 19, which was found in a stupa of the seventh century, is declared to have originally belonged to a shrine of the early Gupta period and to have been placed in the stupa as an object of special veneration when the shrine fell into decay. Instances of the practice of burying older cult images in stupas have been met with at other sites examined by the Archæological Survey, and together with the characteristics of the figure itself, serve to establish the probability of its later enshrinement in the stupa. The catalogue also describes (No. 32) a statue of a corpulent male figure seated on a four-legged chair, which is supposed to represent Jambhala. One of the most important exhibits in the Roofed Hall is the Capital of an Asoka Column, on which geese and lions are depicted with remarkable fidelity to nature; another is a standard bowl of Mauryan workmanship, pieced together from fragments and partially restored. Some of the fragments of stupa gateways are remarkable, as also are the relics, here shown, of the Early Kushan and Gupta schools. A. 83, for example, contains an inscription in Brahmi characters below the sculptures, which are ascribed to the Mathura school, and date back to Kushan dominion in the second century A.D. In the inscription appears the name of an unknown King—Vasushâna—who, it is suggested, may have been a foreigner who assumed power in Mathura after the fall of Vasudeva Kushan.

Other antiquities include iron spearheads, daggers, arrowheads, monastic and household utensils, knife blades, razors, artisan's tools and a variety of bronze and copper objects. Particularly interesting is an ancient "smoothing ploughshare," intended to be worked by bullocks, and used for removing old stubble from the fields. A special section is devoted to early glazed pottery dating from the third century B.C. to the first century A.D., and to the terra cottas found on the site. The catalogue is illuminated and embellished by a set of excellent photographic plates, of which Nos. III, V, VIII, X, XIV, XV and XVIII are particularly interesting. Sir John Marshall and his assistants have produced in this catalogue a handy volume of permanent value to antiquarians and others who visit Sanchi.

S. M. EDWARDES.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY IN INDIA, 1919-20, by SIR JOHN MARSHALL, KT., C.I.E. Calcutta: Superintendent, Government Printing, India. 1922.

This report opens with a succinct survey of the expenditure incurred during the year upon the conservation of ancient monuments, as compared with the amount spent during the five years immediately preceding the outbreak of War. As one would naturally suppose, the Archæological Department, like other departments, has suffered from lack of funds and from the great rise in rates and wages which has occurred since 1915. In consequence, in the Northern Circle alone about 120 estimates for repairs, amounting to seven lakhs of rupees, were awaiting allotment of funds at the close of 1919-20. Nevertheless the Department has much solid work to its credit, and has occasionally been assisted by generous donors like the Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan, who paid for the construction of a *chattri* to mark the site of the tomb of the Empress Jodh Bai, wife of Jahangir. In the Panjab a small monument was erected to mark the site of the Kiln of Buddhu, who was brickmaker at the Court of Jahangir and played an active part in the building of that Emperor's city of Lahore. The Jain community of Jhansi have agreed to provide the funds required for the repair of the Jain temple in the Fort at Deogarh—a work which could not be undertaken during the year under review owing to the prevalence of famine in the district. The Western Circle was more fortunate, for the Governor of Bombay decided to raise the Local Government's contribution towards the repair and maintenance of monuments from Rs. 40,000 to Rs. 80,000, to which the Government of India added a grant-in-aid of Rs. 18,500. Much necessary work was thus rendered possible on the famous relics in Bijapur, Champaner, Ahmadabad and other places. A protecting wall was partially completed round the site of the famous Gol Gumbaz, and the precincts were entirely cleared of prickly pear, cactus, and the ruins of mud huts which had accumulated for centuries in the courtyard. Débris, trees and boulders were likewise removed from the Elephanta Caves in Bombay harbour, which have for years been neglected, despite their archæological importance and their popularity as a visitors' resort.

The report mentions an interesting account by Mr. Longhurst of the palaces within the Chandragiri fort in the Chittur District, which appear to belong to the seventeenth century. Whatever their precise age may be, there is little doubt that "it was to this place that the royal house of Vijayanagar betook their fallen fortunes towards the close of the sixteenth century." The King's Palace derives special interest from the fact that "in 1639 a king named Ranga, who was ruling in Chandragiri, heard that the English, who in 1625 had moved their factory from Masulipatam to Armegaum, were dissatisfied with the results of their trade in that place. An invitation was therefore sent by the Kalahasti Poligar to Mr. Day, the Superintendent of the Company's Factory.

to settle within his dominions, which extended to the coast. The offer was accepted, and Mr. Day visited the Raja in his palace at Chandragiri in 1639, where in 1640 a grant was made of a small strip of land on the coast, the first ever possessed by the British in this part of India. To protect themselves against the danger of attack from their restless and lawless neighbours a fort was built and named Fort St. George, after the traditional champion of England." A curious feature of the palace is that it possesses no entrances on the south side, although this may be regarded as its front, all the entrances being on the north.

In Burma the amount of outstanding conservation work is very large, and inasmuch as some of the estimates were prepared many years ago, when the cost of building materials and local labour was much less than it is now, the completion of the various items is likely to cost double and possibly treble the sum now shown in the estimates. Most of the money available during the year under review was devoted to repairing the palace at Mandalay and the tombs of King Mindon and the Burmese Queens.

Sir John Marshall gives an interesting summary of further exploration at Taxila. Among other finds at Sirkap were a flask of green glass, the first intact specimen of a glass vessel found in North-Western India: pieces of Chinese jade which throw an interesting sidelight on the question of the Far-Eastern trade with India in those early days: a hoard of copper coins of King Gondophares and other Indo-Parthian Kings: and copper ornaments, some of which afford a striking illustration of the evolution of a bird-head motif from the simple comma so familiar in the "dot and comma" pattern of Scytho-Parthian art. Perhaps more interesting than these was a Gandhara statuette, representing a female clad in tunic and *sari*, holding a lotus in her right hand. "In the Gandhara School figures completely in the round, such as this one, are exceedingly rare, and what adds still further to its interest and value is the fact that it can be assigned with certainty to a date not later than the middle of the first century A.D., thus supplying us with a definite landmark—where landmarks are singularly few—in the early history of this School."

A deeply interesting account is given of the work so far carried out at the Bhir Mound, where three distinct strata have been exposed, the top stratum belonging to the third or fourth century B.C., the second not less than a century older than the top one, and the third likewise a hundred years or more older than the second. In the middle and lowest strata were found beads of cornelian, agate, lapis-lazuli, crystal, pearl, coral and shell, of various shapes and designs, many of them beautifully finished, together with glass beads of good quality, which justify the belief that the jewellers' and lapidaries' arts and the art of glass-making had reached a high pitch of excellence long before the third century B.C.

In Western India the chief discoveries were the old Palace of the Peshwas in Poona, to which allusion has been made in a previous review, and a fine old Chalukyan temple exhumed from below the inner wall of the fort at Sholapur. Excavations in the Ganjam District of Madras resulted in the discovery of interesting Buddhist remains, while among the remains unearthed in Burma were some stone axe-heads, which are declared to date from the close of the Pliocene or the beginning of the Pleistocene period. Epigraphical work of importance was carried out in all Circles, among the records examined being fourteen sets of copper-plates and a lithic record of the Rashtrakuta Nripatunga Amoghavarsha I, whose son Duddayya (a name hitherto unknown) conferred a revenue settlement on twelve territorial divisions. A Vijayanagara record of the reign of Achyutaraya records a drought; which destroyed cocoanut and areca plantations, and gives details of remissions of rent fixed to lighten the burden of the distressed cultivators; while an important inscription, discovered at the top of the Uparkot Fort in Junagadh, was examined by Mr. Banerji and found to belong to the reign of the Kshatrapa Jivadaman I. Six new inscriptions were discovered in Burma, two of which definitely refer to King Tissa, hitherto known as a legendary King of Pegu, and three epigraphs on terra cotta votive tablets were also examined, one of which, written in Burmese, shows that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. the Burmese were still using words derived, not from the Pali of Southern Buddhism, but from the Sanskrit.

The report is embellished with admirable photographs of some of the chief monuments mentioned by the Director-General, and of the relics discovered in the excavations at Taxila, Mathura, Nalanda, and in Burma. The work of the Archæological Survey is so important and its achievements have hitherto been so creditable that one can only hope that, even if the Indian and Provincial Governments cannot increase their grants-in-aid, wealthy Indians will come forward in increasing numbers to finance the activities of the experts who are slowly but surely bringing to light the civilization of vanished ages.

S. M. EDWARDES.

AN INDIAN EPHEMERIS, A.D. 700 to A.D. 1799, showing the daily solar and lunar reckoning according to the principal systems current in India with their English equivalents, also the ending moments of *tithis* and *nakshatras*, and the years in different eras, with a perpetual planetary almanac and other auxiliary tables, by Diwan Bahadur L. D.

SWAMIKANNU PILLAI, I.S.O. Published under the authority of the Government of Madras. Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, 1922.

This is an extraordinary publication which bears striking testimony to the knowledge, ingenuity and perseverance of Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai. The author's *Indian Chronology*, published in 1911, is already well-known; and Part I of the first volume of this new work is really an enlarged edition of the former. It contains a very full explanation of the principles upon which he has based his Indian calendar. The other six volumes comprise a continuous almanac from A.D. 700 to A.D. 1799, the period from A.D. 1800 to A.D. 2000 being contained in a separate work which has also been taken over by the Madras Government.

The main object of the *Ephemeris*, according to the author, is to elucidate the solar month and day of the Tamil and Malayalam calendars, the solar months according to the zodiacal constellations, the *tithi* for every day with its ending moment, the *nakshatra* with its ending moment, the lunar months and *pakshas* in use all over India the Muhammadan months and days, and finally the solar and lunar eclipses, for a period of 1,300 years. Under each of these heads the equivalent English month and date and week-day are given throughout. The choice of the year 700 A.D. as the starting-point of the calendar is due to the paucity of verifiable Indian dates before the eighth century A.D.; and although the author, in agreement with other authorities, inclines to the view that week-days may have been known to the inhabitants of India for some considerable period before the fifth century A.D., yet the rare occurrence of actual week-day dates in Indian literature and inscriptions between the fifth and eighth centuries made him decide, no doubt wisely, to choose A.D. 700 as the upper limit of his almanac.

Among the many interesting subjects discussed or referred to in the course of the work are the nature of the *adhika* and *kshaya* months, the connexion between the solar and lunar reckoning, the planetary and eclipse chronology, the *Paripadal* horoscope, the period of the Tamil *Sangam* literature, the date of Christ's birth, the common but mistaken belief in the occurrence once in a thousand years of a lunar fortnight with only 13 days, and in the Appendices the exact date of the death of Buddha and the astronomical references in the *Mahâbhârata*. The exposition of the Eye-Tables which the author has prepared for the chief *siddhantas* of the Indian calendar will repay careful perusal; while as regards the day to day calendar, one can only say that the historian and epigraphist have at last been furnished with a comprehensive work of reference which gives them the exact English equivalent of any date occurring in ancient Indian records.

The possibilities of error have been eliminated by a very ingenious use of cycles of recurrence. Apart from its value to the historian and epigraphist, the work is also of use in the investigation of horoscopes. The author makes no secret of his distrust of astrology, and he only accepts horoscopes in so far as they offer a means of arriving at definite chronological conclusions. Thus by his detailed investigation of the horoscope in the *Sangam* Tamil work *Paripadal*, he strives to prove that a horoscope can be chronologically verified, and that if it indicates the position of five or six planets by their *râsis* or zodiacal constellations, its exact date can be definitely established. He holds the view that the Indian horoscope owes its origin to the Ptolemaic system of astronomy and astrology, which in turn was derived from Babylonian and Chaldæan sources. It is impossible within the limits of a review to discuss in any detail a work of this magnitude. Let it suffice to say that the Diwan Bahadur's achievement is likely to become a landmark in the science of Indian chronology, and that the infinite care which he has expended on this work fully justifies the official support accorded to his labours by the Government of Madras.

S. M. EDWARDES.

SELECTIONS FROM AVESTA AND OLD PERSIAN (First Series), Part 1, by IRACH JEHANGIR S. TARAPOREWALA. Calcutta: 1922.

Dr. Irach Jehangir Sorabji Taraporewala has done a good service to the Calcutta University in special, and to all students of Avesta and Sanskrit in general, by preparing and publishing his excellent *Selections from Avesta and Old Persian*. The book is a very useful addition to the previous works of this kind,—one from the pen of Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson of the Columbia University of America and another from that of Prof. Hans Reichelt of Germany. We welcome this new attempt in the same line from the pen of an Indian Professor and that a Parsee, who, from the very fact of being conversant with the belief and ritual of his people, can do justice to his subject of translations and notes. I had the pleasure of hearing Dr. Taraporewala's lectures on Philology in the University of Bombay, some years ago, and I had also the pleasure of having an exchange of views with him on some subjects of his present work. So, I am in a position to speak with some personal knowledge and authority on his work and beg to say that Dr. Taraporewala's work is sound and aims at perfection. On the one hand, by a long stay and study in the centres of learning in England and Germany, he has well acquired the present critical method of the West for learning and teaching

his subjects: and on the other hand he has his own ideal of the East to enter into the inner or religious spirit of a subject. He has shown both these to good advantage in this his first attempt in the line. These qualifications have made him a good constructive critic in his notes and interpretations.

As to his "Selections," they were just what they should be in a first book of the kind. Some of them, for example the three brief prayers, all forming only eight lines of the text, give one an idea of both the author's critical method of learning and teaching, and his religious constructive spirit of devotion.

Sir Asutosh Mukerjee has identified himself with the good of the University of Calcutta and with him the Calcutta University has, as it were, identified itself for these last few years. He has proved himself to be one of its best, if not the best, of its Vice-Chancellors, and needs to be congratulated, both for his "characteristic insight" into the choice of the teachers of his University, and for his choice of subjects for the teaching. We will welcome the continuance of the "Selections," if not for the selections themselves, for the valuable notes and interpretations which may go a great way in helping others to understand the Avesta from many points of view.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

SHIVAJI AND HIS TIMES, by JADUNATH SARKAR. Second Ed. Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar & Sons. 1920.

Professor Sarkar has carefully checked and revised the first edition of this important historical study, which I reviewed at length in vol. XLIX, pp. 152 ff. He has performed this work with the conscientious thoroughness that distinguishes him. The only point on which I am inclined to quarrel with him is that there is still no index. The book is so crammed with historical names and references to persons and places and events that an index is essential. I will give an instance. Professor Sarkar draws attention to the fact that among his corrections is the "position of Ponda in Ch. X." Considering the part played by that fortress in Shivaji's day and the importance to history of its captures by Shivaji, such a correction is of more than ordinary interest. But one had to search right through "Ch. X.," 32 pages long, before it was found in a footnote to p. 279.

In my review of the first edition I devoted myself chiefly to the evidence available about the murders of Chandra Rao More of Javli and of Afzal Khan of Bijapur, and I suggested that these two matters were so important that it would be worth while to investigate them in full. In this edition Professor Sarkar has added "a critical examination of the evidence of the Javli and Afzal Khan affairs." Such a re-examination in the first case is timely and necessary, however severe, in view of the version given in the *History of the Maratha People* by Messrs. Kincaid and Parasnis, with whom I cannot bring myself to agree.

The questions Professor Sarkar sets himself to answer in the case of Afzal Khan are:—

(1) Was the slaying of Afzal Khan a treacherous murder or an act of self-defence on the part of Shivaji? He answers in favour of the latter view.

(2) Who struck the first blow at the interview? He answers: Afzal Khan.

(3) Why did Shivaji so elaborately protect his person and place an ambush round Afzal Khan's forces? Because he was fully convinced that Afzal Khan meant treachery: both were acts of common prudence.

(4) If Afzal Khan meant treachery why did he not keep his troops in readiness for delivering an assault or at least for defending themselves? Because he believed that the death of Shivaji would lead to the immediate collapse of his upstart power and was ignorant of the position and strength of his enemy's forces. "The weight of recorded evidence, as well as the probabilities of the case, support the view that Afzal Khan struck the first blow and that Shivaji only committed what Burke calls a 'preventive murder.'"

It seems to me that in this matter Professor Sarkar's further examination supports my own statement in the former review: "Here we have two unscrupulous foes, each capable of any act to gain the object in view—in this case the other's destruction, whether by crafty diplomacy or direct murder. The most astute won." Perhaps that is after all the fairest view of an essentially mediæval transaction.

Professor Sarkar has gone very far into the English sources of the time for his new facts, and most wisely so, as the British in India were then merely clever onlookers of the fights between Musalman and Maratha with no political fish of their own to fry beyond liberty to trade peaceably. Incidentally one is grateful to him for bringing to notice and extracting from the *Old Correspondence* and *Factory Records* at the India Office, the *Surat Consultations* and *Letters*, the *Records of Fort St. George*, the *Orme MSS.* (India Office), the Dutch *Factory Records* (India Office).

Altogether Professor Sarkar has produced an edition for which all students of Maratha history will be grateful to him. A third edition will be called for, no doubt, and to that I cannot but hope he will add an index. In the present one, the student looking for such things will not find it easy to discover the whereabouts of the account of the first fight of the English and Marathas, or Shivaji's letter protesting against the *jaziya*.

R. C. TEMPLE.

IN THE CENTURY BEFORE THE MUTINY.

By Sir RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt.

I have lately had reason to go fully into the story of the Mutiny of the Bengal Army, 1857-1859, and have been impressed by two facts : Firstly, that it was in its essentials a mutiny of an army against its employers and not a rebellion of a people against its rulers, though local malcontent notables did succeed in making it one in restricted areas ; Secondly, that its roots went back to the very dawn of the existence of the Army. The well-known story of the greased cartridges with its consequences was merely a symptom of a deeply rooted disease. The object of this paper is to indicate briefly what the history of the disease appears to be. I begin the enquiry, therefore, with the foundation that eventually grew to be the Honorable East India Company.

In 1600 Queen Elizabeth, while Akbar the Great was still alive, granted a charter to the East India Company of Merchants to trade in India and establish local factories for the purpose. Chartered traders and merchants the British in India remained, as one mercantile body among many others of varying length of life—Portuguese and Spanish, French, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Austrian (*i.e.*, Flemish). None of the European nations represented by these bodies attempted to set up a rule in the country except the Portuguese and Spanish, who created a coastwise empire from Gombroon on the Persian Gulf to Malacca on the Malay Coast, to say nothing of the Malay Archipelago. But the Dutch, English and French had destroyed the power of Portugal in India by the eighteenth century, and as regards the native powers they had never attempted to establish a rule on Indian soil for themselves. The East India Companies quarrelled and fought with each other and at times with local Indian rulers, but were always of little consequence politically until about 1750, when the rivalry had dwindled down to a struggle for supremacy between the English and the French. By that date the European trading companies had acquired from native Indian rulers real estate, autonomy for their settlements, and trading privileges. Their friendship and goodwill, too, had become desirable to local and even imperial potentates. But that was all, for we may except the isolated instance of the British Naval expedition against Aurangzeb in 1685, which was unsuccessful at the time, though it enabled Job Charnock to found Calcutta. Autonomy involved self-defence, and troops and forts of a sort were maintained to that end by the mercantile companies, but they neither held nor sought for the means to possess politically either power or influence. It was left to the Frenchmen Dupleix, de Lally and de Bussy to seek both in order to oust their British rivals from India. The opportunity for attaining their desire lay in the political conditions then existing in that country.

It is now necessary to turn for a while to the general history of modern India. After the effective establishment of Muslim rule at Delhi by an alien from southern Afghanistan, Muhammad Ghori (Shahabu'ddin), in 1193, a great number of dynasties, Hindu and Muhammadan, arose and fell in various parts, some of them temporarily powerful and of large extent. At this period the principal dynasties were Muhammadan, ruling usually from Delhi. One of them, that of the Lodi Afghans of Delhi, became involved in an ordinary family fight for the accession, and application was made by one of the parties concerned to Babur, then Mughal ruler of Kabul, to intervene. This enabled that great and ambitious prince to establish himself in Delhi and Agra and found in 1529 a great kingdom, which subsequently, through the genius of his grandson Akbar the Great, became the Mughal Empire of India. Under Akbar and his immediate descendants, Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, this Empire overshadowed everything up till the death of the last in 1707. While the Mughal Empire was still a mighty living force, there had sprung up in the Deccan a series of Muhammadan kingdom of great importance at the time, now known, first as the Bahmani, and then as the Five Shahi kingdoms. Their combined territories stretched from

sea to sea and formed a kind of barrier power between the Mughals and the South, and though they had all been overthrown before Aurangzeb died, they left a distinct mark behind them and paved the way for succession as soon as his controlling hand was removed. In addition, there arose and fell at the same time the Hindu Vijayanagar Empire of the South, which, too, left its mark in a number of independent Hindu States. In further addition there arose, in Aurangzeb's life-time, yet another Hindu power under Sivaji the Maratha, destined to play a leading part all over India in the subsequent centuries.

Aurangzeb was a great prince, but unfortunately he was also a sectarian fanatic, and in the end, as had Muhammad Tughlak long before him, he broke up the Empire he had so greatly extended during the fifty years of his rule. He alienated from the Mughals all the Hindus and many Musalmans alike, as his humble tomb near the caves of Ellora in the Deccan testifies. The conditions at his death were such that it required a man as strong and capable as himself to keep the Empire together. After his death, however, not one of his successors—most of them mere puppets—from 1707 to 1858, when the Imperial title was formally abolished by the British, ever even remotely approached his capacity. The result as regards the Empire was chaos, and as regards local areas a rapidly moving kaleidoscope of dynasties and principalities, until the British stepped in and consolidated power once more under a single authority.

For the immediate purpose it is enough to note that when the representatives of the French and English Companies came to loggerheads and had sufficient armed strength to try and oust each other from Indian soil by force, the important Indian powers were: firstly, the Maratha local states making themselves felt everywhere from their centre the Deccan; secondly, the Muhammadan State of the Nizam of Hyderabad, also in the Deccan, with his vassal the Nawab of the Carnatic (East Coast) at Arcot not far from Madras; and thirdly, a quite new and ephemeral State at Seringapatam under the notorious Haidar Ali and his son Tipu Sahib, who had ousted the Rajas of Mysore risen locally out of a part of the Vijayanagar Empire. In the north there were the Nawabs of Oudh at Lucknow and of Bengal at Dacca, nominally viceroys of a *roi fain'ant*, the Mughal Emperor at Delhi, who, indeed, is always to be found in a misty background in all transactions of the time till after the mutiny itself.

In the course of the armed commercial struggle that arose out of the rivalry between the French and English, the French leader, Dupleix, conceived the idea of interference in the affairs of the Indian States. The opportunity came when the inevitable disputes for the succession to the thrones of Hyderabad and Arcot arose. The French backed one claimant and the English his rival as a matter of policy. In the local wars that ensued the English were fortunate in possessing a genius in Clive, so that Dupleix and his successor de Lally were entirely defeated with the aid of British sea power. French influence thereupon disappeared from India. In the interval the English took Orissa, *i.e.*, the Northern Circars or Divisions of the Hyderabad State, which had been taken possession of by de Bussy, who had managed to get control over the Nizam of the day.

The English had thus become accustomed to the idea of actual rule in India, when in 1757 Suraju'ddaula, the Nawab or Viceroy of Bengal (by then its actual king, as after 1741 supervision from the Delhi Emperor was not even nominal) gave the opportunity to Clive to seize power in Bengal. Suraju'ddaula had attacked Calcutta and massacred most of its white population. Thereupon Clive had not only retrieved the position, but after Plassey upset the whole fabric of the Nawab's rule, and set up a relative as successor in his capacity of master of the situation. Shortly afterwards in 1764, after the victory of Buxar over the Nawab of Oudh in combination with the British-made Nawab of Bengal, at which battle the titular Mughal Emperor Shah Alam of Delhi was present as a purely passive spectator,

the Bengal Nawab was superseded by Clive and his son appointed in his place. Clive was thus unquestionably master, but he did not push matters, accepting a formal grant of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from the helpless Shah Alam, who had by this become for all practical purposes a pensioner of the Company at Allahabad, to pass later on into the protection of Sindia of Gwalior. In this way the British East India Company became one of the many sovereign powers in India, just as were the Nizam of Hyderabad, Haidar Ali of Mysore, the Nawab of Oudh, and the various Rajput princes and the members of the Maratha confederacy, the Mughal Emperor of Delhi being a mere, though sometimes convenient, shadow to all parties.

After Clive, Warren Hastings acted as an effective Governor from the very first, treated the Bengal Nawab as a titular prince, and began to protect Oudh with the Company's troops, especially against the Robilla Afghans established independently north of the Ganges over a Hindu population. The proceedings of Clive and Hastings had so far been merely the actions of the representatives of an English Chartered Company, and it was rightly felt in England that if they were to be supported by the British Crown they must be leg lised. Hence the Regulating Act of 1773, which erected a Governor-General of British India as it then was, created a Council, a High Court, and a system of Government under the general superintendence of the King's Ministers. The Company still remained but with limited powers, and the point for the present purpose is that thereafter it was the Crown and not the Company that was ultimately responsible for the action of the Governors-General. British rule was legally established in all parts held to be British territory.

It was not possible in the conditions of Hastings' time for the British to be left in place by the rival powers in India, and to understand the next proceedings of Hastings, it is necessary to explain that the Maratha Confederacy consisted of five dynasties ruling in Central India. These may be briefly called the Peshwas of Poona (the titular leaders), the Bhonsles of Nagpore, the Gaekwars of Baroda, the Holkars of Indore, and the Sindias of Gwalior. In the eighteenth century they made themselves felt from Bombay to Calcutta and from Lahore to Madras; practically over all India. The impotent occupants of the throne of Delhi were always powerless whenever the Maratha chiefs came their way, but they were used by the Marathas for legalising purposes, just as Clive and the British had used them. Taking sides in a disputed succession involved the British in war with the Marathas, in which the Nizam and Haidar Ali of Mysore joined against the English. It came to nothing, but in the course of it Sindia of Gwalior took the ever-helpless Shah Alam of Delhi under his protection on his quitting that of the British. Before Hastings left India, Pitt's India Act (1784) was passed and resulted in a Minister for India under the title of President of the Board of Control, taking all the real power in Indian affairs out of the hands of the Directors. India was afterwards *de facto* governed by the Crown and the Governors-General always acted as its representatives.

The India Act forbade a policy of conquest and annexation, but in the conditions it was not possible to follow it out, and every Governor-General found himself, however reluctantly, involved in war and its consequences, in or out of India, for the sake of subsequent peace. First came the Mysore War of 1790 with Tipu Sahib, son of the redoubtable Haidar Ali, and the acquisition of much territory in Southern India with the approval of the British Government. After this, when Lord Wellesley's important influence came to be felt, Tipu Sahib, who had been intriguing with France (Napoleon), was overthrown, and there was a still further acquisition of territory. Incidentally the Nizam was definitely brought under British protection. Wellesley next put into practice the principle of subordinate alliance, *i.e.*, British protection of Native States, beginning with the Peshwa of Poona. This produced a war with the Marathas, in the course of which Bhonsle was defeated at Argaon,

Holkar at Dig, Sindia at Assaye and Laswari, while Lake entered Delhi. Sindia had overrun most of the lands of the Rajputs and all the country between the Ganges and the Jumna and lost them all. As a result of this war, by 1805 British influence in India, except in the Punjab, extended indirectly as far as it does now, and avowedly no one paid any attention to the Delhi *fainéant* Emperor, handsomely pensioned by the British.

The Home Government did not like this policy of expansion and war, recalled Lord Wellesley and reversed it, only to create as one result much worse trouble and war later on. As another result the Sikhs had arisen in the Punjab as a formidable consolidated power under Ranjit Singh, which was kept at bay along the line of the river Sutlege (Satluj), partly by a garrison at Ludhiana and partly by that sagacious monarch's appreciation of British strength. As a third result the Pindaris, a horde of marauders in Central India, became very dangerous, as they worked hand in hand with the Maratha rulers. This gave rise to another Maratha War, including the brilliant victories of Kirkee, Sitabaldi and Mahidpur over the Peshwa, Bhonsle and Holkar respectively. The Peshwa disappeared as the pensioned Raja of Bithur near Cawnpore, where he was succeeded by his adopted son, the notorious Nana Sahib of the Mutiny. The Bhonsle's territories became the Central Provinces of British India, and the Pindaris and other marauders, including the Pathans of Amir Khan and Ghafur Khan, ceased to exist. All this had been achieved by 1818 under the brilliant administration of Lord Hastings. There was no question now as to which power was really ruling in India:—that of the Governor-General under the Crown of England, though nominally under the East India Company. Indeed, a little later (1826) in the days of Lord Amherst British action in intervening in another local succession at Bharatpur near Delhi was avowedly taken by "the paramount power." By 1833 English was declared to be the official language of the country, and by the Charter Act of next year Parliament abolished the Company as a commercial body and used it only for administrative purposes, empowering the Government of India to pass laws, and throwing open official positions in its territories to English and Indians alike. The Crown thus deliberately assumed sovereign powers and no one could say it nay. The only independent powers now left were the Sikh rulers of the Punjab and the Amirs of Sind.

In 1837 fear of intrigue by the Russians, as successors of the Eastern policy of Napoleon brought about, with the assistance of Ranjit Singh of the Punjab, a mismanaged and disastrous war with Afghanistan, and as a consequence a war with the Amirs of Sind resulting in annexation. While these operations were proceeding Ranjit Singh died and the usual dynastic intrigues followed, in the course of which the British frontier was crossed by the Sikhs. Four hard fought battles in rapid succession at Mudki, Ferozeshah (Pherushahr) near Ferozepore, Aliwal near Ludhiana, and Sobraon crippled the Sikh power. The Sikhs were now under no effective government at all, and two more terrible battles at Chilianwala and Gujrat resulted in the annexation of the whole Punjab. British domination did not induce hatred in the Sikh soldiers, who rapidly became loyal supporters of their former antagonists.

By this time Lord Dalhousie was Governor-General and ruling vigorously, which in India means restlessly. He was much impressed by the misgovernment of too many of the rulers in subordinate alliance with the British power, and as a means of improving the position of the people, he steadily applied the old "doctrine of lapse", whereby the right of adoption was refused to childless Rajas and Nawabs and the sovereignty over their States passed to the paramount power, in this case the British. Failure to produce children is not uncommon among the highly self-indulgent, and many opportunities consequently arose of applying the doctrine. The Maratha chiefs were the principal sufferers:—amongst others

Satara the remains of the Peshwa's dominions, Jhansi, and Nagpore the relic of the Bhonsle State. All these were escheated by the British Government. The Nana Sahib of Bithur, as the adopted son of the last Peshwa, claimed to be a victim also, but this was far from being the case. The pensioned Nawabs of the Carnatic, too, were subjected to the doctrine, and annexation in this manner went on apace. The final and most important annexation, that of Oudh, was however ordered from England against Dalhousie's advice.

The right of adoption had for many centuries been a cherished right among Hindus for religious reasons and from them had been passed on to the Indian Muhammadans. The wholesale application, therefore, of the doctrine of lapse not only created a sense of personal disaster, but the deepest possible resentment, in the minds of the highly placed classes of the population, which had a direct influence on those who took advantage of the Mutiny in the Bengal Army to try and convert it into a rebellion. In 1856 Dalhousie left India to die in the next year, and it fell to his successor, Lord Canning, to face the Mutiny, suppress it and reconstruct the Government of the country thereafter.

It will have been seen that in all the preliminaries to the Mutiny the Delhi Emperor was not considered by any one concerned in ruling any part of India, and that the century of fighting in which the British were almost uniformly victorious was performed chiefly by native troops led by British Officers.

Disturbance among the Indians, caused by such British proceedings, as these, would naturally be limited to the ruling and higher classes, and it cannot be said that the inevitable British interference with the life of the ordinary folk to which the Sepoy belonged could have had much effect by the date of the Mutiny. The British were not in a position to make changes of any consequence in the general civil administration before the date of Hastings and the Regulating Acts of 1773, and then not to an extent that could touch the people as a whole before 1813 when European missionaries were freely admitted, 1829 when Lord William Bentinck felt strong enough to abolish the practice of the self-immolation of widows (suttee, *sati*), 1835 when the Press was given complete freedom and state-controlled education an English turn, and 1854 when the "Education Charter" was promulgated. In the conditions existing in and before 1857, therefore, no opportunity could have occurred for these vital acts to reach down to the people. The British system of domestic administration could not as such have created general unrest, and so could not have helped to create Mutiny. Recent administrative errors of judgment and miscalculations no doubt helped to fan the flames in Oudh and Bengal when it had been started, but any dissatisfaction among the troops as to general public affairs, except perhaps in Oudh whence so many of them came, could only have been such as was caused by the agents of malcontent native rulers and notables.

The questions then that arise on the foregoing remarks are : How was it that the trouble began as a Mutiny and not as a rebellion ? What manner of men were they that composed the armies at the disposal of the British Government in India ? Why should the men who had followed the British officers to victory so gallantly and so often for a century turn on them in the end within a very few years of their last assaults on the armies of the Native States ? For it must be remembered that it was only in 1852 that they had returned from a victorious war in Burma, that the conquest of the Punjab dated only from 1849, and that, like the Gurkhas after their defeat by Ochterlony in 1816, they had not only become the friends of the British power, but had actually fought for it in Burma. As is well known, in January 1857 the cartridges for the new Enfield rifle were found to have been greased at the Dum Dum Small Arms Factory near Calcutta with animal fat. The general feeling was that this endangered the caste feelings of the Hindu soldiers and injured the religious emotions of their Muhammadan comrades, because they had to bite the cartridges charging the muzzle

loaders of those days. The voice of slander spread it about that the grease was unclean and that the British consequently meant to convert the native soldiers forcibly to Christianity. But how was it that what was obviously a local blunder, at once remedied, caused a conflagration from Barrackpore to Ambala in the Punjab in three months? The greased cartridges were merely a pretext and not the cause. Besides a political unrest raised by interested agitators, what was it?

It is necessary now to go back a little into the history of the Native or Sepoy (*sipâhi*, a soldier) Army of the East India Company. Just as the French were the first to entertain the idea of attaining political power in India by force, so were they the first to perceive that the Indians of the warlike races were capable of absorbing European discipline and of being turned into formidable military bodies. The British were not long in imbibing the idea. The first British corps formed on this principle was raised in Bombay and soon after Madras followed suit, and so when French and English met in armed conflict, disciplined native troops were employed on both sides. The principles of recruitment and control can be thus stated:—recruit only from the warlike classes, induce men of good family to join as officers and give these last a good position and sufficient authority, train them all in European style, and place them under a very few selected (three only at first) British officers who understand their prejudices and can treat them sympathetically and well. There was ample wisdom in all this, because after all the rank and file of the armies serving the British Company came from the same classes as those serving the various Indian rulers, Hindu and Muhammadan, at the time, and in the population that supplied them the long continued struggle between potentate and potentate. great and small, had developed a loyalty that was strictly personal and not national. Pay the sepoy well, understand him and his ways, treat him sympathetically and thus create comradeship, exact a reasonable discipline showing him who is his master, lead him bravely and so win his respect, show him, too, that the leading is wise and successful, and there is no limit to his loyalty and even devotion. It had been the nature of his forebears for countless generations to follow blindly the leader who knew them and knew also how to lead. It is found in the stories of Muhammad Ghori and Alau'ddin Khilji, of Babur and Sher Shah, of Shivaji the Maratha and of the Navayat adventurer Haidar Ali of Mysore, every one of whom, except the Maratha, were of foreign origin. The nature of the sepoy was the nature of his ancestors and it helped to create the story of Clive. In serving Clive and the English faithfully the sepoy was only doing what his class had always done. It mattered nothing to him that his leaders were foreigners and Christians, for they respected his religious ideas and feelings, whatever they were. In courage he had never been lacking. An army thus constituted was so formidable a fighting machine that it was not often successfully defied. To quote once more the often quoted words attributed to Sir Colin Campbell (Lord Clyde): " Take a bamboo and cast it against a tree, the shaft will rebound and fall harmless: tip it with steel and it becomes a spear which will pierce deep and kill." To quote further the remark of Sir W. H. Russell, the great war correspondent of the time: " The bamboo is the Asiatic, the steel point is the European."

At the same time the sepoys, like the rest of the Indian population, were credulous and excitable on any kind of report or rumour, and liable to outbursts of unreasonable anger on provocation great or small, real or imaginary. They were an easy prey to the highly placed malcontent and his local agent the agitator. That is to say, they were liable to sudden mutiny and showed this liability from the beginning. Mutinies actually occurred in various places and in all armies for all kinds of reasons, serious and frivolous. In some cases they were due to mismanagement. The more important occurred in 1764, 1766, 1808, 1824, 1843, 1844 and 1849. The Mutiny of 1857 was in fact by no means an isolated or

novel occurrence. Calm consideration will show that in the conditions it must always be a liability to be guarded against. This liability to get out of hand did not, however, mean that in time of war the Sepoy Armies were not to be relied on. Their whole history shows the converse. The emotions actuating the fighting man, as the sepoy has always been in war and activity, are not those that move him in peace and in action. This same martial capacity has also made him work side by side in a spirit of true comradeship with that other fighting man *par excellence*, the British soldier.

The Bengal Army in 1857 was not conducted on the ideal principles, which guided the founders of the Sepoy system. Originally the Bombay and Madras Regiments consisted of high caste Hindus and good class Muhammadans, but soon different castes and races entered and made a successful blend. However, when Clive used his experiences at Arcot and in the South generally, and formed the Bengal force that fought under him at Plassey, it consisted chiefly of Brahmans and high caste Hindus. This peculiarity the Bengal Army retained right up to the Mutiny of 1857, but otherwise it was run on the same general principles as its predecessors. But there came changes. The number of the European officers increased and the influence of the native officers decreased. The constant widening of the British territories and military responsibilities led to the raising of many irregular troops to which the best officers went. The officers left behind began to lose influence and the men their old sense of discipline. Pay, allowances, and pecuniary rewards were interfered with, which caused the deepest dissatisfaction. The practices of the other armies showed that caste prejudices were given too much prominence. Promotion of British Officers went by seniority and thus too old or incompetent men occupied the higher commands. In consequence of all this an insubordinate spirit increasingly prevailed. Add the national liability of the sepoy to credit any story of a cock and a bull that any rascal chose to bring to him and it will be perceived that by 1857 the Army was oftener than not ready to Mutiny. Add again the political unrest caused by the progressive British supremacy over the native rulers and their dependants during a long period, and to that neglect to maintain anything like a sufficient proportion (it approached one to six in the most favourable view) of British to native troops, and the withdrawal of some of the former for the wars in Persia and China. Then one realises that the native leaders began to think that they had before them a real chance to upset the British power, and that the sepoy began to be puffed up with his own importance and to think that he could safely try conclusions with his British Officers.

In 1857 the Bengal Army was indeed ripe for Mutiny. Many competent lookers-on in India saw this and kept on insisting on it, though the seniority-promoted officers in immediate command were blind. Dalhousie, too, saw that generally the position was dangerous and proposed an increase in the British and a decrease in the sepoy forces. But he was sick unto death, and his successor, Lord Canning, arrived just in time to face the irruption of the long-rumbling volcano.[1]

[1] Mr. F. W. Buckler of Cambridge read a lecture on the *Political Theory of the Indian Mutiny* before the Royal Historical Society on January 12, 1922, which has been printed in its *Transactions*, 4th series, vol. V, pp. 71—100. In this lecture he propounds an entirely new theory of the causes of the Indian Mutiny, with a large number of notes giving the places where the data for his statements are to be found, many of them French sources. In the small space available to him he has not been able to do more than merely state his conclusions, which are, however, so novel and so subversive of the views I have expressed in the present text that I can do no more than just allude to them. No doubt in time Mr. Buckler will further elucidate his ideas at greater length and with more detailed references to his authorities. His main theory is perhaps best expressed by a sentence on page 29 : "the main cause, then, was the treatment [by the English] of the Emperor [Bahadur Shah]."

DETERMINATION OF THE EPOCH OF THE PARGAṆÂTI ERA.[1]

BY N. K. BHAṬṬAŚÂLÎ, M.A.

THE problem of the determination of the beginning year and date of the Parganâti Era is well-known to students of antiquarian studies in Bengal, and discussions upto date on the subject have been neatly summarised by Babu Yatîndra Môhana Râya in Volume II of his *Ḍhâkâra Itihâsa*, pp. 392–397, with the conclusion that it was impossible to solve the problem until further materials were forthcoming. He summarises the synchronistic dates of eight documents and bases his discussion on them. About two years ago, I chanced upon three more documents dated both in the Bengali and in the corresponding Parganâti year. During the Durgâ Pûjâ holidays of 1921, I searched the collection of old documents in my own family and that of another old family near me, and brought to light ten more documents dated synchronistically in the Bengali and the Parganâti Era. Three of these were already known to Babu Yatîndramôhana Râya from an article of mine in the now-defunct journal *Gṛhastha*, but as I had omitted to mention the days of the months recorded in them, they could not then be of much use in calculation. The fresh materials now obtained permit of a re-opening of the topic and an attempt has been made in this paper to solve the vexatious problem.

As the Parganâti Era cannot be expected to be known to students of antiquarian studies outside Bengal,[2] it is necessary to explain that an Era of this name is found widely used in the Eastern districts of Bengal on all sorts of legal documents, not the least interesting of which are deeds of sale or transfer of slaves. The years of the era are almost always used synchronistically with the years of the Bengali Era. The earliest application hitherto met with is of the year 461[3] which is equal to about A.D. 1663. The perishable nature of the material—rough, thin, handmade paper—on which these documents were invariably drawn up, worked on by the moist atmosphere of Lower Bengal, has lost to us all the older documents or made them extremely scarce. But during the whole of the twelfth century of the Bengali Era, corresponding to A.D. 1694–1793, documents dated in the Parganâti Era are very frequently met with. It was ousted from the synchronistic company of the Bengali Era by the advent and currency of the Christian Era, with the enactment of the Permanent Settlement of Bengal.

The importance of the Era is that, even on rough calculation, its beginning year goes back to about A.D. 1199–1200, the accepted date of the first incursion of the Muhammadans into Bengal. This significant feature, combined with the fact that at least two instances are known of this Era being called the Vallâlî Era (*San Vallâlî*)[4] makes it very probable that some remarkable event in the History of Bengal, connected with the Sena Kings, was distinguished by its inauguration. The above probability makes the exact determination of the beginning of the Era most important for the History of Bengal.

Below is given a chronological list of documents hitherto discovered on which the Parganâti Era has been found used. In most cases, we have the equivalent Bengali year, but in some cases, the Parganâti year stands alone.

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1 Read at the Second Oriental Conference, Calcutta, 1922.

2 The Era was noticed, unfortunately under a slightly inaccurate name, in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1912, in my article headed "King Lakshmana Sena of Bengal and his Era."

3 Prof. Satîśa Chandra Mitra, B.A., in *Dacca Review and Sammilana*, B.S. 1319, Bengali Section, p. 472.

4 Râya's *Ḍhâkâra Itihâsa*, II, pp. 394–395.

List of Documents dated in the Pargaṇâti Era.

No.	The Dated Portion of Documents.	Subject of Documents.	Locality where found.	Reference and Remarks.
1	इति सन ४६१ चाइर शाओ एकसाष्टि तारिख ७ इ आषाढ. *San* 461, date the 7th Ashâḍha.	Sale of Slaves.	Village Aigada, District Khulna.	Prof. S C. Mitra, B. A., in *Dacca Review and Sammilana*, vol. II, Bengali portion, 1319 B.S., page 472.
2	Pargaṇâti 497, date the 25th of Ashâḍha.	....	....	Sj. Râya's *Dhâkâra Itihâsa*, vol. II, page 396.
3	इति सन १११७ तारिख २५ चैत्र. परगणाति सन ५०९ साल. *San* 1117, date the 25th Chaitra, Pargaṇâti year 509.	Sale of Slaves.	Village Masurâ in Vikrampur, District Dacca.	Illustrated against page 396 of Râya's *Dhâkâra Itihâsa*, vol. II
4	इति सन ११५१ एगारशाओ एक पंचाश वांगला परगणाति सन ५४३ पाचशओ तेताल्लिष तेरिख२५माघ Bengali *San* 1151, Pargaṇâti *San* 543, date the 25th Mâgha.	Ditto.	Village Pâikpâḍâ in Vikrampur, District Dacca.	One of the old documents preserved in the writer's own family.
5	इति सन११५८एगारशाओ आट पं-चाश परगणाति सन५५०पांचशओ पंचाश तेरिख २१ फाल्गुन. *San* 1158, Pargaṇâti year 550, date the 21st Fâlguna.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
6	इति सन ११६२ एगारश बासेष्टच वांगाला परगाणाति सन सन ५५४ पाचश चौप्पार्न्न जैष्ठ सहरे १४ रवि रवि (सुनि?) माहे ३ माघ रोज बुद्धवार. Bengali *San* 1162, Pargaṇâti year 554 . . . . the 3rd Mâgha, Wednesday.	Land-sale.	Village Kâmârkhâḍâ in Vikrampur, District Dacca.	Illustrated against page 45 of Sj. J. Gupta's *Vikramapurera Itihâsa*. The reading of the document printed against it is a miserable misreading.
7	इति सन ११७० एगारशाओ सत्तैर मुताबेक सन ५६२ पाचशाओ बाँसैष्ट तँ ११ इ आषाढ. *San* 1170, corresponding year 562, date the 11thAshâḍha.	Ditto.	VillagePâikpâḍâ, District Dacca.	In possession of Babu Kailasa Chandra Mitra of Pâikpâḍâ.
8	Ditto But date the 18th Ashâḍha.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.

List of Documents dated in the Parganâti Era—contd.

No.	The Dated Portion of Documents.	Subject of Documents.	Locality where found.	Reference and Remarks.
9	Same as No. 7 But date the 15th Ashâdha.	Same as No. 7.	Same as No. 7.	Same as No. 7.
10	Bengali year 1173 Parganât year 564, the 25th Chaitra.	Land-dedication.	Village Dingâmâṇik, Ps Lonsing, District Faridpur.	The document is in the possession of Babu Niśikânta Bhaṭṭâchâryya of Dingâmâṇikya from whom, Babu Ramanîrañjana Datta B.A., Sub-Deputy Magistrate, obtained it for my inspection.
11	Bengali year 1175, Parganâti 566, the 23rd Vaiśâkha, the 10th Zulhijja.	....	....	Sj. Râya's *Dhâkâra Itihâsa*, II, page 396.
12	Bengali year 1175 Parganâti 567, the 10th Agrahâyana.	Sale of Slaves.	Same as No. 10.	Same as No. 10.
13	इति सन ११७६ सन तिरिख २२ भाद्र रोज मँगलवार...सन बल्लाली ५७० सन शकाब्दा १६९२ तिथि पूर्णिमा. *San* 1176, date the 22nd Bhâdra. Tuesday, 570th year of the Vallâli Era, Saka 1692, the full moon day	Colophon of a Bengali Manuscript.	Village Âbdullâpur, District Dacca.	This manuscript of only 5 pages called *Svapnâdhyâya* was hunted out from a heap of manuscripts at a Vaishṇava monastery at Âbdullâpur by Sj. Yatîndramohana Râya and myself, about 1914 A.D.
14	इति सन ११८३ एगार शत तिराशी बांगला परगणाति पाचश औचासत्तरि ९ माह चैत्र. Bengali year 1183, Parganâti 9th Chaitra.	Land-sale.	Village Nagar, Ps. Palang, District Faridpur.	In possession of Babu Ânandanâtha Râya of Nagar and published in his *Bâra Bhûiñâ*, P. 252.
15	इति सन११८७एगारशऔ सातआशी परगणाति सन ५७८ पाचशऔ आटहात्तर तेरिख १ ला आश्विन. *San* 1187, Parganâti 578, the 1st Âśvina.	Ditto.	Village Pâikpâḍâ, District Dacca.	In possession of Babu Kailâsa Chandra Mitra of Pâikpâḍâ.
16	इति सन ११८८ एगारशऔ आटासि परगणाति सन ५८० पांचशऔ आशी तेरिख ६ इ माघ. *San* 1188, Parganâti 580, the 6th Mâgha.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.

The first two documents are not of any use in the determination of the epoch of the Parganâti Era, as the corresponding Bengali years are wanting. The following chart has been prepared with the synchronistic dates of the remaining fourteen documents.

Synchronistic Chart of dates in the Parganâti Era.

The correct dates are printed in Clarendon type.

Bengali Year.	Vaiśâkha.	Ashâḍha.	Bhâdra.	Āśvina.	Agrahâyana.	Mâgha.	Fâlguna.	Chaitra.
1117								(3) 25th. **509 P.**
1151						(4) 25th. **543 P.**		
1157							(5) 21st. **550 P.**	
1162						(6) 3rd. **554 P.**		
1170		(7–9) 11-13-15th 562 P.						
1173								(10) 25th. 564 P.
1175	(11) 23rd. **566 P.**				(12) 10th. **567 P.**			
1176			(13) 22nd. 570 P.					
1183								(14) 9th. 574 P.
1187				(15) 1st. **578 P.**				
1188						(16) 6th. **580 P.**		

Discussion of the Evidence of Documents.

(*a*) *Documents preserved in the house of Babu Niśi Kânta Bhaṭṭâchâryya of Digamânik.* Nos. 10 and 12. The following chart shows the relative position of the two documents:

Bengali Year.	Vai.	Jyai.	Ashâ.	Śrâ.	Bhâ.	Āśv.	Kâr.	Agra.	Paus.	Mâgha.	Fâl	Chai.
1173												25th. **564 P.**
1174												
1175								10th **567 P**				

It may be seen at a glance that one of the two dates must be wrong. If we have the 564 Parganâti on the 25th Chaitra of B.S. 1173, we cannot have 567 Parganâti on the 10th of Agrahâyana of B.S. 1175.

(*b*) *Documents preserved in the house of Babu Kailasa Chandra Mitra* of Pâikpâḍâ. Nos. 7, 8, 9, 15, 16. Here again, the following chart shows the relative position of the documents :—

Bengali Year.	Vai.	Jyai.	Ashâ.	Srâ.	Bhâ.	Âśv.	Kâr.	Agra.	Paus.	Mâgha.	Fâl.	Chai.
1170			11—1"—15th 562 P.									
1187						1st. 578 P.						
1188										6th. 580 P.		

From the above chart it will be evident that if on the 11—15th of Âshâḍha of B.S. 1170, we have P. 562, we ought to have 562+17= P. 579 during the same period of B.S. 1187. But we find instead P. 578 still continuing on the 1st of Âśvina, in a document preserved in the same family. So, of these two dates one must be wrong. On the other hand, if on the 1st Aswin of B.S. 1187 we have P. 578, there is no obstacle in the way of having P. 580 on the 6th of Magh of B.S. 1188, as we find on document No. 16. From this agreement of the latter two dates, we get a valuable hint that the intermediate year 579 began somewhere between the 1st of Âśvina and the 6th of Mâgha following—if these two dates are correct. The agreement between these two dates also makes probable the proposition that the first date is wrong and the last two right.

(*c*) *The Colophon of the manuscript Svapnâdhyâya.*

The manuscript was evidently written by an ignorant scribe, and though he has ostentatiously recorded the years of the Bengali Era, the Śaka Era and the Vallâlî or the Parganâti Era[5],—the month, the day of the month, the week day and the *tithi* as well,—he evidently made serious mistakes. If the Bengali year is right, the *Śakâbdâ* is wrong ; for, the equivalent of B S. 1176 is 1691 Śaka, and not 1692 Śaka, as the scribe has recorded. It is reasonable to suppose that he recorded the Bengali year all right ; but in using the Śaka Era, generally used by the astronomers, and the Parganâti Era which was falling into disuse, he could not get the correct years of those Eras. Indeed, in the case of the Parganâti Era, he made a mistake of no less than three years, as will be seen afterwards.

(*d*) *The Documents as a whole.*

With these criticisms in view, let us proceed to examine the complete chart. The first year to attract our attention will undoubtedly be the year B.S. 1175. In this year we have two documents dated in Parganâti, from two different places. The first one executed on the 23rd Vaiśâkha shows the year P. 566, while the second one executed on the 10th of Agrahâyana of the same year shows that the year P. 566 has come to an end in the meanwhile and the next year P 567 has begun. We find these two dates agreeing perfectly well with the last two dates of (*b*) above, where we received the hint that years of the Parganâti Era may have begun somewhere between the 1st of Âśvina and the 6th of Mâgha. We find the documents Nos. 11 and 12, pointing to the same unusual conclusion, and we are convinced that these dates are right. With their help, we can still more limit the period within which the beginning of the Parganâti years should fall. We can now say that these years must begin on some day between the 1st of Aswin and the 10th of Agrahâyana following. The materials obtained up till now do not allow of a closer limitation, but the exclusion of the 1st of Âśvina lends strength to the supposition that in all probability, the years began on the 1st of Kârttika and the Era was a *Kârttikâdi* Era.[6]

[5] I think, there can be no doubt that the Parganâti Era is meant.

[6] Like the Lakshmana Sena Era of Tirhut, as determined by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol XIX.

With the establishment of this fact, if we now look at the chart, we find that dates Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 12, 15, 16, agree perfectly with this conclusion and it should be noticed that this correct series includes the four earliest dates. Nos. 7–9, 10, 13, 14, do not agree with this conclusion. By looking at the chart it will be seen that Nos. 7–9 do not agree with the rest of their series. If on the 15th of Āshâḍha, B.S. 1170, we get 562 Pargaṇâti, we should naturally get 562+3=565 Pargaṇâti on the same date of B.S. 1173. But document No. 10 shows 564 still continuing on the 25th Chaitra of that year. So, Nos. 7–9, which have been surmised to be wrong in (*b*) above do not also agree with their own series of wrong dates. It must therefore be absolutely wrong. This is also the case with No. 13. It gives us 570 Vallâlî—*i.e.*, Pargaṇâti on the 22nd Bhâdra of B.S. 1176, whereas the correct date ought to have been 567 Pargaṇâti, no less than three years earlier. It is easily seen that No. 13 has agreement with no other date on the chart. It stands alone.

The dates Nos. 10 and 14 agree with one another and they differ with the correct series by only six months. The cause of the discrepancy is very plain. Pargaṇâti Era was falling into disuse and people here and there had begun to forget that it was a *Kârttikâdi* Era. They, in their forgetfulness, used it as the Bengali Era, and instead of beginning a new year in Karttika, continued the old year down to the last day of Chaitra, like the Bengali year. It may be seen from the chart at a glance that this was the case both with Nos. 10 and 14. The assumption that the difference noted might be due to the adoption of solar calculation in one locality and the lunar in other, cannot be supported, as the mistake has been found to occur on documents in the same family, executed within a few years of one another.

The determination of the beginning of the Pargaṇâti Era is now a simple calculation. The year 567 (No. 12) begins on the 1st Kârttika of B.S. 1175=1690 Sakabda. *So the Pargaṇâti Era began on the 1st of Kârttika of 1124 Śaka, the 28th Sept. 1202 A.D., Saturday.*

The earliest use of this Era, hitherto met with, as has already been noticed, is in No. 1 of our list. The date is P. 461, equal to A.D. 1663. The phraseology of the dated portion suggests that it was the standard popular reckoning used in the country, as it is used alone and is not distinguished by any name. It does not appear whether the date in No. 2 had the distinctive epithet 'Pargaṇâti' attached to it, as Sj. Râya gives no reference to show whence the date is taken; but the fact that it has been used singly makes it probable that this early use is also to be classed with No. 1. But it is not of much use to speculate on this point without collating many more early documents. The division of the country into *Pargaṇâs* had been effected about half-a-century prior to our earliest document, and the use of the Era in and about the limited area of the *pargaṇâ* of Vikrampur must have soon earned for it the distinctive name of the Pargaṇâti Era. But even in later years, the Era was sometimes used without any distinctive name as we find on documents Nos. 7, 8 and 9, while the epithet 'Vallâli,' found attached to it, at least in two cases, points unmistakably to its origin and ancient connection. Scholars, with the notable exception of one, are now generally agreed on the chronology of the Sena kings, and the fact that Lakshmaṇa Sena was ousted from West and North Bengal by Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar, about A.D. 1200, is not seriously disputed by many. The epithet Vallâli attached to the Pargaṇâti Era, shows that, in popular tradition, it was connected with the dynasty that preceded the coming of the Muhammadans in Bengal, as everything pre-Muhammadan is Vallâlî in Bengal,—so powerful a stamp did the great king Vallâla Sena leave upon the popular imagination. Was it in sorrowful remembrance of the termination of the glory of the great king Lakshmaṇa Sena that this Era first began to be reckoned in Vikrampur and places around it, the last resort of the descendants of Lakshmaṇa Sena? The fond clinging of the Hindu populace to old memories gave the reckoning a long lease of life and it began to fall into disuse only with the introduction of the Christian Era.

(e) *Mr. Blochmann's Calculation of the date of the Muhammadan Invasion of Bengal.*

The latest calculation of the date of Muhammad's invasion of Bengal is that of Dr. Blochmann in *JASB*, 1875, pp. 275–277. His conclusion that the conquest of Bengal by Muhammad took place about A.D. 1198–99 is now generally accepted. But in view of the determination of the beginning of the Parganâti Era, on the 28th September A.D. 1202, I think the premises of Dr. Blochmann may be examined again.

The following are the premises on which he based his conclusions :—

1. H. 589—Qutbu'ddin occupies Delhi.
2. Muhammad appears before Quṭbu'ddîn in Delhi as an applicant for soldiership and is rejected.
3. After his rejection Muhammad goes to Budaon, where he is given a fixed salary.
4. *After some time* Muhammad goes to Oudh where he obtains certain fiefs near the Bihar frontier. He undertakes plundering expeditions which continue for *one or two years.*
5. He invades South Bihar and takes the town of Bihar. He then goes to Delhi where he remains for some time in Quṭb's Court.
6. The *second year* after his conquest of Behar, he sets out for Bengal.

Mr. Blochmann computes that at least 5 years must have been required for items Nos. 2 to 6 and therefore the conquest could not have been effected earlier than H. 594. He also considers the following facts :—

7. Quṭbu'ddin took the fort of Kalinjar in H. 599, after which he went to the neighbouring Mahoba, where Muhammad Bakhtiyar paid his respects and offered presents from the Bengal spoil.

So the conquest of Bengal must have taken place earlier than H. 599.

Again :—

8. Muhammad, after taking Nadiya, selected Lakhnauti as capital, settled the country on an extensive scale by coining money and establishing *Masjids* and Colleges.
9. After some years had passed away, Muhammad invaded Tibet.
10. He returned discomfitted and was assassinated at Devkot in H. 602.

Muhammad must have taken about 6 or 7 years in doing items 8, 9 and 10 and so the conquest of Bengal took place about H. 595.

Thus Dr. Blochmann comes to the conclusion that the conquest took place in about H. 594–595 or A.D. 1198–99.

(f) *Criticism of Mr. Blochmann's conclusion.*

It is not of much use to criticise the premises, which are conjectural and therefore can waver on this side or that side by one or two years. From item No. 5, it will be seen that Muhammad took good care to appease his liege-lord Qutbu'ddin as soon as he made the daring aggrandisement of the conquest of South Bihar. It is only natural that he should not fail to do so again, after his raid on the rich country of Bengal, *and that, as soon as possible* after the event, so that his liege-lord might not grow suspicious of his activities or envious of his success. If Muhammad saw Quṭbu'ddîn in H. 599 at Mahoba with the spoils from his raid on Bengal, the placing of the conquest of Bengal in H. 594–595 by Dr. Blochmann is certainly too early If a daring servant, after a bold conquest, makes a delay of four or five years in sharing his spoils with his liege-lord, he will certainly find no friend in him when he arrives to pay his respects. The raid on Bengal cannot, therefore, be put earlier than H. 598=A.D. 1201–1202 (October 1st, 1201—September 20th, 1202). And if the Parganâti Era began on the 28th September, A.D. 1202, the conclusion that the beginning of the Era coincided with the raid of Muhammad and the fall of Lakshmaṇa Sena, is not arrived at by any very great stretch of imagination.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PUNJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.
SERIES IV.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S. (*Retired.*)

(*Continued from page* 286.)

Ghâî : = Ghârî, a tenure in which the crop is equally divided between landlord and tenant : Ch., 161.

Ghaink : a small torch, made at the Khaul *mela* on the full moon in Mâgh, and swung round the head and thrown into a walnut-tree in the belief that if it catches in the branches the thrower will have a son : Ch., 160.

Ghala : field peas ; = Kalao : S.S., Bashahr, 47.

Ghâlî : grass, the right to cut grass : Ch., 275-6.

Ghalotî : a large earthen bin for grain : B., 196.

Ghâra : a tenant who pays half the produce of his land as rent, after the seed for the next sowing has been put aside. He may also be liable for special services : Ch., 155 and 277. Cf. Ghârî.

Gharâsnî : fr. *ghar wasnî* (*v.* Ghrasni) : Gloss., I., p. 436. Cf. Diack, *Kulu* Dialect, p. 64, *s.v.* Grâsni

Gharâ-wanj : a stand for pitchers : B., 197.

Ghareri : an animal kept at home (*ghar*) and not taken to the pastures : Ch., 279.

Ghari : rinderpest : SS. Bashahr, 53.

Ghârî : a tenure ; = Ghâî

Ghar-jawântrî : the custom of service in lieu of a money payment for a wife : Ch., 154 ; =**Gharî-jowâtrî** in Mandi, where the term of service may extend to 9 or 10 years : Mandi, 23.

Gharthân, = Kandunda, *q.v.*

Gharû : lit. 'domestic' : *gharû bâchh* is the revenue or rent paid by a *jâgîrdâr* from his own income as distinguished from the *bâchh* or fixed portion paid by him out of the rent received from tenants : Ch., 280.

Gharwân : land made cultivable by pulling down houses : Mandi, 65.

Ghâsan : a grass reserve : Sirmûr, 68.

Ghaughatî : an inferior spirit : Sirmûr, 59.

Ghernon phernon : a custom at weddings : Sirmûr, 31.

Gheo : = *ghî* : B., 192.

Ghin : *Elaeagnus hortensis* : Ch., 239.

Ghiyârû : a collector of *ghî* payable as revenue : Ch., 264.

Ghondi : a skirt and gaiters combined : SS. Kumhârsain, 13.

Ghorâî : a women's dance, danced in two lines in a circle : Ch., 210.

Ghorel : a poor soil, much the same as *gahorî* : Sirmûr, App. I.

Ghorî : a group of hamlets, smaller than the pargana : SS. Bashahr, 42-3.

Ghoriânâ : a money payment into which service is commuted : Ch., 171.

Ghor-punâ : a game in which two girls swing round, grasping each other's hands : Ch., 212.

Ghortangnan : rent for Gharâts or water-mills : SS. Bashahr, 74.

Ghrasni : Sanskr. *grihapravesha*, = Gorasang in Kanâwar, the rite observed on the completion of a new house : SS. Bashahr, 37.

Ghukrû bakrû : a kind of loaf (*bakrû* = a square loaf) ; = Gurgura in Churâhî : Ch., 124.

Ghundû : a cotton gown of a special pattern, worn by Gaddî women : Ch., 206; *-kharâ karnâ*, a rite at a wedding in Churâh ; lit. 'to lift up the *ghundû*' or the veil of the bride, which is done by the boy's mother who gives her a present of a rupee or less : Ch., 153.

Ghunkare : heavy brass anklets, worn by Gaddî women : Ch., 206.

Giâri : a feast held just after the Spring harvest : Kulu ; Gloss., I, p. 438.

Gilhṛu : goitre ; in Kulu ; cf. Gilra in III : Gloss., I, p. 432.

Gindî : matting ; B., 196.

Gindî-brâg : a game like 'hen-and-chickens'; of the players one is a shepherd, one a leopard, others sheep and dogs. The leopard tries to seize one of the sheep who is rescued by the dog : (*brâg* = leopard) : Ch., 212.

Girâh : see under Ungal.

Girâhî : = Chhanân *q.v.* B., 108.

Girâsnî : the ceremony which completes a marriage : the bride gives the boy *gur* : Sirmûr, 31.

Gobî : a kind of tobacco, not so tall as the ordinary *tamâkû* or *tamâkî* and with spreading leaves like a cabbage : Ch., 225.

Godami : = Barhil, *q.v.*

God lenâ, lit. 'to take in the lap,' to adopt : Gloss., I, p. 903.

Gohâ : = *mail,* manure : Ch., 221.

Gohâlû : a Brahman to whom alms are given at a *suphandî* : Ch., 210.

Goḥar : waste land on hillsides leading to a stream : Mandi, 65.

Goldâr : a Police officer, *thânadâr* : SS. Bashahr, 24.

Golî : a game played with pice or other coins ; = Gattî : Ch., 211.

Gon, 'sky' ; hence Govânu, the Sky god : SS. Jubbal, 12.

Gorchar : pasture near a village ; = Juh and Munchar : Ch., 277.

Gosum : *Schleichera trijuga* : Sirmûr, App. IV, iv.

Got : a form of contract in which the contractor engages shepherds to fold their flocks on land in return for the manure, the contractor being paid *malâna* by the landowner : Ch., 279.

Got-bhâî : a collateral however remote : Comp., 132.

Gotrî : a blood relation : Ch., 148.

Grât : a water-mill ; *-î*, the owner of a water-mill ; *-iânâ,* a tax on water-mills : Ch., 276.

Grit : = *ghî* : B., 111.

Guâmî : a present (Rs. 3) given to the bride's mother by the bridegroom : also called *thilaul* : Ch., 157.

Gudanî : = Jhanjrârâ *q.v.* : Ch., 147.

Gudnî : thinning out, of crops : = *halodnî* : Ch., 225.

Guldâr : a corruption of *ghalladâr*, a store-keeper : Sirmûr, 63.

Gulî dandâ : tip-cat : Ch., 212.

Gûn : horsechestnut : *Aesculus indica* : Ch., 237.

Gun : the fruit of the *Pavia indica* : Ch., 222.

Gunachu : *Rubus lasiocarpus* : Sirmûr, App. IV, v.

Gûnch : a kind of fish : Sirmûr, 7.

Gundalka : almost dark : Ch., 204.

Gundri : = Kundia, trousers : SS. Bashahr, 42.

Gunna : speaking through the nose ; hence, *ghunnan*, 'one who speaks through his nose' : Ch., 138.

Guntar : cow's urine. Guntr, Guntrar, Guntrâla, a rite of purification after childbirth : Ch., 123.

Gurâkhâ : a peon : = Jeltâ : Mandi, 59.

Gurani : coarse sugar : Sirmur, 26.

Gurḅâr : a special day in each year, usually a birthday, on which no work may be done : Ch., 194

Gur-bhâi : a brother made by taking the *pahul* at the same time, among Sikhs : Gloss., I, p. 903.

Gurgurâ : (Churâhî). = Ghukrû bakrû, *q.v.*

Gurohâch : in Kanâwar = Newa, *q.v.*

Gursewa : followers : B., 156.

Gur-Teriya : the 13th lunar day of Mâgh, one of the days for Bhat marriages : Mandi, 24.

Gurûrû : a swing bridge made of rope on which slides a wooden ring from which hangs a coil ; cf. *trangarî* : Ch., 15.

Guthû : a fist : Ch., 139.

Gwayon : (a family) of low status, opposed to Khund : Sirmûr, 63.

Hakâran : a rite performed in Brahmaur in the 3rd month after a birth, when water is put in a vessel and walnuts, rice and incense in the child's hands. It throws some away and the rest are picked up by children : Ch., 124.

Halai : = Baindri, *q.v.*

Haldu : *Adina cordifolia* : Sirmûr, App. IV, vi.

Hales : Dog wood, *Cornus macrophylla* : Ch., 239.

Hallah : = Hela, *q.v.* SS. Bashahr, 73.

Hallar : a bastard : Ch., 146. Cf. III, *s.v.*

Halodnî : thinning out : = Gudnî : Ch., 225.

Hanḍola : a swing : Kulu : Gloss., I, p. 424.

Hânjhall : lit. 'supporter of the heart,' breakfast ; = Nihâr, etc.

Hankâlu : *Sagerctia theezans* : Ch., 237.

Har : a bone : Ch., 139.

Hârkaran : a penalty recovered from an adulterer : SS. Bashahr, 14 ; payable to the State in Kumhârsain, *ib.*, 8.

Har-phera : a ceremonial visit paid by a newly married pair within a month of their wedding to the wife's parents, to whom a small present is made : Ch., 153.

Har singai : *Nyctanthes Abor tristis* : Sirmûr, App. IV, vi.

Haryang : a cess : Mandi, 63.

Hârâ : a measure : = 4 *pathas* (in Rainkâ Tahsîl) : Sirmûr, App. III.

Hatangnan : a cess levied for the keep of the State elephants : SS. Bashahr, 74.

Hathiâr : the sickle, sword or axe, allotted to a second son on inheritance as his special share ; cf. Jeṭhwâgh : Ch., 154.

Hatth-lewa : hand-taking : and -mel, hand-joining : B., 111.

Hela : ? special ; *hela begâr*, as opposed to *athwâra begâr*, usually consisted in household work rendered to State officials : SS. Nâlâgarh, 16-17.

Hiundâsi : one who remains at home in winter : Ch. 228.

Herû : a cess, State gamekeeper's pay recovered from villagers : SS. Bashahr, 75.

Hiski : the casting of a red cloth over the girl's head to effect her betrothal, among Baloch (D. G. K.) : Comp., 1-2-3.

Hôdu : *phapra* flour boiled and then baked ; = Chilta : SS. Bashahr, 41.

Howejan : a fine kind of barley : Simla S. R., xxxix.

Hudû-bharnâ : to play *hudù*, a game in which a boy tries to hop a given distance without letting one foot touch the ground : Ch., 212.

Ikihâ : a feast given to the brotherhood on the 21st day after a death : B., 197.

Ikki-pur : a gambling game played with cowries : B. 201.

Imân-bahin : = Dharm-bahin, among Muhammadans ; a sister made by Châdar-badal, *q.v.*

Indrangan : a cess of Re. 1 to Rs. 4 : SS. Bashahr, 75.

Istisqâ : prayer for rain ; fr. same root as *saqqâ* : B., 173.

Jach : some kind of service to a deota ; Kulu : Gloss., I, p., 432.

Jabal : wet, marshy land, always full of water : Sirmûr, App. I.

Jadolan : a cess levied for the hair-cutting ceremony of the Tikka : SS. Kumhârsain, 22.

Jagâr : an imprecation ; *-dený*, to invoke curses : Sirmûr, 40.

Jagnî : a torch : Ch. 275.

Jagru jag : a rite performed when offerings have to be made to a *deota* on account of illness ; Kulu ; Gloss., I, p. 437. Jag = 'fair' ; cf. *Kulu Dial. of Hindi*, p. 65.

Jain : *Terminalia tomentosa* : Sirmûr, App. IV, v.

Jaingtû : a root, from which, when dried, *sur* or beer is made ; = Karonda : Sirmûr, 58.

Jakat Chaudhri : a cess levied for the Zakât contractors' servants : SS. Bashahr, 75

Jakhwâhî : a weighman, of salt : Mandi, 51.

Jam : clumsy : Ch., 139.

Jamanwâlâ : a rite to scare away an *autar* or spirit of a person who has died childless. In it 4 *balîs*, offerings of boiled maize (*ghunganian*), nettle baths, and bran bread are offered 4 times by night : Ch., 150.

Jan : the bridegroom's followers : Ch., 143.

Jana : a young boy selected as a divine representative ; Simla Hills : Gloss., I, p. 475 f.

Janâi : a superior form of marriage in Churâh : Ch., 152.

Janâza : prayer at a funeral ; Ar., lit. 'a corpse' or 'bier' : B., 176-7.

Janeî : a short form of regular marriage in Churâh : = Bujkyâ in Brahmaur : Ch., 127.

Jangshal : a cess, a commutation of the State's right to half the skin of every dead animal : SS. Bilâspur, 23.

Janjî, jânjî, janî : a superior form of marriage, used in the Sâch *pargana* of Pângî : Ch., 157.

Japas : a month , = Phalguna (?) : Mandi, 39.

Jappe : a small fish : Ch., 39.

Jaseri : early morning meal : SS. Bashahr, 41.

Jatâme : pig : B. 201 ; cf P. D., p. 484 ; *jatâmân*, any wild animal.

Jâtera : worldly business, opp. to Mâtera : Ch., 142.

Jathalnû : morning meal : Sirmûr, 58.

Jaṭhiâli : a sort of headman in the Chamâr caste ; Kulu : Gloss., I, pp. 348 and 435.

Jathung : the extra share of an eldest son ; in Sirmûr : = Jathwâ in Churâh (Chamba) : Comp., 73.

Jattu : the first hair, of a child : Ch., 195.

Jâtrâ : a pilgrimage : Gloss., I, p. 452.

Jaul : a shoulder-band : Ch., 144.

Jel, a second ploughing : Ch., 221.

Jeltâ, -thâ, a peon : also an office-holder in a temple : Mandi, 59, and Suket, 26.

Jethâ :-î, lit. 'elder' ; so, 'first sown' : Ch., 224.

Jethund (Jaithund) : the extra share assigned to an eldest son on inheritance, but counterbalanced by his obligation to pay a larger share of any debts ; cf. Jeṭhwâgh : Ch., 148.

Jethunda : is apparently the form used in Râwalpindi and the Barmaur *wizârat* of Chamba : Comp., 71-2.

Jethwâgh : (i) a fee paid to the senior wife (*barî lârî*) when her husband takes a second spouse, for her admission into the house ; (ii) the best field assigned to an eldest son on inheritance : Ch., 152 and 154.

Jhabtâlpû : daybreak : Mandi, 31.

Jhaggî : a long woollen garment reaching to the knees, worn by women : Mandi, 32.

Jhajra : a form of marriage : Sirmûr, 30.

Jhalla : lit. 'idiot' : the Gurû's deputy : Sirmûr, 40. Cf. P. D., p. 491.

Jhallar : a large jar ; dim. *jhânwala* : B., 197.

Jhanjhoṭî : a song ; Kulu : Gloss., I, p. 424.

Jhamb : a mattock used for repairing canals : Mandi, 43.

Jhanjrârâ : a form of widow re-marriage, ranking below the *byâh*. In it the bride dons ornaments, especially the nose-ring (*nâth*), with a red ribbon (*dorî*) to bind her hair, and a bodice (*cholî*). Syns. are Cholî-dorî and Sargudhi, *qq.v.* Ch., 126-7.

Jhânki : (?).

Jharga (?) : a kind of greens : Simla, S. R., xxxix.

Jhâta : a child by a purely adulterous connection : SS. Bashahr, 17.

Jhata, Jhatogra, = Chaukhandû ; in Sirmûr : Comp., 116.

Jherâ (betâ) : = Chaukhandû ; in Sarâj.

Jhind-phuk : = Man-marzî ; lit. 'bush-burning,' a form of marriage among the Gaddîs : Ch., 127.

Jhish : dawn : SS. Bashahr, 40.

Jhinjnî : red : Simla, S. R., xl. ; and SS. Kumhârsain, 14.

Jhol ; buttermilk boiled with salt, *ghî* and spices : Mandi, 32.

Jhontû : an axe : Ch., 229.

Jhulkâ : a fire-rite observed just before a wedding ; the best man kindles a fire under a pan of water while the bridegroom's family endeavour to extinguish it : B., 102.

Jhûmar : *v.* P. D., p. 502 ; *s.v. jhumar.*

Jhumriâlû : a tenant of land, said to mean 'family servant,' but applied to a man of any caste who subrents land ; the first class of *jhumriâlû* subrent from State tenants, the second or *anwâsîdâr* hold land in lieu of service, and the third are farm servants, but also hold some land : Ch., 165 and 277.

Jhûnga : interest : B., 203 (where a proverb is cited). Cf. P. D., 503.

Jhutiyâr : a servant under the Batwâl : Ch., 264.

Jhûrnâ : to idle or meditate ; cf. *jhûrjân*, idle : Ch., 138.

Jiâli : a man who is sacrificed ; Bashahr : Gloss., I, p. 347.

Jiageota : *Putranjiva retusa* : Sirmûr, App. IV, vii.

Jija : a sister's husband : Gloss., I, p. 903.

Jîjî : = Bebe, *q.v.*

Jîl butâra : the pied kingfisher : Ch., 38.

Jind rorî : = Chhotî chung, *q.v.* : B., 109.

Jinghan : *Odina Wodier* : Sirmûr, App. IV, iv.

Jinsâl : a contract by which the State sells the skins of dead cattle, all of which are claimed by it : Suket, 42 and 33.

Jinsâlî : an official, now abolished, who was in charge of the magazine of a *pargana* : Ch., 264. Cf. Jinsâl in III.

Jira : white ; = Kallû : Simla, S. R., xl.

Jirda : a screen : Mandi, 53.

Jiringar : dumb : Ch., 138.

Jithong : the eldest son's extra share on inheritance amounting to 4 *pathas* of land : Sirmûr, 37.

Jogan : a demon : Kulu : Gloss., I, p. 437.

Joji : a small cloth cap, worn by women in Churâh : Ch., 206.

Jora-pawa : a cess, in commutation of the right to shoes and bedposts enjoyed by officials : SS. Bilâspur. 22.

Jori : a small earring with silver pendants : B., 103. (?) a pair, P. D., *s.v.*

Jû, Zû : the hybrid between a yak and a cow ; fem. Brimi : SS. Bashahr, 53.

Juh : pasture near a village ; = Corchar and Munchar : Ch., 277.

Jûnî : a weight. 1 *patha* = 5 *sers khâm* : 16 pathas = 1 *jûnî*, and 20 *jûnîs* = 1 *khâr* : Sirmûr, App. III.

Jûrî : a small bundle ; = roli : Ch., 223.

Jusmusa : dawn : Ch., 204.

Juth : refuse of grass dried again for fodder : Mandi. 45.

Juth pâi : an observance at a wedding after the *bat parana*. The boy's father or uncle and his companions on return from the bride's house place 4 coins in a plate and rejoin the wedding procession : Ch., 143.

Jutti : a string of black wool knitted together : Mandi. 24.

Kachnai : = Kurali.

Kadhu : ? a ram : a cess : = Poksha, *q.v.*

Kadelni : (add *s.v.* in III), but not so fine as the *bathailnî*.

Kadroli : a bread made from *koda* : SS. Bashahr, 48.

Kaephal : *Myrica sapida* : Sirmûr, App. IV, vii.

Kâgadârû : a letter-carrier : fr. Pers. *kâghaz*, 'paper' : Ch., 264.

Kâila : revenue in kind : Sirmûr. 87.

Kaili : a cow or bullock black in colour with certain white points ; cf. Megat and Phangat : Jullundur, S. R., 55.

Kâin : the area which could be sown with a given quantity of seed—usually 4 *mans kachcha* : Sirmûr, 87 : the area which can be sown with 3 to 4 *bhârs* of seed : SS. Sângri, 4.

Kaint : *Pyrus variolosa* : Sirmûr, App. IV, v.

Kakar : a tobacco cultivated on irrigated land. It only produces one crop : Sirmûr, 67.

Kakarain : *Pistaccia integerrima* : Ch., 235.

Kakkar : a kind of tobacco : B., 193 ? = Kandahâri, but cf. Kakkar. P. D., 535, 'second growth of the tobacco plant'

Kakni : south-east : B., 186

Kâlâ Bâthû : a species of Bâthû, Amaranthus : SS. Bashahr, 48

Kalâhu : any irrigated land : Sirmûr, 72-3, and App. I

Kalagi : a tuft : Kulu : Gloss., I, p. 349.

Kalâi-chhurânâ : 'to release the wrist' : a game in which the wrist is firmly held by some one and has to be forcibly released : Ch., 212.

Kalal : 10 *a.m.* : SS. Bashahr, 40

Kalao : = Ghala *q.v.* : Kalari, an early morning meal of weak porridge made of *bâthû* : SS. Kumhârsain, 312

Kalâwa : see under Sathri

Kalâwar : soil of specially good quality : Sirmûr, App. I

Kalel : after dark : Ch., 204.

Kali chir : *Pinus excelsa* : Sirmûr, App. IV, vii

Kâli siri : lit. 'black head' a widow : Gloss., I, p. 906

Kaliol : morning, fr. Kalwari *q.v.* : Mandi. 31.

Kalla : holly, *Ilex dipyrena* : = Karela : Ch., 237.

Kalkâ : an ark ; Kulu : Gloss. I, p. 472

Kallu : white ; = *jira* : Simla, S. R., xl.

Kalwâr : 9 or 10 a.m. : Ch., 204.

Kalwari : 'breakfast' : Mandi, 31.
Kamal : *Berberis nepalensis* : Ch., 237.
Kambella : *Mallotus philippinensis* : Sirmûr, App. IV, vii.
Kâmdârî : a *patwâr* cess : SS. Kuthâr, 8.
Kâmrî : a waist-belt : SS. Kumhârsain, 13.
Kâna, blind : Ch., 139.
Kanchar : a box, in Pângî ; cf. Kanjâl : Ch., 208.
Kânchhong, Kânchhûng : the youngest son's extra share on inheritance—usually Rs. 8 or a few utensils : Sirmûr, 37.
Kanda : *Principia utilis* ; cf. Bhekal : Ch., 238.
Kandela : *Bauhinia retusa* : Sirmûr, App. IV, iv.
Kandrol, a wild fig, *Ficus cunia* : Ch., 240.
Kandunda : = Gharthân, the extra share of a youngest son, consisting of the hearth : Comp., 72.
Kandûrî : a table-cloth : B., 104.
Kane : *Spiraea sorbifolia* : Ch., 238.
Kanetha : younger : Ch., 59.
Kangash : a kind of grass : Ch., 222.
Kânghu : a comb : Ch., 140.
Kangu : = Kongi, *Flacourtia Ramontchi* : Sirmûr, App. IV, ii.
Kangû : = Panj. *rori*, the yellowish colour used for caste-marks by Brahmans : B., 111. Prepared from red turmeric : 108. Cf. Kunggû, 'red *amla*' : P. D., 635.
Kanh : = Muṭṭh, *q.v.*
Kanhâ : fem. -î. lit. youngest ; so, 'last sown' : Ch., 224.
Kanjâl : a box, oblong in shape ; cf. Tunî, in the Râvî valley ; and Kanchar or Shikârî in Pângî : Ch., 208.
Kanjlu : a poplar, *Populus ciliata* and *alba* : Ch., 240.
Kanlû : the poplar, *Acer pictum* ; = Sufeda : Ch., 236.
Kannedâr : = Bânatî, *q.v.*
Kantlû, ? Kanthî, a necklace : SS. Bashahr, 36.
Kanwâ : a vessel : B., 197.
Kâr chompri : a tax on milch cattle in return for grazing : Suket, 42.
Kar : a line ; *kar dharnâ*, a rite at the fixing of the wedding day : Sirmûr, 30.
Kar : a sum of money payable to a *jâgîrdâr* for grazing in a State pasture : Ch., 278.
Kârâ : cash revenue : Sirmûr, 87.
Karâhad : cess : SS. Bashahr, 67.
Karach : a censer ; Simla Hills ; = Dhurna : Gloss., I, p. 456.
Karâlî : (1) land entirely dependent on rainfall : SS. Bashahr, 46. (2) = Batri, *q.v.*
Karandî : a trowel : Ch., 229.
Karangora : a shrub, under which the demon Chungû is found : Ch., 150.
Karar : *Rosa moschata* : Ch., 238.
Karaunda : *Carissa carandas* : Sirmûr, App. IV, vi.
Karaunj : *Ougeinia dalbergioides* : Sirmûr, App. IV, iv.
Karela : holly : = Kalla, *q.v.* : Ch., 237.
Karî : an ornament for the ankles : Ch., 208.
Karonda : a root : see Jaingtû : Sirmûr, 58.
Karori : Virginia creeper, *Vitis sp.*, Ch., 237.

Karotarî : a saw : Ch., 229.

Karru : violets : SS. Bashahr, 61.

Karun, a mulberry tree, *Morus serrata* : Ch., 240.

Kashitu : a variety of rice : SS. Bâghal, 8.

Kashmal : *Berberis Lycium* : Sirmûr, App. IV, ii.

Kasmal : *B. aristata* : *ib.*

Kaspâran : a steel ; = Agdhâl, *q.v.*

Kassa : a measure :—1 *kassa* = 2 *odis* ; in the Boi *ilâqa* of Hazâra. Cf. Asa.

Kat : = Katohar, the high fields above the village used for grazing in summer, in Brahmaur ; = Adwârî : Ch., 277.

Kâtakî : a tobacco, cut in Kâtak : Sirmûr, 67.

Kâtal : land situated on the banks of streams : Sirmûr, App. I, and Mandi, 64.

Katul : land at a distance from the village, scantily manured and watered : SS. Baghât, 8.

Kâth : a heavy piece of wood attached to a prisoner's leg : SS. Bilâspur, 20.

Kathâla : an office-bearer in a temple : Suket, 26.

Kathi : *Spiraea canescens* : Ch., 238.

Katî, a knife : Ch., 125.

Katmâlâ : a neck ornament : B., 112.

Kattal : a grass cut late and then inferior to Sarlu : Mandi, 45.

Kau : *Olea ferugina* : Ch., 239.

Kaunî : *Pennisetum Italicum* : Ch., 222.

Kaunta : a cone, of cedar or pine : = Relra : Simla S. R., lxiv.

Kaur : a root : Ch., 243.

Kaure waṭṭe di roti : = Mundar chor ; B., 197. Cf. Waṭṭî, 'dough' : P. D., 1203

Kawâr : a bride : B., 110 : *v.* P. D., p. 572, where *kawâṛâ* is fem. and *kawâṛ* m

Kemû : a tree : Sirmûr, 79.

Kerrâ : adj., brown : Ch., 138.

Khâdar : = *panjobal* : Sirmûr, App. I.

Khadda (s) : parched maize : Ch., 151.

Khâlâ : mother's sister, among Paṭhâns and Shaikhs. Her husband is Khâlû

Khalâwa : lord chamberlain : Ch., 168.

Khaliân : threshing-floor ; Sirmûr, 65.

Khâll : a pond : Sirmûr, 71.

Khalri : = *rat*, in Bhogarmang.

Khalrû : a skin : Ch., 142.

Khâlû : *v.* Khâlâ.

Khalwâr : see under Topa.

Khâman : = Ol or Khol, *q.v.*, Kulu : Gloss., I, p. 438.

Khândâ : a large box ; = *bâra* ; -i, a box, larger than the *bâra* : Simla S. R., xlvi. Cf. Khantû in III.

Khândâ : an iron mace, offered to a Nâga : Ch., 155.

Khâp : a sub-caste, described as endogamous, among Mâlis : Comp., 24.

Khâr : a weight ; see under Jûnî.

Khâr : (1) a grass used in roofing : Ch., 119 ; (2) commutation of former supplies of grass : SS. Bilâspur, 22.

Khârbâs : -wâs, a sheet : Ch., 142.

Kharî bhagtî : see Bhagtî.

Kharmakora : a grass which grows on barren hills in the rains and makes inferior hay : Mandi, 45.

Kharolî : a common shed : Sirmûr, 65.

Kharorî : small pieces of wood hung on a necklace outside a temple : Sirmûr, 43.

Kharpat : *Garuga pinnata* : Sirmûr, App. IV, iii.

Kharu : = Kharshu, *q.v.* in III.

Kharyâtr : land which grows grass suitable for hay : Mandi, 45.

Khat-nâû : a 'bed-raft' : Ch., 11.

Khatrî : a general term for a *dhobî* or washerman : B., 147.

Khel : pron. Khed, a sept, a sub-division of a caste : SS. Bashahr, 20.

Khepra : a mask ; Kulu : Gloss., I, p. 326.

Khikhyâr : a large fish : Ch., 39.

Khil : an inferior soil ; newly made land : Sirmûr, 65, and App. I.

Khila : parched gram ; *-khednî*, lit. 'to play with the *khila*,' is a rite observed at a wedding to break the tie of kinship, if any exist, between the parties : Ch., 145.

Khim : the dried cake of barley, etc., from which *sur* is made : Sirmûr, 58.

Khinnû : hockey : Ch., 211.

Khîra : a lamb which has not yet cut its teeth ; cf. P. D., p. 599 : Sirmûr, 52.

Khirrî : the small bamboo. *Dendrocalamus strictus* : SS. Bilâspur, 17.

Khoblî : lumps of meal in dough : SS. Bashahr, 41.

Khol : (1) foreskin : B., 97. (2) an opening in the soil : = Ol., *q.v.*

Kholû : greedy : Ch., 139.

Khora : a cess in kind, of *gur* : SS. Bashahr, 70.

Khot : ghost ; = Pâp : SS. Kumhârsain, 8.

Khrûn : foot-and-mouth disease : SS. Bashahr, 53.

Khund : (1) a family respected for its bravery : Sirmûr, 63 ; Khûnd, a descendant of a Mâwî or Mawanna ; (2) also apparently a canton : Simla Hills : Gloss., I, p. 451.

Khurli : see under Biha bhat.

Khurpa : foot-and-mouth disease : SS. Jubbal, 18.

Khwesh : a daughter's husband : Pathâns.

Kiamal : *Berberis vulgaris* : Ch., 237.

Kiâr : a field which remains full of water—generally sown with rice : Sirmûr, App. I.

Kilâr : a species of wych hazel, *Parrotia Jacquemontiana* : Ch., 33.

Killar : = Kilâr, *q.v.* : Ch., 239.

Kirka : a tree, *Cocculus laurifolius* : Sirmûr, App. IV, ii.

Kirtijubar : some kind of dance (?) : Simla Hills : Gloss., I, p. 463.

Kishtâ : the wild apricot, *Prunus armenica* : Sirmûr, 80. The fruit when dried ; = Sukerî : Ch., 225.

Kohi : *Alnus nepalensis* : Sirmûr, App. IV, vi.

Koith kathal : *Feronia elephantum* : Sirmûr, App. IV, iii.

Kolath : = Kulat, *q.v.*

Kolsar (? **kolsa**) : = *kalej* : Sirmûr, 7. The *Euplocamus albocristatus* : Ch., 36.

Kongi : = Kangû, *q.v.*

Kokla : *Sphenocerous sphenurus* : Ch., 37.

Koli ghâs : a cess of 80 bundles of grass per *kain* of cultivation : SS. Kunhiâr, 10.

Konsal : a man who lives with a widow in her dead husband's house : = Linda : Mandi, 23.

Kotherû : an official in Brahmaur corresponding to the Jhutiyâr elsewhere in Chamba : Ch., 265.

Kothiâla : an official in charge of a granary : cf. *kotiâla* (Suket, 38) : SS. Bilâspur, 21.

Kothipavali : a house-tax, levied for festivals and religious purposes from cultivators : SS. Bashahr, 74.

Kotri : owlet, *Athene Brama.*

Kral : *Bauhinia variegata* : Ch., 235 and 238.

Krao : the oak : *Quercus semicarpifolia* : Ch., 235 and 240.

Kuâsâ : fem. -î. descendant of a *niwâsâ* or daughter's son : used by Paṭhâns and Shaikhs in Jhajjar.

Kuhainta : a hunchback : Ch., 139.

Kûhli : an earthen bin ; -âtâ, a rite observed before a wedding : B., 109.

Kuji : *Rosa moschata* : Sirmûr, App. IV. v.

Kukarî : maize or Indian corn = *makki* : Ch., 224.

Kukrolâ : = *koklâs, Pucrasia macrolopha* : Ch., 36.

Kulâhar : a little before noon : B., 191.

Kulâhu : land watered from a *kul*, but with a long lead : SS. Jubbal, 16.

Kulat : = Kolath (add in III).

Kulhant : irrigated land : SS. Bilâspur, 15, and Bhajji, 7.

Kulînza : a demon represented by a masked man at the Châr or Spring festival : Ch., 45.

Kultherni : inferior land such as grows Kulath : SS. Baghal, 8.

Kulwâr : the first big meal of the day, eaten at 10 or 11 a.m. : Suket, 27.

Kundi : (1) an iron stick, crooked in shape, offered to a Nâga : Ch., 155. (2) a receptacle for smelting iron : SS. Jubbal, 20.

Kundia : = Gundri, trousers : SS. Bashahr, 42.

Kunj : a trouser-string ; -chhor-welâ, undressing- or bed-time : B., 192. Syn. Sota among Hindus and in the Lammâ.

Kunjhain : a form of worship offered to Kâli and other goddesses in lieu of sacrifice ; part of a forest being preserved and consecrated for it ; Simla Hills : Gloss., I, p. 470.

Kunnû : a measure of land ; = *ghumao* : Ch., 224.

Kura : *Holarrhena anti-dysenterica* : Sirmûr, App. IV, vi.

Kurali : = Kachnâî : Sirmûr App. IV, iv.

THE HISTORY OF THE NIZÂM SHÂHÎ KINGS OF AHMADNAGAR.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR WOLSELEY HAIG, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

(*Continued from page 300.*)

CX.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE SACK AND PLUNDER OF THE CITY AND COUNTRY WHICH DISGUSTED AND REPELLED BOTH GREAT AND SMALL.

This was one of the reasons why the Mughuls failed to capture the fort.[362] As soon as the prince, Shâh Murâd, and the Khânkhânân heard of this oppression of the people, they did their utmost to check and prevent it, and executed a number of the plunderers in order to deter the rest, but nobody in the town or in the suburbs had any property left nor any shelter, for the very foundations of all the houses were so destroyed and obliterated that none could distinguish his own house from another's. As it was God's will that the plans of Akbar's army to capture the fort should fail, this occurrence was the cause of the undermining of the strength and the destruction of the power of the Mughul army and of the restoration of the hopes of the supporters of the Aḥmadnagar monarchy, and this was, in truth, the first breach in the foundations of the enemies' fortunes and the cause of disgust in the minds of all, both small and great, in the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar. This enabled them to understand the truth of the secret of the advantage of suffering a little loss to secure a great gain, for this wholesale wasting and plundering denuded the whole country of inhabitants and habitations and prevented all traffic through it, the result being that for three months the enemy had no communication of any sort with their own country and that a famine broke out in their camp, so that in that space of time no one, gentle or simple, so much as looked on rice, ghi, or other necessaries of life, and this plundering, and the famine which ensued, became the cause of the enemy's retreat, as will shortly be described. Help and assistance are from God!

CXI.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE NIGHT ATTACK WHICH MUBÂRIZ-UD-DÎN ABHANG KHÂN[363] MADE ON THE MUGHUL ARMY, AND OF SOME OTHER EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED AT THE SAME TIME.

It has already been said that when the African *amîrs*, owing to the evil results of their continual quarrels with one another, separated and were scattered, they dispersed to all parts of the kingdom. Of these *amîrs*, Ikhlâṣ Khân, 'Azîz-ul-Mulk, Balîl Khân and others hastened to Daulatâbâd, the garrison of which fortress, acting in concert with them, raised to the throne a person called Motî, whom they entitled Motî Shâh, and raised the standard of independence and of opposition to all others.

In the same way Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân also hastened to Bîjâpûr for the purpose of securing possession of the person of some member of the royal family of Aḥmadnagar who could be set up as heir to the kingdom. Here he found Mîrân Shâh 'Alî, the son of the late Burhân Nizâm Shâh I, who was living under the protection of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II, and his son, who was then twenty years of age, and took them, with a body of troops, into the Bîr district where, with a view to composing the affairs of that district and to conquering the rest of the kingdom, he assembled large numbers of the army which was scattered and

[362] According to the *Akbarnâma* and Firishta (ii, 313). Shahbâz Khân, a bigoted *Sunnî*, was responsible for this atrocity. The policy of the prince and the Khânkhânân (a *Shî'ah*) was to conciliate the inhabitants, to whom, therefore, they proclaimed an amnesty, but on December 29 (December 30, according to Firishta, ii, 313) Shahbâz Khân ordered a massacre of the inhabitants of the city of Ahmadnagar and of the suburb of Burhânâbâd. The wretched people were plundered and slain, and Shahbâz Khân proceeded to plunder the building known as the Hospice of the Twelve Imâms. He was severely rebuked by the prince and the Khânkhânân, and many of his followers, caught plundering, were put to death. The outrage seriously injured the imperial cause.

[363] The *Akbarnâma* agrees with Sayyid 'Alî in calling this *amîr* Abhang Khân. Firishta calls him Ahang Khân, but this may be a scribe's error.

dispersed throughout the district. Miyân Manjhû from fear of the Mughul army had also fled into the Bîr district, taking Ahmad Shâh with him, so now Chând Bîbî Sulṭân, whose endeavours were ever directed to what was best for the state, and to the good administration of the kingdom, sent a trusty servant with her own sign manual to Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân forbidding him to fight with Miyân Manjhû and his followers, and ordering him to repair at once to Daulatâbâd and there to come to an agreement with, and join forces with the rest of the African *amîrs* and all who were still loyal, and to drive out the Mughul army.[364]

In obedience to the queen's command Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân, with Mîrân Shâh 'Alî and about 5,000[365] horse, ready for battle, marched to Daulatâbâd, and when the news of his approach with Mîrân Shâh 'Alî reached Ikhlâṣ Khân and the rest of the African *amîrs*, they, owing to their former disputes with Abhang Khân, would not accept Mîrân Shâh 'Alî. They took counsel among themselves, saying: "We have raised a king to the throne and elevated the royal umbrella over his head, and have drawn into our own hands the management and means of managing all the affairs of the kingdom. Now for no reason whatever, to depose our king and to acknowledge Shâh 'Alî, the *protégé* of Abhang Khân, and to place ourselves under the orders of our enemy, can lead to nothing but shame and repentance. They therefore refused to join themselves to Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân, or to acknowledge Mîrân Shâh 'Alî, and declined either to see them or to have any communication with them, but a force of about 500 of the best cavalry, *silâḥdârs* and other brave men, deserted Ikhlâṣ Khân and joined the army of Shâh 'Alî and Abhang Khân.

When Mîrân Shâh 'Alî and Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân had given up all hopes of coming to an agreement with Ikhlâṣ Khân and the rest of the African *amîrs*, they reported the whole matter to Chând Bîbî Sulṭân and said that they were willing to bring their army to Aḥmadnagar and to do their utmost both to assist in defending the fort and in engaging the enemy in the field. The queen issued an order directing them to come, and they marched towards the city. When they approached the suburbs they sent a spy to inquire which entrance to the fort was unwatched and unguarded by the Mughuls. The spy returned and reported that the eastern side of the fortress, on which was a high road to Tisgâon and the public highway, was unguarded by the Mughuls, and on the evening of Saturday, Rabî-uṣ-ṣânî 28 (December 30, A.D. 1595), Mîrân Shâh 'Alî and Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân with their valiant army, entered the fort by the road which the spy had indicated.[366]

The strange thing was that on that morning Shâh Murâd had ridden round the fort in order to inspect the works and to apportion the posts to the corps of his army, and had assigned the eastern side, where ran the Tisgâon road and the high road by which the army was to come, to the Khânkhânân and that on the evening of the same day the Khânkhânân marched from the neighbourhood of the *Namâzgâh* to the garden of the *'Ibâdat-Khâna*, which stood in the road of the army of Mîrân 'Alî Shâh and Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân, and there encamped with his army.[367] On that dark night the whole of the Khânkhânân's corps,

[364] Firishta mentions (ii. 313) the confusion prevailing in the state of Aḥmadnagar owing to the existence of irreconcilable factions, of which there were no less than four:—(1) Miyân Manjhû, on the Bijâpûr frontier, acknowledging the impostor, Aḥmad Shâh; (2) Ikhlâṣ Khân and his party, near Daulatâbâd, acknowledging the impostor, Moti Shâh; (3) Abhang Khân, on the Bijâpûr frontier, acknowledging the pretender, 'Alî [illegible] Shâh, son of Burhân Nizâm Shâh I; and (4) Chând Bîbî, in Ahmadnagar, acknowledging the lawful heir, the infant Bahâdur, son of Ibrâhîm Nizâm Shâh, who was imprisoned in Jond.

[365] Firishta (ii. 314) says 7,000 horse.

[366] In the *Akbarnâma* a misleading account of this affair is given. It is said that on December 31 Shâh 'Alî and Abhang Khân led a night attack on the Khânkhânân's lines, but were defeated and driven back into the city with heavy loss. The Khânkhânân was blamed for not capturing them. It was the city that they were trying to reach, and Abhang Khân attained his object. 'Alî Shâh did not enter the city, but fled. His son Murtaẓâ, afterwards Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh II, entered the city with Abhang Khân.

[367] Sultân Murâd had inspected the trenches and, finding that there were none on this side of the city, had ordered the Khânkhânân to take his post there. F. ii. 314.

having no expectation of the arrival of the enemy, slept the sleep of negligence, without having taken any of the ordinary precautions against surprise. When two watches of the night had passed Mirân 'Alî Shâh and Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân marched up with their brave army and became aware of the encampment of the Mughuls at the garden of the *'Ibâdat-Khâna*. Finding the Mughuls asleep and defenceless they fell upon them and began to slay them. When the Khânkhânân's negligent corps awakened confusedly from their sleep, they found that they were being attacked by a fierce enemy, that the way of escape was closed on every side, and that death was staring them in the face; they found that no course but to fight bravely was open to them, and they therefore prepared to resist their enemy and to gain a name as soldiers. Some fought at the doors of their tents and some, leaving their own belongings, made for the tent of the Khânkhânân.

The army of the Dakan, when they found tents empty of their owners, cast prudence and caution to the winds, and proceeded to plunder the enemy's goods; but Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân, with a resolute body of men, made a stand near the pavilion of the Khânkhânân and there kept his flag flying for nearly two astrological hours, fighting manfully with the enemy the while. The Khânkhânân, taking with him a body of expert archers, retired to the roof of the building in which he lodged and poured showers of arrows and shot and a fire of musketry on Abhang Khân and his followers, until by degrees the numbers of those around the Khânkhânân grew ever greater and greater, while the army of the Dakan melted away in search of plunder. When Abhang Khân saw that the enemy had grown strong and that there was no longer any hope of a successful attack on them, he retreated towards the fort, taking with him the son of Mîrân Shâh 'Alî, while Shâh 'Alî himself and the troops with him retreated by the road by which they had come[368] and were pursued by Daulat Khân Lodî, one of the *amîrs* of the Khânkhânân's army, who captured and slew many of his men.[369]

Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân, however, with the son of Mîrân Shâh 'Alî, and a large force, contrived to reach the gate of the fort in the darkness of the night and increased the confidence and raised the spirits of the garrison a thousand-fold. The chamberlains of the court, by the orders of Chând Bîbî Sulṭân, led Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân and the son of Mîrân Shâh 'Alî into the fort and into her presence, where his valour and great services became the theme of every tongue, and where he was the recipient of much honour and of the royal favour.

Since Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân had performed this deed of valour against the mighty Mughul army and had shown so much bravery, the enemy began to fear the army of the Dakan, and the self esteem which had been engendered by the former unwillingness of the Dakanîs to attack them gave way to terror, and the great night attack undermined their valour, power and prestige, so that they began to fear to meet the Dakanis in the field and no more neglected any precautions against surprise, but redoubled their efforts to reduce the fortress. They apportioned every section of the lines of circumvallation to some of the great *amîrs*, and the prince, Shâh Murâd, selected the country to the east of the fort, which had been the scene of the fight, as the camping ground of his own special troops and of the army of Gujarât. The ground to the south, which is opposite to the village of Shaiṭanpûr and lies towards the *Farah Bakhsh* garden, was given to the Khânkhânân, the ground to the west, which lies towards the city of Aḥmadnagar and on which side is the original gate of the fort, was given to Shahbâz Khân and Mîrzâ Shâhrukh, and the ground to the north, which lies towards Burhanabad and the *Namazgâh*, was given to Râja 'Alî Khân, the ruler of Burhânpûr. The army of the Mughuls thus

[368] 'Alî Shâh was an old man of seventy who had for many years lived a retired life in Bîjâpûr and was loth to incur the dangers and hardships of active service or to enter the disturbed arena of Aḥmadnagar politics. F. ii, 313, 315.

[369] About 900. F. ii, 315.

surrounded the fort on all sides, and pressed forward their sap and trenches, and were instant day and night in fighting and in carrying on the siege, their sole object in life now being the reduction of the fortress.

Mujâhid-ud-dîn Shamshir Khân, who, with his sons and a valiant body of troops had been doing their utmost without the walls against the enemy, was now recalled within the walls and the gates were finally closed so that none might pass out nor in. The garrison now made up their minds to severe fighting and kept up a heavy fire on the besiegers both by night and by day, making also frequent sorties.

But the fortress of Ahmadnagar is very strong, and though the Mughuls besieged it both straitly and vigorously, they saw no prospect of reducing it. Shâh Murâd was so intent on gaining his object that he personally spent most of his time in the trenches, supervising the filling in of the ditch, and the erection of a tower to overtop the wall, so that in a short time the tower was as high as the wall and the ditch was filled up with earth and rubbish.

Chând Bibî Sultân also personally did everything in her power to perfect the defence, and looked after the defenders. She rested not by day from attending to the wants of the needy and feeble nor did she sleep by night, praying God with tears and lamentations to restore peace and prosperity to her people. Therefore the enemy's arrow missed its mark and none of their plans for the reduction of the fortress was successful.

While the Mughul army spared no efforts in erecting their tower to overtop the wall and in increasing its height, the defenders constantly increased the height of the bastion to which it was opposite, so that it still excelled the tower in height, and thus made all the enemy's efforts of no avail.

In the meantime Venkoji the Koli, who had formerly adhered to Ahmad Shâh and Miyân Manjhû, now deserted them and returned to the neighbourhood of the Mughul army and frequently attacked the picquets posted for the protection of their stores of grass, and captured many horses, elephants, camels, and bullocks, and also slew many of their men. Sa'âdat Khân also, the old servant of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, who had formerly gone into the district of Nâsik and Chândûr, now collected an efficient army and so cut off the communications of the enemy that nobody could approach Ahmadnagar from the direction of Sultânpûr and Nandurbâr.

Sayyid Râjû, one of the *amîrs* of Akbar's army, was now ordered by Shâh Murâd to put a stop to the raids of Venkoji, and in his self-sufficiency and pride did not wait to assemble a sufficient body of troops but marched to attack Venkoji with the few followers whom he had with him, and when he came up with him found himself greatly outnumbered, but had pressed on too fast to be able to retreat with safety, and therefore, with his followers, attacked Venkoji's men just as a moth flies into a flame. Venkoji's troops surrounded Sayyid Râjû and his followers like a halo, and as God had decreed that Sayyid Râjû's family should be extinguished in disgrace and that his fighting days should be brought to an end, his troops, who were very tigers in bravery, failed to save him. On every side he saw the way of escape closed with sword and spear and they, washing their hands of life, fought bravely, and with determination, resolved to sell their lives dearly. After a fierce conflict Sayyid Râjû, with a number of his relations, friends, and followers met their death on the field, and only a few poor wretches whom death was slow in overtaking escaped from the fray and spread abroad the news of the death of Sayyid Râjû.[370]

This occurrence spread dismay among the powerful army of the enemy and greatly encouraged the army of Ahmadnagar. At the same time the Mughul army received news that Sa'âdat Khân,[371] who had been patrolling the Nâsik district with 2,000 efficient horse and laid

[370] "On January 4, 1596, the enemy attacked the imperial camp, and was not driven back before Sayyid Râjû and some of his brothers and a number of horses and pack animals had been killed."—A. N.

[371] "On January 7 a caravan coming from Gujarât was plundered by Sa'âdat Khân."—A. N.

an ambush for Sayyid 'Âlam, one of the *amîrs* of Gujarât who was marching from that country to join the Mughul army with a large quantity of treasure, stores and munitions of war, and had slain Sayyid 'Âlam and a large number of his troops, and captured all the treasure, baggage and elephants. This news caused great dejection among all in the Mughul army, both small and great, and measures were concerted for retrieving this great disaster. Ṣâdiq Muḥammad Khân the Âtâliq was sent with a large force against Sa'âdat Khân, in order that the communications of the Mughuls might no more be interrupted. Ṣâdiq Muḥammad Khân with Mirân 'Ali Khân, Sayyid Murtaẓâ and a large force of picked men, amounting to 2,000 horse, marched with great expedition to take revenge on Râja Jagannâth and Sa'âdat Khân and approached Sa'âdat Khân's camp as evening was falling. As the troops covered a great distance they were scarcely fit to attack Sa'âdat Khân that night, and therefore halted where they were. When Sa'âdat Khân became aware of the approach of the Mughul army, his own army was very heavily laden with the plunder of the army of Gujarât, and he therefore, as a measure of precaution, placed those of his army who were less fit for fighting in charge of his baggage. Sa'âdat Khân withdrew himself from the dangerous proximity of Ṣâdiq Muḥammad Khân's army and, with 300 mounted Afghân archers, took up his position on the bank of a river[372] which flowed between his camp and Ṣâdiq Muḥammad Khân's troops. Ṣâdiq Muḥammad Khân also took up his position on the opposite bank of the river. and the two armies opened fire on one another. In spite of the smallness of Sa'âdat Khân's force Ṣâdiq Muḥammad Khân could not cope with his enemy, and disgraced himself by retiring. In the course of his retreat he passed through the pargana of Sangamner and committed great enormities there. He plundered all the cattle and fodder of the inhabitants of that country, which had been all gathered together in one place, and made prisoners a large number of the people of all classes, and then continued his retreat.

Between Ṣâdiq Muḥammad Khân and Shahbâz Khân there existed a long standing feud, and in all their quarrels the Khânkhânân uniformly took the side of Shahbâz Khân. Now that Ṣâdiq Muḥammad Khân was absent from the camp the Khânkhânân seized his opportunity and sent a message to the prince (Shâh Murâd) to the effect that as long as Ṣâdiq Muḥammad Khân was with the army the conquest of the Dakan would not advance. It was advisable, he said, that Ṣâdiq Muḥammad Khân should be relieved of the office of vakil and permitted to return to Hindûstân in order that the *amîrs* might be free to use all their efforts in the direction of reducing the fortress. The prince considered that the necessities of time demanded this policy and accepted this advice and visited the quarters of the Khânkhânân, which were then in the Faraḥ Bakhsh garden, for the purpose of ascertaining the wishes of the *amîrs*. He found the air of the Faraḥ Bakhsh garden so much to his liking that he left the village of Bhingar for the garden house in this garden and there spent some ten or fifteen days in pleasure. During this time also Ṣâdiq Muḥammad Khân refrained from any interference in the duties of the post of vakil, discerning such a course the best in his own interests, and remained in the village of Bhingar; but all this time a secret correspondence was maintained between the prince and the *amîrs*.

In the meantime[373] the spies of the Mughul army brought news to that army that Ikhlâṣ Khân, with the rest of the African *amîrs* who had been in Daulatâbâd, had raised to the throne one Moti whom they entitled Moti Shâh, and were marching towards

[372] The Godâvarî. [373] On January 10, 1596.

Aḥmadnagar.[374] The Khânkhânân, in order to put a slight on Ṣâdiq Muḥammad Khân, who had shewn great slackness in attacking Sa'âdat Khân, and had returned *re infectâ*, sent Daulat Khân Lodî the Afghân, who was the best officer in his own corps, with some 8,000 horse, armed with bows and arrows, whom he picked from the corps of the prince and Shahbâz Khân as well as from his own corps, to check the advance of Ikhlâṣ Khân and the rest of the African *amîrs*. The two armies met on the banks of the Godâvari and the battle began in the evening.

When the Mughul army came into sight, Ikhlâṣ Khân and the rest of the African *amîrs* sent their baggage back to Daulatâbâd and drew up their forces along the bank of the river in a strong position; but as soon as the Mughul army arrived their courage failed them and they broke and fled without even striking a blow for their manhood. The Mughuls pursued the fleeing army for a short distance and slew some of those whose flight was less expeditious. They then encamped in the village which the Africans had left, and halted there for the rest of the night. The next morning they marched thence to the town of Paithan, which was hard by. A number of foreign merchants and some of the poorest and feeblest of the inhabitants of the country, trusting to the general amnesty which the Mughuls had proclaimed in favour of all non-belligerents, had remained in the town, and the Mughul army, immediately on arriving in the town, began to plunder all the houses therein and violently despoiled those people of all the valuable stuffs, money, and goods, even going so far as to strip both men and women of their clothes, leaving not a covering for any woman, gentle or simple. They then set out on their return to Aḥmadnagar, and a company of the wretched sufferers followed the army, limping and hobbling, until they reached the army of the Khânkhânân. Here they surrounded the Khânkhânân's darbâr and cried aloud for justice, but Daulat Khân and the rest of the *amîrs* had brought their plunder with them, and the Khânkhânân, who had acquired a false reputation for generosity, cast longing eyes on the spoils and forgot the demands of generosity and humanity in his avarice, and had no pity on the desolate and oppressed. He distributed most of the valuable stuffs taken among his army while the rightful owners wandered barefoot and bareheaded about his door day and night, crying for justice but unable to obtain from their own stores sufficient for their bodies.[375] This matter displeased Shâh Murâd and he returned from the *Faraḥ Bakhsh* garden to Bhingar. On his way two of the Khânkhânân's personal staff came up to him and received evidence of his wrath against the Khânkhânân.

Ṣâdiq Muḥammad Khân now again acquired great influence as *vakîl* while the Khânkhânân remained for some days in the *Farah Bakhsh* garden engaged in pleasure, paying no attention whatever to the siege operations. The prince, however, was in the trenches from morning to evening, directing the operation and revolving plans for the reduction of the fortress. Once more a number of councillors formed a council without consulting the Khânkhânân, and brought him from the *Faraḥ Bakhsh* garden to the lines around Aḥmadnagar so that he was compelled to take at least an apparent interest in the siege, and detached part of his own corps to the neighbourhood of the *Kâlâ Chabûtra*, which is opposite to the gate of the fort.

374 Ikhlâṣ Khân made an attempt to reach Aḥmadnagar with 10,000 horse. According to the *Akbarnama* it was Shir Khvâja that was sent against him, but Firishta agrees with Sayyid 'Alî that it was Daulat Khân Lodî. He says, however, that Daulat Khân Lodî had only five or six thousand horse. As the affair ended in a victory for the imperial troops the discrepancy regarding the name of the officer in command suggests fabricated dispatches. Firishta and Sayyid 'Alî have probably given the name correctly, and in the imperial account the credit of the victory seems to have been wrongly given, owing, doubtless, to some intrigue, to Shir Khvâja. F. iii, 314.—A. N.

375 It is admitted in the *Akbarnâma* that the inhabitants of Paithan had been included in the general amnesty and that the plunder of the town was a breach of faith which seriously injured the imperial cause.

Traditions of the old friendship between Râja 'Alî Khân, ruler of Khândesh, still remained, and he maintained an uninterrupted intercourse with those within the fort, so that they were enabled, by his means, to introduce into the fort any supplies that they might require, and occasionally, when a body of gunners came from the other forts in the kingdom to reinforce those in Aḥmadnagar, they were able to enter the fortress by the help of Râja 'Ali Khân and greatly strengthened the defence. When this matter became known to the prince he removed Râja 'Ali Khân from the position which he occupied and placed that section of the trenches under the command of Râja Jagannâth, who was one of the great Râjpût *amîrs*, and thus all ingress and egress was stopped. In the course of the siege, and while it was at its height, Râja 'Alî Khân, ruler of Burhânpûr, being instigated thereto by Akbar's *amîrs*, sent to Chând Bîbî Sulṭân a letter saying "I purposely accompanied the Mughul army into this country for the purpose of preserving the honour of the Nizâm Shâhî dynasty. I know well that this fortress will, in a short time, be captured by the Mughuls. See that you shun not the fight but protect your honour and surrender this fort at the last to the prince, and he will give you in exchange for it any fort and any district in this country that you may choose. The honour of the Nizâm Shâhî house is, owing to the connection between us, the same to me as the honour of my own house, and it is for this reason that I, laying aside all fear of arrow or bullet, have come to the gate of the fort, and I will bring Chând Bîbî Sulṭân to my own camp."

When the defenders received this letter their dismay and confusion were greatly increased and they were struck with terror, for they had relied greatly on Râja 'Alî Khân, and they now almost decided to surrender, but Afzal Khân did his best to pacify them and to calm their fears, and sent Râja 'Âli Khân a reply saying, "I wonder at your intellect and policy in sending such a letter to Chând Bîbî Sulṭân and that you should endeavour to destroy this dynasty. It was you who went forth to greet the Mughul army and it was you that brought them into this country, and the Sultans of the Dakan will not forget this. Soon, by the grace of God, the Mughul army will have to retreat and then Chând Bîbî Sulṭân will be in communication, as before, with the Sultans of the Dakan. It will then be for you to fear the vengeance of the brave men of the Dakan and to tremble for your house and for your kingdom."[376] When this reply reached Râja 'Alî Khân he was overcome with shame for what he had written, and the Mughul *amîrs* also gave up all hope of taking the fortress, but Miyân Manjhû who, on the first approach of the Mughul army, had taken Aḥmad Shâh with him and had taken refuge on the frontiers of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II, now sent letters and petitions, explaining his own helpless and hopeless state and asking assistance, both to that king and Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh. The former, with a view to the prosperity and security of his kingdom, made the repulse of the enemies of the country his object, and in order to give confidence to the defenders of Aḥmadnagar issued *farmâns* directing his army to march to their support and considered designs for driving out Akbar's army. He sent Suhail Khân, who had received from him the honourable title of Amîn-ul-Mulk, with a number of his chief *amîrs* and near 30,000 horse to the aid of Aḥmadnagar for the protection of the Nizâm Shâhî kingdom, with orders to attack the enemy and to drive him forth, thus freeing the Dakan from strife and oppression. From

[376] The *Akbarnâma* contains no indication of Râja 'Ali Khân's correspondence with the garrison, but there is every reason to believe that it took place.

the Quṭb Shâhî court Mahdî Qulî Sulṭân Tâlish was sent with 10,000 horse and 20,000 foot to drive out the proud invaders.[377]

Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II also issued repeated *farmâns* and letters of advice to Ikhlâṣ Khân and the rest of the African *amîrs* warning them even with threats against rebellion, disobedience, and intestine strife, which were the cause of the ruin of the kingdom and the state, and urging them to unite with their rulers and the chief men in the state in driving forth the enemies of the kingdom and its people. In accordance with these commands Ikhlâṣ Khân and the rest of the African *amîrs* retreated, with about 20,000 horse which they had collected from all parts of the kingdom, to Bîjâpûr, and took refuge with Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh who showed such energy in equipping them that in a short time they had an army of about 70,000 efficient cavalry, with elephants, guns, matchlockmen, and all munitions of war, assembled on the frontier of the kingdom of Bîjâpûr.

CXII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE BREACHING OF THE WALL OF AHMADNAGAR AND OF THE BATTLE BETWEEN THE NIẒÂM SHÂHÎ ARMY AND THE ENEMY, AND OF THE VICTORY OF THE FORMER, BY THE GRACE OF GOD AND THE HELP OF CHAND BÎBÎ SULTÂN.

The siege of Ahmadnagar had now, owing to the great strength of the place, lasted for a long time and there seemed to be no immediate prospect of its fall. It became clear at length to the *amîrs* of the Mughul army that it would not be captured by the device of erecting towers over against its guns or by filling up its ditch. After taking counsel together, they decided to mining and kept their decision a secret from all, both great and small, lest any rumour of it should reach the defenders. They then set themselves to putting their decision into action regularly and systematically. Several mines were sunk in that portion of the trenches which was occupied by the prince, and the foundation of both bastion and curtain were hollowed out. When the miners had finished sinking the mines on the night of Friday, Rajab 1 (March 1-2, A.D. 1596),[378] which was, of the four nights, the night of supererogatory devotions, the mines were filled powder and tamped with mud and stones and left till the morning, at which time the sentries who have watched all night, take their rest and the guards generally are negligent, when the mines were to be fired in order that the wall of the fort might be thrown down and that the besiegers might rush in through the breach and make themselves masters of the place. But as it was decreed that the fortress was not to be taken, Khvâja Muḥammad Khân,[379] who had been a high official in Fârs and was of the *vazîrzâdas* of Shirâz and was a man distinguished by his fidelity and singleness of heart, ascertained the position of the enemy's mines, and at the risk of his life, obtained an entrance into the fort and set all the people therein, both great and small, to digging countermines. They struck one of the enemy's mines and removed the charge, filling its place with stones and earth. When the sun rose they struck another of the enemy's mines, not yet charged, which they left alone. They then began to look for the third

377 According to Firishta Suhail Khân was sent in the first place to Naldrug with 25,000 horse, and was there joined by Miyân Manjhû with Ahmad Shâh and by Ikhlâṣ Khân and his followers. The Golconda contingent under Mahdî Quli Sultân the Turkmân amounted, according to the same authority, to only five or six thousand horse. The author of the *Târîkh-i-Muhammad Quṭb Shâhî* says that a very large army was sent with Mahdi Quli Sultân, but it would have been impossible for Muhammad Quli Quṭb Shâh to send a very large army, for his southern frontier was then being threatened by Venkata I of Penukonda. It was owing to the assembly of this army that Sultan Murâd resolved to press the siege more vigorously and to reduce the fortress by means of mines before relief could arrive. F. ii, 315.—T. M. Q. S.

378 March 1-2, A.D. 1596. Firishta (ii, 315) agrees in this date, but according to the *Akbarnâma* it was on the night of February 29 that the mines were completed.

379 Khvâja Muhammad Khân Shirâzî was in the army of Sultân Murâd. His treachery is not mentioned in the *Akbarnâma*, but Firishta says (ii, 316) that he gave information to the garrison out of pity for them.

mine. Ṣâdiq Muḥammad Khân ordered the firing of the mines to be delayed until after midday, as the day was Friday, Rajab 1, a day on which fighting is unlawful, and this delay was the salvation of the defenders, for they had been toiling all night in the countermines and were weary in the morning, so that they were compelled to return to their homes for some rest, and if the besiegers had fired the mines, then it is possible that the assault would have been successful, as the defenders would have had no information of the affair and would have been absent, but as fate had decreed that the fortress should be saved from the enemy, the defenders were mysteriously strengthened at every turn.

From the early dawn of Friday Shâh Murâd and Ṣâdiq Muḥammad Khân were employed in assembling their troops, in preparing everything necessary for the assault, and in issuing orders for the parading of the corps of the *amîrs* under the walls of the fortress. These orders were proclaimed to all the army by heralds, and the army paraded in force and surrounded the fort of Aḥmadnagar like a tempestuous sea.

Shâh Murâd took the field against the fortress in person, but all the *amîrs* and great Khâns led their corps towards the Khânkhânân and Shahbâz Khân, whose conduct in the field was regulated by their desire to please the Shâhzâda Shaikhûjî,[380] who was opposed to the conquest of the Dakan.

When the whole army was drawn up, the fireworkers advanced and fired the mines. By this time the defenders had found two full mines and had removed their charges, and had also found an empty mine, the end of which they left open. The remaining mines, however, blew up with a terrific report, and destroyed about 50 yards of the wall.[381] A force of the enemy which had been halted near the ditch and was waiting for the firing of the mine, threw themselves into the ditch and rushed forward towards the breach, and as it seemed probable that other sections of the wall would fall, the rest of the army awaited their fall, in order that they might make a combined assault and capture the fortress. Many of the stones which were blown into the air fell on these men and killed many of them, and as there was also a large body of the defenders engaged in countermining close to the wall, many of these also were killed by the stones. Other bodies of the defenders, who were further from the wall, when they saw the great breach made by the mines, fled [382] for fear of falling stones, and some betook themselves to the palace of Chând Bîbî Sultân. The *amîrs* and officers of the army, who had been in their own quarters when they heard of the great disaster that had happened, hastened at once, in confusion, in the direction of the breach. Of these, Mujâhid-ud-dîn Shamshîr Khân and Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân arrived first at the breach, and with arrow, sword, and spear opposed the entry of the Mughuls. Next came Muḥammad Khân and his sons and relations, Multân Khân, Aḥmad Shâh,[383] 'Alî Shîr Khân, and the rest of the *amîrs* and officers, one after the other, and occupied and held the breach against the enemy. A number of the principal Foreign officers, such as Afẓal Khân, Maulânâ Muḥammad, the ambassador of Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh, Sayyid Mîr Muḥammad

380 Shaikhûjî or Shaikhû Bâbâ was Akbar's pet name for his eldest son, prince Salîm, afterwards the emperor Jahângîr. This passage illustrates the extent to which the army was honeycombed with treason. Akbar had ordered that Ahmadnagar should be captured, but because the drunken and disaffected Salîm was loth that his brother Murâd should gain glory in the Dakan, many of the *amîrs* were determined that the siege should not be carried to a successful conclusion. Other influences were at work. The Khânkhânân, who was a Shiah, was unwilling to drive the Shiah dynasty of Aḥmadnagar to extremities and was perhaps implicated in the treachery of the Shiah Khvâja Muḥammad Khân.

381 So also Firishta (ii, 316) but in the *Akbarnâma* it is said that only thirty yards of the wall were destroyed.

382 Among these were the son of 'Alî Shâh Murtaẓâ, afterwards Murtaẓâ Niẓâm Shâh II, Abhang Khân, Shamshîr Khân, and Afẓal Khân. F. ii, 316.

383 This Aḥmad Shâh must not be confounded with Miyân Manjhû's candidate for the throne. He was probably a Sayyid, to whom the title of Shâh is often given in India.

Zamân, Mîr Sayyid 'Alî Astarâbâdî, and Khvâja Husain Kirmânî, who, on account of the great valour which he displayed on this day, received the title of Tîr Andâz Khân, and all the rest of the Foreigners who were in their quarters and received news of what had happened, made with all speed for the breach and drove back the enemy with showers of arrows. Then some of the chief Foreign officers, among whom were the ambassadors of the other kings of the Dakan, went, by the advice of the nobles of the state, to the royal palace, and brought forth Chând Bîbî Sultân and brought her to the breach, where all the fighting was taking place. When the warriors saw the queen under the royal umbrella their courage increased a thousandfold and they drove back the enemy from the breach with a heavy fire of artillery and musketry and with showers of arrows. A heavy fire of artillery and musketry and showers of hand grenades were also rained on the enemy from the bastions, and this drove them from the ditch. So strenuous was the effort made by those who were loyal to the Nizâm Shâhî dynasty that Muhammad Lârî, ambassador of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II, although he was quite ignorant of artillery, climbed in the heat of the fight, to the top of one of the bastions and set light to his patched robe, with which he fired several guns, doing great execution among the enemy. As soon as the news of the progress of Chând Bîbî Sultân in person to the breach was spread abroad, all men, both great and small, old and young, hastened thither in such numbers that the mass of them closed the breach, and they fought manfully together. They say that when Chând Bîbî Sultân reached the neighbourhood of the breach a number of elephant drivers drove their elephants in front of her that they might form a defence for her against the enemy. She, however, trusting entirely on God, forbade the elephant drivers to drive the elephants in front of her, and said, "Although suicide is unlawful and is repugnant to both reason and the holy law, I have brought with me a cup of poison in order that if (which God forbid) the enemy should take the fortress, I may drink the poison and so free myself from my enemies. Nevertheless, since it is certainly possible to attain martyrdom by means of wounds inflicted by the enemies of the faith and of the state, why should I attempt to avoid wounds given by the enemy?" Having regard to the sincerity and singleheartedness of Chând Bîbî Sultân, God saved from capture the fortress, which had actually already, one might almost say, fallen into the enemy's hands; and His decree for its safety issued. Thus, at the time when the wall was blown up, although the whole of the Mughul army was drawn up, ready and thirsting for the fray, and although many of the defenders who were near the breach were killed by the stones, and the rest fled, so that until the arrival of Mujâhid-ud-dîn Shamshîr Khân and Mubâriz-ud-dîn Abhang Khân the breach was void of defenders, in accordance with God's will Sâdiq Muhammad Khân, expecting the explosion of other mines and the destruction of another section of the wall, would not allow all his men to rush into the breach at once and thus gain the victory with ease, while the small force which rushed into the ditch in front of the others, and reached the breach, halted when they found that none followed them, and by the time that the rest of the Mughul army had given up all hope of the explosion of other mines and of the destruction of more of the wall, the garrison had returned to the breach and were prepared to confront their enemy, and thus slew most of that force of the Mughuls which had entered the breach. While the battle was at its height an arrow struck Afzal Khân in the breast, but the case of a talisman which he was wearing stopped the arrow and he received no manner of hurt. The rest of the Mughul army, seeing how the fight went, did not venture into the ditch but stood drawn up along its edge, as though fighting with the wall, and the battle waxed fierce. Although the Mughul army fought most fiercely and bravely, fate had decreed that they should not gain the victory, and they therefore gained nothing but shame for all their pains. Large numbers of them were slain by arrows, stones, gunshot and musketry, while many more were severely wounded and returned lamenting. The battle raged for the last four hours of the

day until sunset, when the enemy retreated without having gained any advantage, and fell back out of the range of the heavy fire and retired to their quarters.

Chând Bîbî Sulṭân, however, remained where she was, and directed the builders to repair the wall of the fort and its foundations, and exercised such close supervision over them that on that very day the builders rebuilt the wall of mud and stones to the height of four yards, thus closing the breach to the enemy, heaping grenades and gunpowder behind the wall to act as a sufficient obstacle to the enemy. The queen next turned her attention to the defenders of the fort, who now had some respite from the fray, and encouraged them to further efforts by acts of royal favour and generosity. Of the Foreigners, Khvâja Ḥusain Kirmânî, who had displayed great valour and done great execution with his bow, sending many of the bravest of the enemy to the next world, was honoured with the title of Tîr Andâz Khân, and Ḥasan Âqâ Turkmân received the title of Qizilbâsh Khân. Chând Bîbî Sulṭân then exhorted all the troops to be watchful and on their guards, and then returned to her quarters.

Shâh Murâd, whose prestige had received a severe blow and whose object had not been attained, was plunged in thought and anxiety, and shed tears of disappointment. He took council with his *amîrs* touching the reduction of the fortress until the morning. At sunrise Shâh Murâd again drew up his forces and advanced towards the breach. When he reached the ditch he wished to press on to the attack of the fortress at once, but a number of his *amîrs*, who were in attendance on him, seized his reins and prevented him from entering the ditch or from engaging personally in the fight. Following the advice of his loyal friends, the prince dismounted from his horse at the edge of the ditch and urged his troops on to battle, encouraging them with promises of favour and advancement. He sent one of his officers to the Khânkhânân to ask him for help, but the Khânkhânân, making his former faults his pretext, refrained from participating in the battle, and the prince in his zeal and jealous pride, ordered his own troops to attack the fortress with the utmost vigour and to fight like men. A body of *Aḥadîs* and special *manṣabdârs*, who were the bravest of the Mughul troops, attacked the fort with the utmost determination.[384] The defenders were much encouraged by the success which they had had the day before, in spite of the ruin of a section of the wall, and also by their success in repairing the damage done and by the thought that they had so piled explosives against the wall as to make it like the gate of hell. They were therefore not apprehensive of the enemy's onslaught and began a vigorous fire of grenades, musketry and artillery which did great execution among the enemy. The battle raged furiously on both sides and young and old, great and small alike, fell victims to its rage. As often as the Mughuls advanced in compact masses towards the breach, so often did the artillery and musketry fire and the grenades of the defenders scatter them and turn them back with heavy loss, until the ditch was filled with their dead. The enemy displayed the greatest bravery, but in spite of their valour and their numbers, they failed, for the jealous wrath of God had so decreed, and the noble queen had help from heaven.[385] The garrison fought that day such a fight as has never been seen. From dawn till dusk the battle raged, and when night fell Shâh Murâd, who now saw nothing but shame in store for himself, returned with heaviness of heart, tears and sighs towards his camp, gave up all intention of spurring his army on to further action and of acquiring name and fame, and despaired of gaining the kingdom and empire of the Dakan, which he had set before him as his object in his vain

[384] *Aḥadîs* were troopers of a superior class, like the "gentlemen of the Lifeguards" in Stuart days. *Manṣabdârs* were officers commanding less than 200 horse. Officers commanding 200 horse or more ranked as *amîrs*.

[385] According to Firishta (ii, 318) a relieving army had now reached the border of the Bîr district, about ninety miles from Aḥmadnagar.

imagining, so that it became evident to all that victory and success are of God, and not of self-confidence, nor of hosts, and that it is the key of God's favour that opens the doors of victory and success.

CXIII.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE PEACE AND TREATY BETWEEN CHAND BÎBI SULTAN AND THE PRINCE SHÂH MURÂD, AND A RELATION OF THE REST OF THE OCCURRENCES WHICH TOOK PLACE AT THAT TIME.

It has already been mentioned that Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II had sent 30,000 horse to the aid of the Niẓâm Shâhî army, that Muḥammad Qulî Quṭb Shâh had sent 10,000 horse and 20,000 foot for the same purpose, and that the Niẓâm Shâhî forces, their spirits being roused, had assembled from all parts of the kingdom and marched into the Bîjâpûr dominions, so that there were now assembled on Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh's frontier [386] some 70,000 or 80,000 horse with elephants, artillery, and all munitions of war, which force had now begun its march towards Aḥmadnagar. Meanwhile the siege dragged its slow length along and the garrison were reduced to considerable straits for want of food.

The queen now sent *farmâns* to the *amîrs* of the army of the Dakan in which she explained the garrison's sufferings for want of food, and the difficulty with which the enemy's attacks were beaten off. It so happened that the spy bearing these dispatches was captured by a Mughul picquet, and that his papers were taken to the Khânkhânân and Ṣâdiq Muḥammad Khân. The *amîrs* of Akbar's army now wrote a letter to Suhail Khân, the commander-in-chief of Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh's army, saying that they had been expecting his arrival for a long time in the hope that his intervention would put an end to the campaign in Aḥmadnagar, and requesting him to come quickly.[387] They gave this dispatch together with dispatches from the fortress, to the spy, to deliver to Suhail Khân, and sent off the spy. It is said that when this dispatch reached Suhail Khân, he saw how the land lay, and at once marched to Aḥmadnagar with great speed by way of the hilly country.[387]

When news of the approach of the army of the Dakan and an account of its strength and numbers reached Shâh Murâd and the rest of the *amîrs* and khâns of the Mughul army, who had already given up all hope of capturing Aḥmadnagar and had raised the siege, it produced further panic among them and completely demoralized them, so that they lost all self-control. A council of war was then held, at which it was unanimously agreed that as the army of the Dakan, which was very numerous and strong, was approaching prepared for battle, and that as it was now hopeless to attempt to take the fort, they should enter into some sort of an armistice with the garrison of the fortress and on this pretext retire from before it, and then march to meet Suhail Khân's army.

Sayyid Murtaẓá,[388] who was an old servant and subject of the Niẓâm Shâhî dynasty, and ever bore in mind the favours which he had received from them, was appointed to arrange the terms of peace. Sayyid Murtaẓâ, on the advice of the prince and the *amîrs*, sent a letter to the fort, to the chief officers of state, asking them to send out an envoy empowered to treat for peace in order that some settlement might be arrived at, and the prince might entirely raise the siege and retire from before the fortress. Now although the garrison were hard pressed for want of food and provisions and earnestly desired peace—so much so that they could hardly refrain from agreeing to it on any terms, yet they thought that they

[386] This letter was written by the Khânkhânân who, for the reasons already explained, did not wish the fortress to fall, and knew that the arrival of substantial relief would compel the prince to raise the siege. The disgraceful circumstance is not mentioned in the *Akbarnâma*. F. ii, 318.

[387] Firishta says: 'the hilly country of Mânikdaund' which was only thirty miles east of Aḥmadnagar. F. ii, 318.

[388] This was Sayyid Murtaẓá Sabzavârî, who had been governor of Berar in the reign of Murtaẓá Niẓâm Shâh I, had attempted to overthrow Ṣalâbat Khân, and on being defeated by him, had fled from the Dakan and taken refuge at Akbar's court. He was now commander of 1,000 horse in Akbar's service.

perceived indications in the way in which Sayyid Murtaẓâ's letter was written, of weakness and supplication, for, since the invaders had failed in their object and now came suing for peace, the defenders were more hopeful of ultimate victory and success, and, lest the enemy should attribute too ready an acceptance of terms to a conviction of defeat, they wrote an answer to Sayyid Murtaẓâ saying that if a trustworthy agent were sent from the Mughul camp to the court of the *Salṭanat* and the *Khilâfat* to arrange the terms of peace, an ambassador would likewise be sent from the court to the camp in order that the terms might be concluded.

Sayyid Murtaẓâ then sent Mîr Ḥâshim of Madînah, the *Bakhshî* of his corps, who was distinguished above his fellows for acumen, valour and ability, to the royal court, where he remained for ten days without receiving leave to depart, so that the Mughul *amîrs* became hopeless of a settlement, and disquieting rumours obtained currency in their camp. At length, however, the garrison prepared suitable gifts for Shâh Murâd, the Khânkhânân, Shahbâz Khân, and Ṣâdiq Muḥammad Khân. As the sincerity, purity of disposition, and complete good faith of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk, Afẓal Khân Qumî, who was one of the pillars of the state and the most famous man of the kingdom, and had received the appointment of ambassador, in which he had rendered noteworthy services and displayed both wisdom and acumen, were agreed upon by all, Chând Bîbî Sulṭân, by way of acknowledging his excellent services in general, but especially during the period of the siege, in which he had earned the approbation of all, appointed him *Nâ'ib* and *Pîshvâ* of the kingdom, with the honourable title of Changîz Khân. He was likewise now appointed ambassador to Shâh Murâd, in order that by his wisdom and diplomatic ability peace might be concluded. In like manner Mîr Muḥammad Zamân Riẓavî, Mashhadî, was appointed envoy to the Khânkhânân, and Sayyid Shâh Bahrâm Astarâbâdî was appointed envoy to Shahbâz Khân, to treat for peace. On Sunday, Rajab 10 (March 11, A.D. 1596) which day was the beginning of happier times, these envoys left the fort in accordance with the royal command and set about the business of their mission When news of the dispatch of the embassy reached Shâh Murâd, he commanded that the envoys should be lodged in the camp of Sayyid Murtaẓâ, in order that, when he should summon them, Sayyid Murtaẓâ might produce them before him. He then sent a messenger to summon the Khânkhânân, Shahbâz Khân, Râja 'Alî Khân, Ṣâdiq Muḥammad Khân, and the rest of the great officers and *amîrs*, and held a court at which the envoys might fitly be received. Sayyid Murtaẓâ then introduced Afẓal Khân, now styled Changîz Khân, Mîr Muḥammad Zamân and Shâh Bahrâm, and presented them to the prince. After the envoys had performed the *kûrnish* and *taslîm* which are the forms of salutation observed at the court of the Chaghatâi Pâdshâhs, the prince and the Khânkhânân called them up and asked them the cause of the warfare and the object of their mission, and then began to speak of peace Afẓal-ul-Khawânîn Changîz Khân then replied with the usual complimentary exordium. The prince was pleased with his speech and, after conferring on him a robe of honour, informed him that the conduct of negotiations was entrusted to the Khânkhânân, and that they might make their representations to him with a view to the settlement of the matter.[389]

The next day the Khânkhânân, Shahbâz Khân, and Ṣâdiq Muḥammad Khân held a formal meeting to which they invited the envoys of Chând Bîbî Sulṭân. The first proposal of the Mughul *amîrs* was an attempt to seduce Afẓal-ul-Khawânîn Changîz Khân from his allegiance in order that the fort might fall into their hands. They promised him that if he would desert his mistress he should be made a commander of 5,000 and should receive any province of the Dakan that he might prefer, while he should always be consulted in all matters with an assurance that his advice should be followed. This, they said, should be his reward if he would show them how they might take the fort.[390]

389 The prince probably wished that the Khânkhânân should bear the disgrace of making peace.

390 These details of the negotiations are mentioned by no other authority.

Afẓal K͟hân replied that the capture of the fort by assault was an impossibility, that the only way of taking it was by starving the garrison or exhausting their ammunition, which was now not to be thought of, as the garrison had now ten years' supply of grain, powder, and munitions of war, that it numbered nearly 10,000 brave men, all loyal and true, mindful of the benefits which they had for years received from the Niẓâm Shâhî dynasty, and ready to fight to the death for their queen rather to surrender the fortress.

When the Mug͟hul army saw that their wiles had no effect on Afẓal K͟hân they gave up all hope of capturing the fortress and began on a new tack. They said that as the late Burhân Niẓâm Shâh had, at the time of his departure from Hindûstân to the Dakan, presented the province of Berar as *pîshkash* to Akbar Pâdshâh, that province now rightly belonged to the empire, and the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar should relinquish possession of it. They added that since the prince, Shâh Murâd, had come to the Dakan the whole of that country was in fact in his possession, and that it would be better for Aḥmadnagar to cede the province of Daulatâbâd with all its defences, in order that the Mug͟hul army might raise the siege of Aḥmadnagar and leave what remained of the Aḥmadnagar kingdom to Bahâdur Niẓâm Shâh, who would then always be aided against his enemies by the emperor.

Afẓal-ul-K͟hawânîn Changîz K͟hân replied that there was not at that moment a king on the throne of Aḥmadnagar to whom this matter could be referred. The province of Berar, he said, belonged to the Sultans of the Dakan and was at that time occupied by the troops of Aḥmadnagar. As for the suggestion regarding Daulatâbâd, it could only, he said, furnish additional ground for strife. The people of that province had for some time been in rebellion, had set up a king of their own, and refused to obey the commands of Chând Bîbî Sulṭân. In spite of this, he said, the *amîrs* of the Dakan, who were in the fort, would never listen to such a proposal and the negotiations would be delayed, or rather, entirely closed. He proceeded " Even if the queen's command ran in the province of Daulatâbâd, what army of the Dakan have you defeated that the province of Berar or of Daulatâbâd should be ceded to you ? Your star was in the ascendant when you found dissensions rife among the *amîrs* of this powerful kingdom, each one of whom had betaken himself off in a different direction, leaving the country devoid of troops. If we had had but 10,000 horse at the *Ghâṭ* of Kâlna, you would not have dared to cross our frontier ! But now, behold, a great army of 100,000 of the best warriors of the Dakan is on its way to take vengeance on you, and it is even now within eight leagues of this place. First meet them, and give them their answer in the field, and then speak of conquests and cessions ! "

Ṣâdiq Muḥammad K͟hân Atâlîq, who was the *de facto* leader of the expedition into the Dakan, lost his temper at these words and said, " What nonsense is this ? You, like a eunuch, are keeping a woman in the fort in the hope that she will come to your aid, or that you will obtain some assistance from her. This is the son of his Majesty the Emperor, Jalâl-ud-dîn Muḥammad Akbar, at whose court many kings gird up their loins to do service. Do you imagine that the crows and kites of the Dakan, who squat, like ants or locusts, over a few spiders, can cope with the descendant of Taimûr and his famous *amîrs*, the K͟hânk͟hânân and Shahbâz K͟hân, for example, each of whom has conquered countries ten times as large as the Dakan ? We have left this fortress to you as a refuge and have taken the rest for ourselves. In two or three days time we shall level your fortress with the dust, behold, it is already taken ! And then do you believe that your queen will retain her honour ? Do not you, who are men of the same race as ourselves, throw your selves away to no purpose."

Afẓal K͟hân then replied : " I have eaten the salt of the Sultans of the Dakan for forty years, and when I entered this fortress I gave up all hope of life, property, and children. Now I have come to you to perform this duty. All must die, and I am prepared to die, nay, rather, have set my heart on martyrdom. I am come to you, for man cannot die better

than by being slain for his benefactors, by this means obtaining an everlasting good name. I have heard that the emperor Akbar claims to be a god,[391] and I now see that his *amîrs* claim to be prophets. It was doubtless last night that inspiration descended on you that this country should be conquered by you. Is God most High, forsooth, neither art nor part in this matter that you issue the decisive decree that you will take this fort within the next few days ? It is possible that, in accordance with the holy verse, 'How oft, by God's permission, hath a small host vanquished a numerous host ! '[392] He will help the men of this country and turn you back unsuccessful from before this fortress. It is, moreover, evident to you that the people of this country have lived and live in enmity with Foreigners. I am a well-wisher of the emperor, and I consider it to be his benefit to withdraw the prince's great *amîrs* from the neighbourhood of this fort, lest such a disaster as cannot be remedied befall them. The fort contains a large number of brave and fierce warriors who, if they fall, will be martyrs, and who, if they prevail, will be warriors in God's way. How can I command them to submit to you ? The army of the Dakan is on the point of arriving, and you will then be surrounded and, after heavy losses and much hardship and toil, you will only with the utmost difficulty be able to retreat, and you will not be safe or at peace until you reach the presence of the emperor. What I now say will certainly be reported to the emperor."

Mir Muḥammad Zaman also spoke well-weighed, manly, sober, and sincere words in that meeting place and silenced the enemy.

Some days were spent in such discussions as these and peace seemed to be far off when news of the approach of the army of the Dakan was repeatedly circulated through the Mughul camp. Spies reported that 70.000 good horse, with elephants and a strong force of artillery, were marching towards them stage by stage. The Mughul *amîrs* now thought it high time to drop the fruitless discussions about Daulatâbâd and contented themselves with the province of Berar, on the basis of the cession of which peace was concluded.

On Tuesday, Rajab 23 (March 23, A.D. 1596)[393] the gates of war were closed and peaceful communications were opened between the two armies.

As the stores in the fort had now been entirely consumed the defenders were reduced to great straits, and while Afẓal Khân was in the Mughul camp, they wrote to him imploring him to hasten, by all the means in his power, the conclusion of peace, and saying that they could not hold out for a day longer and that most of the garrison had, owing to the failure of the supplies, decided to let themselves down over the walls and flee to the Mughul camp. Afẓal Khân therefore agreed with the Mughul *amîrs* that Sayyid Murtaẓâ and Qâẓî Ḥasan should be sent to the fortress to conclude the terms of peace and they, on arriving in the fortress, were favourably received by Chând Bîbî Sulṭân and received marks of her royal favour. Terms of peace were soon agreed upon, the great officers of state in Aḥmadnagar consenting, in view of the exigencies of the time, to the cession of Berar, and the treaty of peace and friendship was signed. 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Muḥammad Khân Miyân Muntakhab, who had once more with his sword established his title to royal favour, and several great officers

[391] This taunt, levelled at Akbar's theological vagaries, probably hit the orthodox *amîrs* hard.

[392] كم من فئة قليلة غلبت فئة كثيرة باذن الله *Qur'ân* ii, 250.

[393] Firishta seems to agree in this date, for he says that the imperial army retreated early in April 1596 (F. ii, 318). According to the *Akbarnâma* peace was concluded on March 2, but this does not appear to be probable

of state in Aḥmadnagar were sent to the prince. Shâh Murâd, to conclude the treaty there, and were kindly and favourably received, a robe of honour being conferred on Muḥammad Khân. Peace having been thus happily restored, the affairs of the kingdom soon righted themselves, and Muḥammad Khân, Changiz Khân, and the rest of the *amîrs* and officers returned joyfully from the prince's camp to the fortress, where they were most favourably received by Chând Bîbî Sulṭân, who approved of all their exertions on behalf of the faith and the state. The Mughul army now raised the siege and withdrew from before the fortress, while the garrison, which had been reduced to great straits for want of food, came forth and purchased corn from the Mughuls, who had amassed great store of grain during the continuance of the siege. In two or three days' time the garrison had collected such store of corn that if the peace could have been broken and the state of siege restored, they would have had no anxiety.

When the news of the approach of the army of the Dakan, which was marching from the hill country and the district of Mânikdân, reached the Mughul army, the army of the Dakan was within five *gâu* of Aḥmadnagar.

At first Shâh Murâd decided to fight them and, on the night of Rajab 27 (March 27, A.D 1596), marched one stage from Aḥmadnagar in their direction, but he then changed his mind and retreated, marching towards the *ghâṭ* of Jeûr. Thence he marched towards Daulatâbâd and, passing by Daulatâbâd, marched towards Ḥasâpûr and Berar.

When the news of the departure of the Mughul army reached the *amîrs* and officers of the army of the Dakan, they advanced to Aḥmadnagar and encamped in the village of Pâtûri. Ikhlâs Khân and most of the Niẓâm Shâhî *amîrs* sent petitions expressing their submission and obedience to Chând Bîbî Sulṭân and asked for assurances of forgiveness. These were issued to the *amîrs* and officers of the army and they all received marks of the royal favour and encouraging honours. Ikhlâs Khân and the rest of the African *amîrs* then separated themselves from the 'Âdil Shâh army and encamped in the garden of the *'Ibâdat-Khâna* in the suburbs of the city and sent a messenger to ask that they might be admitted to an audience. A royal *farmân* was issued, admitting them to an audience, and Ikhlâs with his son and his brothers, 'Aziz-ul-Mulk with his brothers, Malik Khân, Khudâvand Khân, Ḥamîd Khân with his sons, Farhâd Khân, and Dalpat Râi were admitted at court and had the honour of paying their respects there, and received robes of honour and rich gifts.

As Mîrân Shâh 'Alî was in the hands of the Africans and all the Africans had wished to raise him to the throne, now that the African *amîrs* paid their respects to Chând Bîbî, he became alarmed and fled for safety to the 'Âdil Shâhî army, where he remained under the protection of Suhail Khân. A body which had been sent from the army of the Dakan in pursuit of Mîrân Shâh 'Alî failed to come up with him, but plundered his tents and camp equipage and all his property, and then returned.

BOOK-NOTICES.

Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal, by Nalini Kanta Bhattasali, M.A., Curator, Dacca Museum. W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd., 4, Petty Cury, Cambridge, 1922.

This excellent monograph, which is marked by careful reasoning and sound scholarship, owes its publication in the present form to a remarkable find of 346 silver coins of the Bengal Sultans, discovered in the wall of a deserted house in a village in the Dacca District. The hoard might never have reached the notice of the local authorities, had not the finders quarrelled among themselves over their shares of the treasure and so aroused the interest of the police, who promptly seized the hoard before the finders had time to conceal or otherwise dispose of any of the coins. The Collector of Dacca subsequently requested Mr. N. K. Bhattasali to examine and report upon the hoard, and in pursuance of that request the author prepared the present monograph, which in 1920 was awarded a prize from the Griffith Memorial Fund by the University of Calcutta.

The hoard has proved to be extremely important from the standpoint of history and numismatics; for not only did it contain large numbers of the hitherto rare coins of Azam Shah, Hamza Shah, Bayazid Shah and Muhammad Shah, but it also proves the existence of a hitherto unknown King, Firoz Shah, son of Bayazid Shah. There were also three coins of a mysterious Hindu King Danuja-marddana Deva and one coin of his successor Mahendra Deva. The author deals succinctly with each Sultan in turn, comparing such information about them as has hitherto been available with the facts deducible from expert scrutiny of these newly-discovered coins. The result is a considerable addition to our knowledge of the political history of Bengal in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D., and several new and important disclosures regarding the dates and identity of the Kings who succeeded in turn to the thrones of Lakhnauti and Sonargaon.

Perhaps the most interesting deduction is the identification of Danujamarddana Deva with the Hindu Raja Ganesh, who after the death of Bayazid Shah in A.D. 1414, drove the Muhammadans from northern Bengal. Mr. Bhattasali shows that Raja Ganesh abdicated in A.D. 1415 in favour of his son Jadu, who embraced Islam and assumed the name of Jalalu'ddin Muhammad Shah. The latter, however, did not reign very long: for in A.D. 1416 he was dethroned and reconverted to Hinduism, whereupon Raja Ganesh once again usurped the sovereignty. But the tale of Jadu's conversions and reconversions was not yet complete. In A.D. 1418 Raja Ganesh died whereupon his son, Jadu, who apparently changed his faith as lightly as he changed his garments, ascended the throne under the title of Mahendra Deva and then a few months later, towards the close of A.D. 1418, again turned Musalman and resumed his former title of Jalalu'ddin Muhammad Shah. He eventually died in A.D. 1431. Some of his coins were minted at Chatgaon, which is identical with Chittagong, and, as Mr. Bhattasali shows in an illuminating note, with the "Sadkawan" of Ibn Batuta.

Mr. Bhattasali has furnished his monograph with photographs of the more important coins, with a useful synchronistic table of Christian and Hijra years, and with a good index. The publication will be appreciated by students of Indian history and numismatics.

S. M. Edwardes.

Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending March 31st, 1921. Government Central Press, Bombay, 1922.

This is a very interesting report, reflecting much credit on the superintendent of the Survey. Part IV, which deals with Exploration, includes full details of the monuments and relics discovered and examined during the year in Sind, Gujarât, the Deccan, and various Indian States. The Rewa State yielded three new inscriptions, dating from the eleventh century, which give supplementary information about the Chedi dynasty. One of them brings to light a hitherto unknown line of subordinate kings of the Chedi Era, who were staunch Buddhists. A relic of another kind yielded by Rewa was a gun, which had been brought to the State from the Mahârâja's palace in Allahâbâd. This gun, which was cast in the reign of Shêr Shâh and is one of the oldest guns in India, bears a couplet and Persian prose inscription similar to that found on other guns cast by Sayyid Ahmad of Constantinople, and also an inscription in Sanskrit which records that in A.D. 1702 the gun was obtained by Rudrasinha of the Ahom dynasty of Assam, after defeating the King of Hidimba (modern Cachâr). Mr. Banerji also paid a visit to the valuable collection of carved bricks and terracotta plaques made by the late Dr. Tessitori and now housed in the palace at Bikaner, and points out that some of the plaques date back to the Kushân period and support the belief that the portion of the modern Bikaner State, which lay along the old course of the Hakra or "lost river," was within the orbit of the great school of sculpture at Mathurâ.

At Bijâpur steps have been taken to strengthen an old *Baobab* tree in the compound of the District Judge's bungalow, which is one of the execution trees used by the Âdilshâhî Sultâns for

hanging their prisoners. The Ratnagiri District provided an important find of silver *larins*, ranging in date from A.H. 961 to 1018, of which two bear a legend in Kanarese. Hitherto it has been supposed that Alî Âdil Shâh I was the first prince to strike coins in his own name; but the earliest of the *larins* in this hoard must be assigned to Ibrâhim I. Some of the coins disclose a new name, Tahmasp—perhaps the father of Ibrâhim I. The researches of the department brought to light also at Broach two Muhammadan inscriptions of the time of the Tughlaq dynasty of Delhi, as well as records of the time of Shâh Jahân and Farrukhsiyar and two later Mughal rulers. A new copper-plate grant of Naravarman of the Paramâra dynasty of Mâlavâ (A.D. 1110-11) was found in possession of an art-collector in Bombay.

Mr. Banerji makes some pertinent remarks upon the neglect of the authorities in past years to strengthen the weaker portions of the famous Portuguese monuments at Bassein, in consequence of which a part of the fine barrel-vault of the Dominican church has now collapsed, and presumably can never be repaired. He also cites an instance of wilful damage by contractors. The débris of some old monuments at Bassein was sold by the P.W.D. to a firm engaged in building new police-lines. The contractors thereupon proceeded to augment the débris by deliberately quarrying the existing portions of the Franciscan church and monastery, the Captain's palace and other monuments of Portuguese rule, undermining them in such a manner that the next monsoon might cause them to fall in ruin. They actually cut up one of the inscribed tomb-stones and carted the pieces away to the site of the new police-barracks, where fortunately they were discovered. Vandalism of this kind should be heavily punished, but the report is silent as to the penalty, if any, imposed on the contractors.

The Report which includes a full description of the monuments explored in Western and Central India, is embellished with many good photographs, and affords ample proof of the valuable activity of Mr. Banerji and his assistants.

S. M. EDWARDES.

THE MADHYAMA VYAYOGA, a drama composed by the poet BHASA, translated from the original Sanskrit, with introduction and notes by REV. E. P. JANVIER. The Wesleyan Mission Press, Mysore, 1921.

This English edition of one of the much-discussed plays of Bhasa was originally presented by the author to the Faculty of the Graduate School in the Pennsylvania University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. In the course of his introductory essay, which discusses the position of the Sanskrit poet, the historical setting of the play, and the characters and the plot of the drama the translator refers to the vexed question of the date of Bhasa and of the authorship of this and the other twelve plays, but does not himself attempt to solve the problem. Bhattanatha Svamin of Kumbakonam published a paper in this journal for December, 1916, (pp. 189-95), in which he denied that the *Svapnavasavadatta* and the other twelve plays ascribed to Bhasa are really the work of that early author, and characterized the plays as "quite modern." His view was to some extent supported by Dr. Barnett who suggested that these works were not written earlier than the seventh century A.D. We are disposed, however, to prefer the opinion of Dr. Max Lindenau who places Bhasa in the last quarter of the second century A.D., and relies upon internal evidence, discussed with much elaboration, for the support of his view that Bhasa was indeed the author of the plays.

The translator has given close attention to the structure and details of this particular drama; and his rendering seems to have caught the spirit of the original, in which the superiority of the Brahman over all other men is constantly impressed upon the reader. We are not certain that "Middleman" is quite a happy translation of the Sanskrit *Madhyama*, though that is its literal meaning. Modern associations have invested the word with a peculiar significance, which cannot be wholly suppressed. Is Dr. Janvier correct in his statement that the epithet *Vrikodara* (wolf-belly) was applied to Bhima on account of his enormous appetite? In an annotated edition of the Kanarese poem *Jaimini Bharata*, published in Mysore, the term was said to refer to the hairy chest of the Pandava hero, not to his capacity for consumption of food. The use of the word "caste", too, in reference to the four-fold division of Manu is usually held now to be misleading, the Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaish and Shudra being more correctly described as "classes." But these minor matters in no way mar the worth of the translation, which is certain of a warm welcome from Sanskritists and others engaged in the study of ancient Indian literature.

S. M. EDWARDES.

SELECTIONS FROM AVESTA AND OLD PERSIAN (First Series), Part I. Edited with Translations and Notes, by IRACH JEHANGIR S. TARAPOREWALA, Calcutta. Published by the Calcutta University and Printed at the Baptist Mission Press, 1922.

The author of this work is Professor of Comparative Philology in the Calcutta University and has prepared this series of selections from the Avesta for the help of those Indian students who choose Comparative Philology as one of their

subjects of study. This fact doubtless accounts for the strange method of spelling Iranian words followed throughout the work, both in the text and in the notes. Philologists may find no difficulty in accepting "Gaθa" for "Gatha," but the ordinary enquirer will probably find himself non-plussed occasionally by this novel orthography. The inclusion in the book of a loose leaf containing a "transliteration key" may perhaps be accepted as evidence that the author himself realizes the difficulties which confront the average reader, brought face to face for the first time with this method of spelling.

The notes which follow the various excerpts from the Avesta text are copious and illuminating, and we gather from the preface that the work has been scrutinized before publication by Shams-ul-ulama Dr. J. J. Modi of Bombay, whose reputation as an Iranian scholar has long been firmly established both in Europe and India. We do not, however, entirely agree with the author's view, expressed in the notes on *The Vara of Yima*, that the story of the Deluge does really represent a great catastrophe in the history of the human race, and that the Deluge and the Ice-Age were in some way connected. On this subject we prefer the views of Sir James Frazer to those of Mr. H. G. Wells or the late Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak. The first-named authority has clearly stated in his *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament* that, "while there is reason to believe that many diluvial traditions dispersed througnout the world are based on reminiscences of catastrophes which actually occurred, there is no good ground for holding that any such traditions are older than a few thousand years at most; wherever they appear to describe vast changes in the physical configuration of the globe, which must be referred to more or less remote epochs of geologic time, they probably embody, not the record of contemporary witnesses, but the speculation of much later thinkers. Compared with the great natural features of our planet, man is but a thing of yesterday, and his memory a dream of the night."

Apart from these criticisms, Mr. Taraporewala deserves to be congratulated on a worthy addition to the literature of Iranian research.

S. M. EDWARDES.

KSATRIYA CLANS IN BUDDHIST INDIA, by BIMALA CHARAN LAW, with a foreword by the Hon. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee: Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta, 1922.

This book represents an attempt to give a connected history of some of the Ksatriya clans in Ancient India in the time of Buddha. The larger portion of the book is devoted to an account of the important but rather mysterious Licchavi clan, whose precise origin and character are still the subject of speculation. The author rejects as untenable the suggestion of the late Dr. Vincent Smith that the Licchavis were of Tibetan origin, pointing out that the practice of exposing the corpses of the dead, which Dr. Smith held to be indicative of Mongolian affinities, is proved by passages in the *Atharva-Veda* to have been well-known to the Vedic Aryans. He likewise rejects the alternative theories of a Persian and a Yue-chi origin, and argues from passages in the canonical literature of the Buddhists and Jains that they were Aryan Kshatriyas of the same caste or class as the Buddha. By the time of Manu they were regarded as *Vratya* Kshatriyas, which the author interprets to signify Kshatriyas of pure descent who had grown careless of Brahman ceremonial and had therefore been excluded from the *Sâvitri* or rite of initiation.

An instructive chapter on the Licchavi capital, Vaisali, is followed by an account of their manners and customs, which throws an interesting side-light on the Licchavi character, their religious and philosophical ideas, and their system of government and the administration of justice. It seems tolerably clear that the tribe or clan was governed by an oligarchical assembly, each member of which was styled Râja; and if the author is correct in suggesting that the Buddhist *saṁgha* was directly modelled upon the political assembly or corporation of the Licchavis and other tribes in north-eastern India, we obtain at once considerable light upon the constitution and management of these tribal governments.

In regard to their political history, it is observed that the author accepts as authentic the story of Ajatasatru being a parricide. But it is not improbable that Ajatasatru, like many later Indian rulers, did not confine his royal favour to any one sect, and that the tale of his crime and of Devadatta's plotting is the product of *odium theologicum*, which has done so much to falsify the history of ancient India. In later years, when in consequence of Asoka's patronage Buddhism became pre-eminent in northern India, leanings towards Jainism, such as Ajatasatru may have shown, would have been regarded as criminal by ecclesiastical chroniclers. This supposition is in no way weakened by the facts, stated by Mr. B. C. Law, that Buddhism was extremely popular among the Licchavis, and that Ajatasatru was consistently hostile to the Licchavis, whose independence he eventually succeeded in subduing by the accepted Oriental method of secretly sowing dissension among them.

The latter portion of the book deals with the Vidêhâs, Mallas, Sâkyas and minor clans. The author traverses Dr. Smith's identification of Kusinagara with some site within the borders of Nepal, and prefers Cunningham's identification with Kasia village in Gorakhpur District. He

bases his view on the distance between Pava and Nepal, which the Buddha would not have had the strength to cover in his illness; and the discovery of the copper-plate behind the Nirvâna temple in Kasia, discussed by Pargiter in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1913, certainly supports his contention. On the other hand Kusinagara had long been deserted in the time of the Chinese pilgrims, whereas building was continuous at Kasia throughout the Gupta period and afterwards. In his remarks on the Moriyas of Pipphalivana—a little known clan—the author records that they were connected by matrimonial alliance with the Nandas, and proffers the interesting suggestion that they may have been the progenitors of the imperial Mauryas of Magadha. Mr. Law's book is obviously the result of steady inquiry and research, and we readily associate ourselves with Sir A. Mookerjee's expression of hope that the author will continue his investigations and ultimately give us a complete history of all the Kshatriya clans which flourished in Buddhistic and post-Buddhistic times.

S. M. EDWARDES.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

"APOLLO" BANDAR, BOMBAY

The origin of the name "Apollo" Bandar—the spot which has witnessed the arrival and departure of so many Viceroys, Governors, and other distinguished visitors to India—has long been a subject of speculation. The various derivations of the word "Apollo" have been enumerated by me in the *Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, vol. I, page 25, as follows:—

> "The origin of Apollo (Bandar) is still undetermined. In Aungier's agreement (1672-74) it appears as Polo, while in 1743 it is written Pallo; and the original form of these words is variously stated to have been *palva* (a large war vessel), and *pallav* (a cluster of sprouts or shoots). A third derivation is from *padao* (small trading-vessel), known to Bombay residents of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as the class of vessel chiefly used by the Malabar pirates. Of the three derivations that from *pallav* is perhaps the most plausible."

In a footnote on page 26, I quoted the testimony of Dr. Gerson da Cunha to the effect that as late as 1860 the Girgaum Road, which led from the Apollo Bandar across the Esplanade to Girgaum, was known as Palva Road, and I myself have seen it marked Pallow Road in an old map of the Municipal wards.

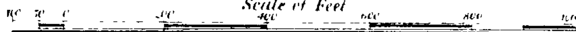
A recent article in this Journal on the 'Origin of the Pallavas' by Mr. C. Rasanayagam Mudaliyar of Colombo, appears to corroborate indirectly the derivation of the name from *pallav*, though in the sense of 'a sprout' or 'a shoot', not 'a cluster of sprouts or shoots' as I originally wrote. The author of the article alluded to traces the origin of the name of the Pallava dynasty of Southern India from the island of Manipallavam, which was the home of the Nâga mother of the earliest Pallava king and has now been identified with the modern Jaffna peninsula in Ceylon. He points out that *pallavam* is a Tamil word, meaning 'a sprout' or 'branch of a tree;' and that the word must have been applied by the Tamils to the peninsula in ancient times, because to anyone sailing from India to Ceylon it would have seemed by its shape and position to resemble naturally a sprout or shoot from the parent island.

The Tamil word *pallavam* is indentical with the Kanarese *pallava*, which has the same meaning. We know that there was a considerable Dravidian element in the early population of Bombay Island, and that the first code of laws, dating from 1670, was published in Portuguese and Kanarese, which indicates that the latter language was known to the earliest inhabitants. Secondly, a scrutiny of old maps of Bombay, *e.g.*, Fryer's map of 1672 or the map of Bombay and adjoining Islands published in 1724, will show that Mendham's Point, which was the southern extremity of the main Island before the days of reclamation and the union of Colaba, jutted out southwards in a sharp point resembling a shoot, sprout or twig of the parent Island.

Taking all these facts into consideration, is it not conceivable that the train of thought which led Tamil seamen and others to apply the term *pallavam* to the Jaffna promontory of Ceylon was likewise responsible for the application of the name *pallava* to the out-jutting tongue of land on the south side of the Fort, which was known familiarly as Mendham's Point during the early years of British rule, but as "Pallo" and "Palva" in official documents and in the street nomenclature of a later date? The analogy seems to me to confirm the view that "Apollo" is merely an Anglo Indian corruption of the Kanarese word *pallava* (ಪಲ್ಲವ).

S. M. EDWARDES.

PLAN OF THE MANDALAY PALACE WHEN CAPTURED BY THE BRITISH TROOPS.



Stucco Buildings of Brick or Mud and Plaster.. .. ..
First-class Wooden Buildings with Corrugated Iron Roofs, also Walls.. ..
Second class ditto, with Planked or Thin Tiled Roofs .. ..
Water .. ..
Close Bamboo Fence .. Pagoda.. .. .. P

A. B—Zeda Wun. Figures of the Royal ancestors.

C—The King here held his morning levee. It is an open passage between two rooms in the western of which (D) the King was seated with his attendants.

E—The glass palace. The western half is one large room of great height. Here the Royal nuptials were celebrated. It was also a Royal nursery, and offerings were here presented to Royal infants. The body of King Mendôn lay in state here, on the water feast throne which stands at the western side of the room. The western half of the building is divided into smaller rooms, used as robing rooms.

F—Nursery.

G—Daily attendance room for Queens.

regularly inhabited it.

K—Tabendain House. Made over by King Mendôn to the Salen Princess, the daughter of the Limbin Queen, whom he intended as the bride of the next King. It was, on

I

M

N

O. P—The Southern Palace and the range of houses behind .. .. } Princesses, and used as waiting rooms for maids of honour.

The road running down the centre, east and west, was called the Samok Road, and led to a courtyard, in the centre of which stood the Lily throne. This courtyard was called the Samok, and in the month of May a maze was constructed and brilliantly illuminated, through which the court passed in procession. The houses on the north and south of this courtyard were inhabited in King Mendôn's time by Queens, in Theebaw's time by Princesses.

f. f. f.—Servants' Houses.

Q—The King's private Treasury.

R. S.—Quarters of the personal body guard.

T—An evening Sitting room, now the Chief Commissioner's dining room.

U—Privy Council Chamber.

V—Observatory Tower and favorite resort of Supyalat. From it she watched the British troops enter Mandalay.

W—The new house, built for, but never used by, the White Elephant.

X—Cut up into various small rooms

Y—Byadaik or Treasury office where

Z—House for Puwès Native Theatric ... Z was used for races and various sports on horseback.

A1—The bell tower where the gong and drum sounded the watches.

A2—Also a high tower in which a Gautama's Tooth was enshrined.

A3—A richly decorated Kyaung, in which the King spent the period of his priesthood.

ZZ—The South Garden Palace. It was used as a kind of picnic house by King Theebaw, and it was in the front verandah of this house that he was taken prisoner by Colonel Sladen. It is now the residence of Sir Frederick Roberts.

I.—Lion Throne. Used three times a year for the reception of Tsawbwa's Ministers, and members of the Royal Family.

II.—Duck Throne. Used for the reception of foreigners.

III.—Elephant Throne. Royal Elephants displayed.

IV.—Water Feast Throne. Used at that festival.

V.—Snail Throne. Used when King signed the warrant for the appointment of an Heir Apparent.

VI.—Deer Throne. The King here met the White Elephant.

VII.—Peacock Throne. Used for viewing the Royal Horses.

VIII.—Lily Throne. Where the ladies were received.

X *The spot where the foundation stone of the palace was found*

Captn Hobson R. E. & Lieut. Tanner R. E.

London: Stanford's Geogl Estabt

A PROTECTIVE CHARM FROM THE ROYAL PALACE AT MANDALAY.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

THE Third Burmese War (1885-1889) broke out towards the end of 1885, and what remained of the Burmese Empire was annexed by the British Crown on 1st January 1886. This last political act necessitated many changes in the Royal Palace at Mandalay, its capital. With these I was intimately concerned in my official capacity there for three years from 1887 to 1889, both years inclusive. The Palace had to be transformed from a typical mediæval Far Eastern stockaded enclosure of 200 acres into the Head Quarters of a XIXth Century local administration of the British type, while the newly conquered country, henceforth to be known as Upper Burma, was being organised as a British Indian Province.

As the country became pacified and the need for special protection no longer pressing, the former walled Royal City of Mandalay of 1,000 acres, of which the Palace formed the centre, was evacuated of its 65,000 inhabitants—a long and complicated operation put into my hands. This proceeding was necessary in order to form a Cantonment, and as the fashion then was, a City of Refuge for British troops and residents : and then the sanitation of the Palace stockaded enclosure became a matter of paramount importance. This in its turn necessitated *inter alia* the exposing to the open air of its crowded buildings and of the area on which they stood as far as possible, an operation involving the removal of the mighty palisade surrounding it. The palisade consisted of solid teak posts twelve inches in diameter and some twelve feet high, a few only on either side the Eastern gate being preserved to show what the palisade had been like. All the gates with their solid brick pillars were destroyed.

In 1889 the last gate left—the Eastern Gate—was dismantled, and as I had information that the "Foundation Stone" of the Palace had been deposited in one of its brick pillars, I gave instructions that if anything of the kind was discovered, information was to be given me before it was removed or tampered with. I well remember an agitated Burmese official coming running to me in my quarters in the Palace (marked *R* on Plan attached) not far from the Gate, to tell me that the "stone" had been found. I went at once and found it *in situ*, embedded about four-and-a-half feet from the ground in the right hand pillar (as one left the Palace) of the inner approach to the East Gate, at the spot marked with a cross in the Plan. The "stone" consisted of an inscribed stone coffer with a stone cover about eighteen inches square and twelve inches deep, hollowed out to contain a small thin silver plate about eight inches square. On taking off the lid or cover it was found that on the silver plate was lightly engraved a charm for the protection of the Palace (*vide* Plates of "The Charm" attached).

It was one of many about the Palace, and subsequently to its discovery a MS. book was found there, showing that a great number of such protective charms were placed about it. The site of each was explained in the MS., with the aid of which several of them were brought to light. I remember seeing the book and examining it, and afterwards assisting in the discovery of some of the charms, but neither the book nor the charms were ever in my possession and I do not remember what became of them.

A similar inscribed stone coffer was found in the left hand pillar of the same gate, also four-and-a-half feet from the ground, but there was neither silver plate nor charm in it.

The inscriptions on the stones were in modern Burmese ; *vide* facsimiles on Plates A and B taken from estampages made by myself at the time. Mandalay was founded by King Mindon Min in 1857 and the Palace was completed in 1858, so it may be presumed that the right-hand stone coffer and its contents were about thirty years old when discovered.

The inscriptions on the two stones are identical and most unfortunately faulty in the same place.

INSCRIPTION ON THE STONES.

Text.

1. Thathanâdaw 2401 Gawzâ-thekkayit 1219 k'u B'awashin Min : tayâ : gyî : P'ayâ :

2. Nan : zan 6 hnit-myauk Mandalê : ayat-hnaik Shwê-myọdawgyî : gô pan : dông : kanet saik

3. Hmat-yuê Shwê-nan : myọdaw tîlôk sannêdaw mûyâ tangâ : nîdaw myọyô : le'wè

4. Ayat 3 k'an-dwin In : t'î-thwin : hmyôk-hnan thî kyauk-thittâ.

Translation.

4. [This is] the stone coffer, in which the Charm is placed and encased [buried] about three cubits [from the ground]

3. In the wall on the left hand side of the Royal Red Gate of the Royal dwelling-place, [which was] founded and built as a Royal golden-Palace, marked out

2. And established[1] at the great Golden City at Mandalay, in the sixth year of the reign of

1. [Mindon Min] the Lord of the Great Law and Master of Life, in the Secular Year 1219 and the Canonical Year 2401 [both working out to A.D. 1857].

It will be observed that the lines of the translation are numbered in the inverse order of those of the text. This is in consequence of the Burmese way of thinking and speaking, which is in the inverse order of English thought and speech. The Englishman states the fact and then explains the circumstances :—" He-killed the-woman with-the-axe by-a-blow on-the-head." The Burman explains the circumstances and then states the fact :—" on-the-head by-a-blow with-the-axe the-woman he-killed." In reading a Burmese petition it is safest to commence at the end and read backwards. This process has been applied to this inscription and it will be seen with success.

The stones were sent to the Phayre Museum at Rangoon in 1889, but the silver plate was kept back in order to get the charm read and explained, which was a difficult matter, as will be seen from the remarks which follow. It was therefore put aside, owing no doubt to the conditions obtaining in a country still in a state of war, or rather of armed disturbances such as are common after war, and then forgotten. At any rate it was deciphered and put away, and after 30 odd years I came across it among old papers and now hasten to publish it. It has at last been restored to the stone from which it came.

The charm is really in cipher, as the letters, or rather syllabary, of its words are laid out on a winged chess-board and can only be read by employing a particular order of " the Knight's Tour." Otherwise it is quite unintelligible in any language: *vide* Plates of " the Charm," explaining the successive moves by means of numerals. This is not an uncommon device of the Burmese. Anyone following the moves thus explained will find them complicated, and that, even when the key is known, they are not easy to follow and must always be difficult to concoct. It is a good cipher.

The decipherment shows the language to be the modern form of Pali in use among the Burmese and the general sense to be a prayer to the supernatural spirits (*nats*), which haunt the Burmese and the world they live in, to give the Palace every protection. The whole has, however, been given a Buddhist turn.

[1] The reading here is obscure, owing to faults in *both* stones, but it is no doubt, *pan : dông : kanet saik* with the sense, 'planted deeply the pole of authority' (*pan : dong :*) *i.e.*, 'established.' The term *kanet* is Talaing, meaning 'a peg' or 'plan,' corresponding to the Burmese *panet.* Talaing terms are often used in connection with the Burmese Palace, and this very phrase *kanet saik hmat* has been found in a Burmese diary of King Thibaw's time. Information from Prof. Duroiselle and Mr. Godfrey Harvey.

			၁၁	ေက	ယ	[illegible]			
	သိ	သ္သ	သ၁	ဒခ	ဖြ	ပ	ပံ	သ	
	အာ	ေဝ၁	မိ	မာ	ဉ	ေနှ	ဒွိ	ဩ	
ေရ	မာ	ရ	ဟ	သ	ေဝ	ေဒွ	ေဗြ	ေတ	ဏွ
ဩ	၁၁	ဒ	နှ	ဗိ	မ	ေသ	က	အ	သ
နှ	နှ	၁၁	ဒ	အ	၁၁	ဝိ	ဟံ	ဟိ	သံ
ဩ	ဃ	ဘာ	ယာ	ဍ	၁သ	နှ	တွ	တ	ဌ
	နိ	ဒွါ	တ္တု	ေဝ	ဈ	နှ	နှ	ဓ	
	ဍု	သံ	သယာ	ဩ	ကာ	မ္ဘ	သ	ဝိ	
			ဈ	ဩ	ဟ	ဎ			

Charm contained in the Foundation Stone of Mandalay Palace.

The Charm.

			သ 1	ကေ 16	မ 31	ပ 62			
	သိ 28	ဿ 15	သာ 30	အ 65	မ္ဗု 2	ပ 17	ဟံ 32	သ 59	
	အာ 41	တော 80	မိ 27	မာ 46	ဥ 61	နေ 66	ဒ္ဒ 63	ဉ္စ 18	
ရေ 43	မာ 26	ရ 29	ဟ 14	သ 79	ဝေ 64	ဒ္ဓေ 3	ဗ္ဗေ 60	တေ 33	န္တွာ 58
ဉ္စ 40	သ 11	ဒ 42	န 45	ဝိ 72	မ 47	သေ 78	က 67	အ 4	သ 19
န 25	န 44	သ 13	ဒ 10	အ 77	အ 68	ဝိ 73	ဟံ 48	ဟံ 57	သံ 34
ဉ္စ 12	ဃ 39	ဘာ 54	ယာ 71	မ 50	ဿ 75	န 56	န္တ 69	တ 20	ဋ္ဌ 5
	နိ 24	ဒွါ 9	န္တု 76	ဝေ 55	ရာ 70	န 49	န 74	ဓ 35	
	နု 53	သံ 38	ဿာ 23	ဉ္စ 8	ကာ 51	မ္မ 36	သ 21	ဝီ 6	
			ရာ 52	ဉ္စ 37	ဟ 22	သ 7			

သမ္ဗုဒ္ဓေ။ အဋ္ဌဝီသဉ္စ။ ဒွါဒသဉ္စ။ သဟဿကေ။ ပဉ္စသတ။ သဟဿာနိ

နမာမိ။ သိရသာမဟံ။ တေသံဓမ္မဉ္စ။ သံဃဉ္စ။ အာဒရေန။ နမာမဟံ။ နမ

ကာရာ။ နုဘာဝေန။ ဟံန္တွာ သဗ္ဗေ ဥပဒ္ဒဝေ။ အနေကေ။ အန္တရာယာ ဝိ။ ဝိန

ဿန္တု။ အသေသတော။

Charm contained in the Foundation Stone of Mandalay Palace.

The mode of reading the Charm.

Burmese Inscription on the Foundation Stone of the Palace at Mandalay.

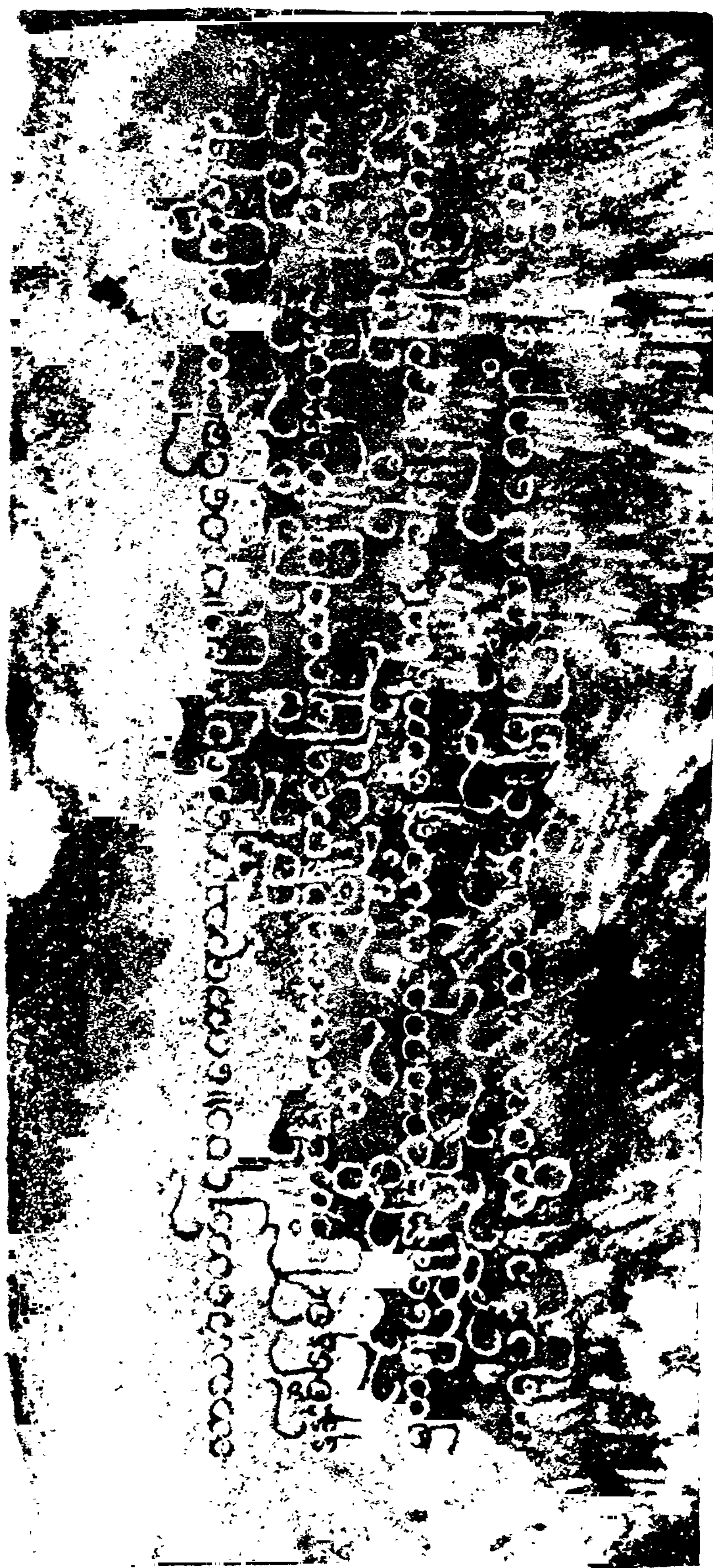


A

1 2 3 4

R. C. TEMPLE. SCALE ·57 W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.

Burmese Inscription on the Foundation Stone of the Palace at Mandalay.



SCALE ·57

B. 1 2 3 4

THE CHARM.

Text.

Sambuddhê aṭṭhavîsañcha | dvâdasañcha sahassakê || pañchasatasahassâni | namâmi sîrasâ'mahaṁ. || Têsaṁ Dhammañcha Saṅghañcha | âdarêna namâ'mahaṁ. || Namakâ-râ-'nubhâvêna, | hitvâ sabbê ubbaddavê, || anêka antarâyâ'pi | vinassantu asêsatô. || [2]

Translation.

The supreme Buddhas, both the Twenty-eight and the Twelve, [counting by] the thousand, [even] Five-hundred-thousand, I [the King] worship with my lowly salutation. Both their Law and their Order with respect I reverence. [So that] by the efficacy of veneration, [with] all evil-fortunes put away, the manifold dangers [about me] vanish utterly.

The text is in verse ; the scansion of the five lines, of sixteen syllables each, of the poem being marked above by the signs | and ||. It will be perceived that the Buddhism of the charm is of the Mahâyâna (Northern) and not of the Hînayâna (Southern) type. This makes one presume the charm to be the work of some Pônnâ, Northern Indian, nominally Manipûrî, soothsayer, of the kind that abounded in the Palace and ruled its ceremonial.

The Knight's Tour.

The solution of the problem of the Knight's Tour given in this charm is of great interest, and it is worth while to go into the question here to some extent, premising that the problem extends to eighty squares on a winged board, and is not confined to the ordinary eight-square chess board of sixty-four squares.

In 1837 there was brought out in London a small book, called *Indian Reminiscences*,[3] from the papers of George Augustus Addison, a young servant of the East India Company, who died in Batavia in 1814, aged 22, as Private Secretary to Sir Stamford Raffles. It is a wonderful production for so young a man and shows him to have been what his Chief said of him : "His abilities and acquirements were remarkably great, and his application and exertions unwearied" It may be noted in addition that the range of his reading and his powers of observation must have been quite unusual.

Amongst the subjects he tackled was the solution of the celebrated old problem of the 'Knight's Tour' on an ordinary chess board of sixty-four squares, or as it was then called 'the Knight's Trick at Chess,'[4] which has puzzled many a European mathematician searching for a general rule. It has, of course, been solved empirically from time to time, but not always on the same lines. Solutions worked out by repeated trials were published as long ago as 1722, and were on sale in Paris on cards from 1777 onwards. These facts induced Addison to make an attempt to find a general rule, which he proceeded to do in four rather difficult pages and claims to have succeeded in his effort. His final solution is in the Plate "Correct Knight's Tour."

The real problem is to fill a chess-board of sixty-four squares by sixty-four consecutive knight's moves. The key point of Addison's solution is that the last station of the knight must be within a knight's move of the first station, which must be in the top left-hand corner of the board as above. Otherwise there will be only sixty-three, not sixty-four, *moves* made, although the board will have been filled up.

Commenting on this solution, a writer in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI (1882), p. 115, points out that the Brahmans of Western India (Bhaunagar) had an empirical solution of the problem, which was preserved in a mnemonic Anushṭubh *śloka*, covering half the board (thirty-two squares), and by repetition the whole sixty-four squares ; thus :—

[2] The continuous text in the Plate does not quite follow that of the chess-board, *e.g.*, in square twenty-three the text has *ssa*, in the text below it is written *sa*. Similarly in squares thirty-four and thirty-eight the text has *saṁ* and *saṅ* respectively and below these are both reproduced as *sa*. The text is not always 'classical' as it has *sahassakê* for *sahassikê* and *ubbaddavê* for *upaddavê*.

[3] *Indian Reminiscences* or *The Bengal Moofussul Miscellany*.

[4] "General Solution of the Knight's Trick at Chess," *op. cit.*, pp. 19-24.

Sloka.

Keśajhannâgabhaṭṭâya têdhakhêvañarâghabê
Shâjathâḍhêpachammêṭhê dâṇâhâchhêlaḍôphanga.

This *śloka* did not, however, solve the problem in sixty-four moves, as it did not bring the last station of the knight to a knight's move from the first. In fact it moved the knight only sixty-three times, though he appeared to make sixty-four moves by counting his first position as move No. 1, which it is not. It was also not true to itself, as it left out the syllable *sa*, which comes before *ha*, the thirty-second syllable of the Dêvanâgarî syllabary, *la* being looked on as a late addition. The written diagram is shown on the Plate, "Indian Knight's Tour."

Burmese Chess.

In vol. VII of the *Asiatic Researches* (1803), pp. 480–505, there is a long posthumous paper on the 'Burmha Game of Chess' by Hiram Cox, written in his inimitable manner.[5] He gives an elaborate account, with diagrams, of chess as evolved everywhere, from China, Burma, India and Persia to Europe, showing all the varieties to be essentially forms of but one original game. The Burmese game would seem to have been derived from India at some period from its name, which, though pronounced nowadays as *sittayin*, is spelt *chach-turang*,[6] obviously a form of the Sanskrit *chaturanga*, the Four Armies, just as the Persian *shatranj* is another corruption of the same word. I have said above "at some period" advisedly, because the Burmese board is set out quite differently from the Indian, and seems, if anything, to be more allied to the Chinese method of setting out than to the Indian.

Be this as it may, the Knight's Moves, or Steed's Leaps as the Burmese say, are the same as those of Europe and India, and therefore the problem of the Knight's Tour is the same to the Burmese as to the European or Indian, and must be solved on the same principles.

It will be observed that in the instance before us the problem has been to complete the Tour in eighty moves, not in sixty-four, and therefore the board has been extended by sixteen squares by adding four wings of four squares each, one on each side of it. It is thus quite a different board from the usual one. But the interesting point is that the problem has been correctly solved, because the eightieth position is a knight's move from the first, (*vide* diagrams on the Plates of the "Burmese Knight's Tour").

For those who cannot follow the Dêvanagari syllabary, I here state the diagram in the Plate "Indian Knight's Tour by Figures," following the Dêvanâgarî order of syllables.

Compare this diagram ("Indian Knight's Tour by Figures") with Addison's given above, and it will be seen that the 64th move will not reach square No. 1 and so make the board filled up *by moves*. To be correct the figure 64 should be where 8 is found or at the square marked 2. Even the half boards are incorrect, for the 32nd station should be at 8 or 2, and the 64th at 40 or 34.

5 There is a short note on it in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. I (1872), quoting Dr. F. Mason, *A Working Man's Life*.

6 The modern pronunciation of the word for chess in Burmese is *sit-tayin* or *sit-thayin*. This means that it is spelt, in the Burmese syllabary of Indian origin, as *chach-turang* or *chach-surang*, both spelling and pronunciation being arrived at by folk-etymology, as the division of the syllables is wrong. The word in Sanskrit is *chatur-anga*, 'four (*chatur*)-divisions (*anga*), or, as it is a 'fighting' game, 'four-armies.' This sense is preserved in the Burmese *sit-tayin* (or *chach-turang*), *sit* (*chach*) meaning 'army' in that vernacular. It will be observed that the real sense of the latter part of the Sanskrit compound has been lost, the invented terminant *turang* being nowadays given the traditional interpretation of 'commander.' The real Burmese term for 'army-commander' is *sit-kè*, rendered by Cox in his astonishing method of transcription by *chekoy*. Cox's *Burhman Empire*, by the way, is well worth reproducing and editing, if only for the *Hobson-Jobsons* in it, which are innumerable, and due apparently to an attempt to transliterate the words as spelt, and at the same time to transcribe them as pronounced with the aid of a faulty linguistic ear. The modern Burmese name for chess is sometimes pronounced *sit-phayin*, with the sense of 'war-lord,'—a further step in folk-etymology striving for a meaning.

A CORRECT KNIGHT'S TOUR.

1	36	5	24	59	34	7	30
4	25	2	35	6	31	60	33
37	**64**	27	58	23	62	29	8
26	3	38	63	28	9	32	61
45	16	57	12	47	22	51	10.
56	13	46	39	42	11	48	21
17	44	15	54	19	50	41	52
14	55	18	43	40	53	20	49

INDIAN KNIGHT'S TOUR.

kē	śa	jha	nnā	ga	bha	ṭṭā	ya
tē	dha	khē	va	n̄a	rā	gha	bē
shā	ja	thā	ḍhe	pa	cha	mmē	ṭhē
dā	ṇ̄a	**hā**	chhē	la	ḍō	pha	nga
kē	śa	jha	nnā	ga	bha	ṭṭā	ya
te	dha	khē	va	ña	rā	gha	bē
shā	ja	tha	ḍhe	pa	cha	mmē	ṭhē
da	ṇā	**ḣā**	chhē	la	dō	pha	nga

INDIAN KNIGHT'S TOUR BY FIGURES.

1	30	9	20	3	24	11	26
16	19	2	29	10	27	4	23
31	8	17	14	21	6	25	12
18	15	32	7	28	13	22	5
33	62	41	52	35	56	43	58
48	51	34	61	42	59	36	55
63	40	49	46	53	38	57	44
50	47	64	39	60	45	54	37

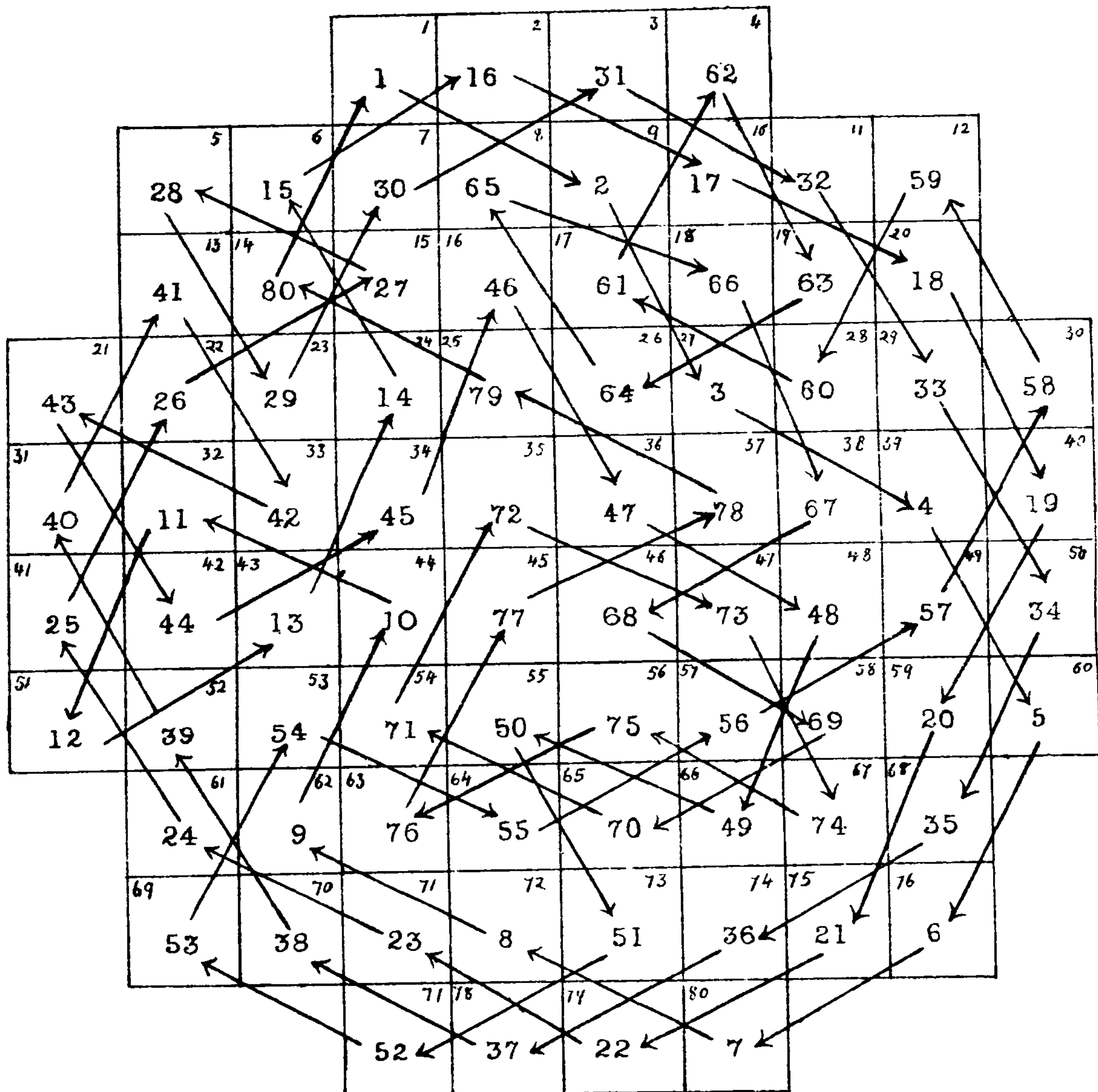
BURMESE KNIGHT'S TOUR IN 80 MOVES ON WINGED BOARD.

			1	16	31	62			
	28	15	30	65	2	17	32	59	
	40	**80**	27	46	61	66	63	18	
43	26	29	14	79	64	3	60	33	58
40	11	42	45	72	47	78	67	4	19
25	44	13	10	77	68	73	48	57	34
12	39	54	71	50	75	56	69	20	5
	24	9	76	55	70	49	74	35	
	53	38	23	8	51	36	21	6	
			52	37	22	7			

Diagram of

Burmese Knight's Tour in 80 moves

showing order of moves.



MALABAR MISCELLANY.

BY T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

I. Another Persian Cross in Travancore.

THE two stone slabs in the Valiya Paḷḷi (Great Church) at Kôṭṭayam, with a cross and inscription carved on each are well known to archæologists and form, together with the three Syrian Copper Plates of the reigns of Sthâṇu Ravi and Vîra Râghava, the most interesting of the antiquarian objects inspected by distinguished visitors to Travancore. The above-mentioned slabs are believed to have been brought from an old church at Cranganore (Muziris of the old travellers) in Cochin and set up in the church which dates from A.D. 1550,[1] by Archbishop Mar Abraham (died 1597)[2] on the occasion of its reconstruction in A.D. 1577.[3]

In A.D. 1547, while repairing an old hermitage on the Great Mount near Madras, the Portuguese came upon a stone slab, like the smaller one at Kôṭṭayam, with a similar cross and inscription carved on it. This cross was soon unhesitatingly identified with the one which the Apostle St. Thomas is said to have embraced while on the point of death, and its miraculous virtues speedily obtained great fame. It was eventually set up over an altar in the Church of the Madonna, which was afterwards erected on the Great Mount, and there it is still on view.[4]

A slab resembling the smaller one at Kôṭṭayam and the miraculous one on the Great Mount was discovered by me towards the close of A.D. 1921 at a place called Kaṭamaṟṟam in North Travancore, when a copy of the inscription on it was handed over to me for decipherment. But as the epigraph was in Pahlavi and not in Vaṭṭeḷuttu I forwarded a copy of it to the Pahlavi scholar Dr. Cassertelli. The inscription seems to be a replica of the one on the other two similar slabs.[5] Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., of Darjeeling, in a letter to me dated 27th May 1922, says : " I have compared it with the Mylapore (Great Mount) inscription, and have little doubt but yours is a replica of it."

" An interesting place," says Fr. Hosten[6] again, " is Kaṭamaṟṟam Church, where an altar cross with a Sassanian-Pahlavi inscription was discovered.........., altar-cross and inscription being in the style of the Mylapore cross at St. Thomas' Mount (Big Mount), and of the Kôṭṭayam crosses. We expect that a Sassanian-Pahlavi inscription should fall within the Sassanian dynasty (A.D. 222—651). Even if it were somewhat later, the art displayed by the Kaṭamaṟṟam cross—for we have not yet secured any photographs or rubbings of it—may help to determine certain almost obliterated designs of the Mylapore cross, and this may lead to a very distinct advance in the interpretation of the tradition of the St. Thomas' Christians."

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1 This date has been obtained by calculation from the details given in a Malayâḷam song about the church. See *Ancient Songs of the Syrian Christians of Malabar*, p. 71 of text in Malayâḷam (Kôṭṭayam, 1910).

2 *Travancore State Manual*, vol. II, p. 171. (Trivandrum, 1906.)

3 See footnote 1 above.

4 Yule and Cordier's *Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 358. (Murray, 1903.)

5 See Yule and Cordier's *Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 353 (Murray, 1903), for a facsimile of the inscription. Since making the discovery I obtained three other eye-copies of the epigraph. The last one received on 21st May 1922 gives a sketch of the entire inscribed face—the cross, the ornamental design around, as well as the inscription disposed in the form of an arch. The Superintendent of the Travancore Archæological Department will shortly visit the place and take a reliable estampage and a photo of it. Photos of the Kôṭṭayam slabs are available from the Trivandrum Museum, Travancore.

6 Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., in his article " Christian Archæology in Malabar " in the *Catholic Herald of India*, December (?), 1922.

It may be interesting to recall here that doctors have differed as to the age and meaning of the inscription on these stones. Two Canarese Brahmans engaged by the Portuguese found in the 36 letters of it a succinct account of the life and acts of Jesus and his apostle St. Thomas.[7] *Multum in Parvo* !

Here are three other versions :—

1. "In punishment (?) by the cross (was) the suffering to this (one): (He) who is the true Christ and God above, and Guide for ever pure."—Dr. Burnell.[8]
2. "Whoever believes in the Messiah, and in God above, and also in the Holy Ghost, is in the grace of Him who bore the pain of the Cross."—Dr. Haug.[8]
3. "What freed the true Messiah, the forgiving, the upraising, from hardship ? The crucifixion from the tree and the anguish of this."—Dr. West.[9]

Dr. Burnell has assigned the inscription to the seventh or eighth century A.D., while Mr. Fergusson considers the architectural character to be of the ninth.[10]

II. A Greek Inscription at Châyal.

About two decades ago the late Prof. Sundaram Pillai of the Travancore Educational Service discovered 450—only about a dozen of these have been published—inscriptions in Travancore in Tamiḷ, Malayâḷam, Sanskrit, Hindustani, Canarese, Dutch and Latin languages.[11] Inscriptions in Syriac also are common in North Travancore. A Greek inscription in Travancore is, however, quite an unexpected find. One such was discovered a few years ago at Nilakkal in the forests of central Travancore, on the upper limb of a stone cross, which limb is now set up for worship at a place near the Roman Catholic Church at Kânjirappaḷḷi in the High Ranges of Travancore. The other portions of the broken cross are said to be in the forest at Nilakkal. There aie figures and words engraved on these also.

The inscription[12] on the upper limb, an ink impression of which was sent to me for decipherment (received on 5th November 1920) a few years ago, consists of only three Greek letters. As far as I can make out they seem to be Chi, Rho and Iota (XRI), all capitals and probably form the first three letters of the Greek name Christos (Christ). Nothing more can be made out of this fragment. Perhaps this rare inscription in the common language of the old Roman Empire will reveal some unknown facts in the history of the Syrian Christians of Malabar. Fr. Bernard referred to above (footnotes 7 and 10 of No. I) and some other local gentlemen think that the letters form a portion of the superscription I.N.R.I. in old Greek characters.

Nilakkal was formerly known as Châyal and is reputed to have had one of the first seven churches founded by St. Thomas himself. The place was deserted by the Christians there owing to the ravages of wild beasts and locusts. These immigrants (among whom were the then ancestors of the present writer according to family tradition) came and settled

[7] See *Vincenzo Maria di S. Caterina da Sienna, II, Viaggio all' Indie Orientali,* Lib. II, Cap. II, Romae, 1672. This reference has been taken without verification from Fr. Bernard's *St. Thomas Christians* (in Malayâḷam), vol. I, p. 333 (Pâlâ, 1916).

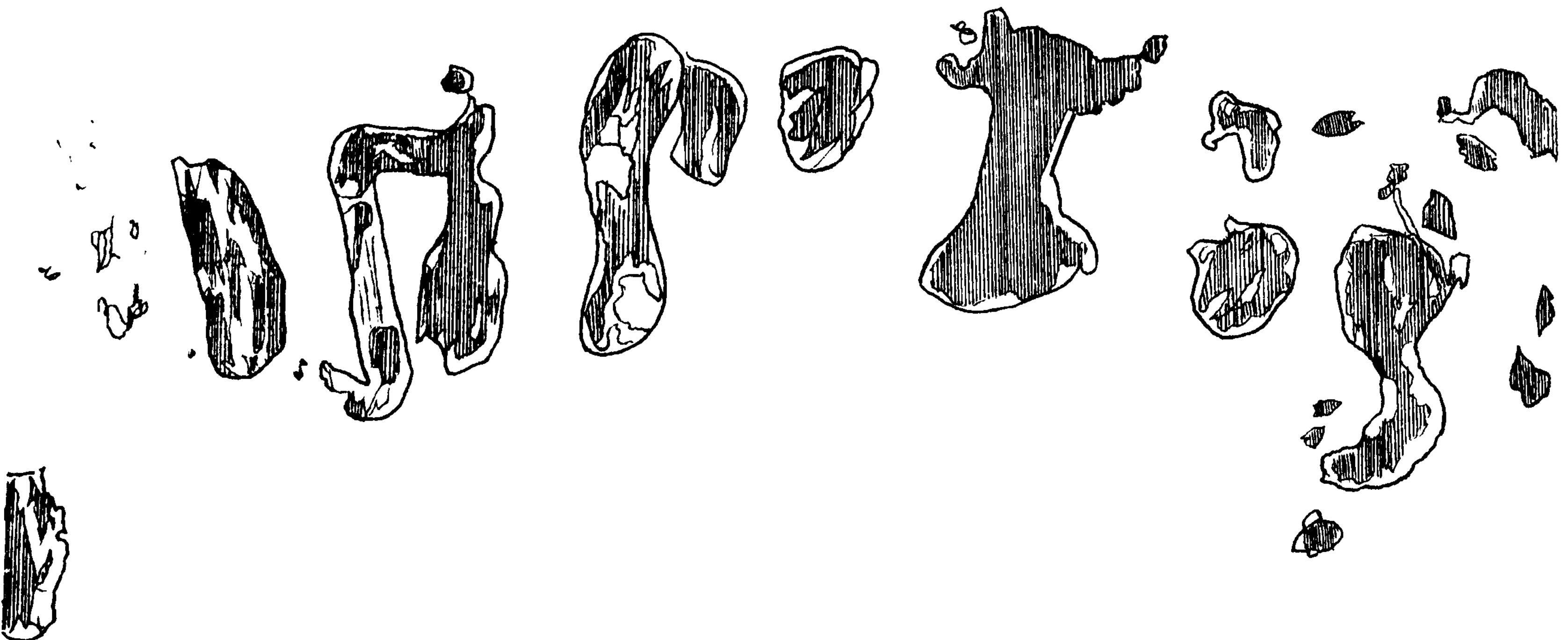
[8] See *Marco Polo* above, vol. II, p. 359.

[9] *Indian Antiquary,* vol. III.

[10] Fr. Bernard in his book referred to in footnote 7 says that the Kaṭamaṟṟam Church dates from the seventh century A.D. *Ibid.,* p. 297. No documentary evidence is adduced. Probably the author relies upon tradition.

[11] *Travancore State Manual,* vol. I, p. 176.

[12] In the Plate attached is a tracing from the ink impression in my possession. This very rough sketch may be of no use to scholars. Attempts are being made to secure a photo of the fragment now in the Kânjirappaḷḷi Church and to recover the remaining fragments from the uninhabited forest at Nilakkal.



Greek Inscription at Châyal, (Nilakkal), Travancore.

down in Chengunnûr (in Travancore), where they built a church still existing, in M.E. 420 [13] (A.D. 1244-45). Ruins of the old houses, the church, the tanks and the granite-lined wells which belonged to these Christians and a temple not completely dilapidated are still found at Nilakkal (old Châyal) on a plane 4 miles by 3 miles The temple is a little to the East of the supposed ruins of the old church and is still visited by Hindu pilgrims once a year in the month of Makaram (Jan.-Feb.). The largest of the tanks there belonging to the Church and the temple are each about four acres in extent. The ruined houses arranged in regular rows like streets are on the south, west and north sides of the ruined church, there being no traces of buildings between it and the temple. Tradition says that the bell of the old church at Nilakkal was thrown into the tank near it, when the Christian inhabitants of the place emigrated to Chengunnûr to escape the ravages of wild beasts. Excavations at the place will be very fruitful.

A NOTE ON MR. P. N. RAMASWAMI'S PAPER ON THE "EARLY HISTORY OF INDIAN FAMINES."

By DONALD JAYARATNA.

REFERRING to the very instructive paper which appeared in *ante*, vol. LII, pp. 107—113, etc., by Mr. P. N. Ramaswami, B.A., on the "Early History of Indian Famines," I have pleasure in placing the following facts before the readers of the *Journal* :—

From the Sinhalese Historical Records—*Pûjâvaliya* (thirteenth century A.D.), *Râjâvaliya* (seventeenth century A.D.), *Beminitiyâ Mahâsâya* (seventeenth century A.D.) and other Pali works, *viz., Rasavâhini* (thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D.) and *Manôrathapûrani*, commentary on *Anguttara Nikâya* (fifth century A.D.), we learn that Jambudvipa (India) and Lanka (Ceylon) were afflicted by a famine which lasted twelve years. This famine, which was called *Beminitiyâ Mahâsâya*, occurred in the reign of Milinda, king of the Yonakas, who reigned at Sâgala, (which has been identified with the modern Siâlkôṭ in the N.-E. Punjab). It is to be regretted that nothing of this great famine has been recorded, in the "History of Indian Famines."

The cause of this famine, according to the *Râjâvaliya* was as follows :—

"The next king was Chôranâga, son of Valagambâhu, who razed to the ground 18 *vihâras*. During his reign the island of Lanka was struck with a famine. It occurred thus :—

"Milindu, king of the City of Sâgal in Jambudvîpa, coveted a certain woman and wickedly put to death her innocent husband after he had secured his conviction, by unjust means. The king had told his servants : 'Charge her husband with some fault or other and tell me.' Accordingly, they watched on the road which the Brahman (husband) took while going to trade. As he came down to a mountain pass they drove towards the Brahman the Prime Minister's bull, which had been used for ploughing, and hid themselves. The bull finding no room to pass turned back, the Brahman following the bull; upon which they rushed out and seized the Brahman, demanding: 'Where are you taking this bull by stealth ?' and hailed him before the king, who put him to death.

"The Brahman's wife, having come to know that the king had put the Brahamn to death, exclaimed: 'As truly as I have observed the duty of a good and virtuous wife in not violating the marriage vow, may the country of this king come to ruin ;' and having smeared the soles of her feet with charcoal, she threw three handfuls of water into the air, clapped her hands thrice, entered her house, shut the door and breathed her last.

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13 Whitehouse, *Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land.*

"The gods being offended, there was no rain, and Dambadîva suffered from famine for twelve years.

"Be it known that at the same time, because Chôranâga, King of Lankâ, demolished the *vihâras*, this beautiful Lankâ also suffered from famine for three years. Know also that the date of this famine, called Bemini-sâya, coincided with the commencement of the Saka era. The people afterwards killed the said Chôranâga whose reign had lasted twelve years.

"Be it known that at this time 623 years had elapsed since the death of our Buddha." (*Râjâvaliya*, pp. 44–45.)

There are discrepancies in the various accounts regarding the date and the duration of the famine. Without going into details, I give below a summary of the facts stated in the above-mentioned books:

(*a*) *Pûjâvaliya* and *Beminitiyâ Mahâsâya* say that this island and India were struck with famine in the reign of Valagambâhu while Milinda was reigning at Sâgala.

(*b*) The extract from *Râjâvaliya* quoted above shows that it occurred in the reign of Valagambâhu's son Chôranâga, and also that the date of this famine coincided with the commencement of the Saka Era, when 623 years had elapsed since the death of Buddha, and Ceylon and Jambudvipa suffered from famine for three and twelve years respectively.

(*c*) *Beminitiyâ Mahâsâya* says that 489 years had elapsed since the demise of Gautama Buddha, when King Milinda became a convert to Buddhism at the termination of the dialectic controversies.

(*d*) *Mahâvaṉsa* tells us that King Valagambâhu reigned in B.C. 104 and again from B.C. 89–74, and Chôranâga from B.C. 60–48.

(*e*) According to Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids' *Questions of Milinda*, Milinda (Menander) was one of those Greek kings who carried on in Baktria the Greek dominion founded by Alexander the Great. Prof. Rhys Davids is of opinion that Milinda reigned for a considerable time in the latter part of the second century B.C., probably from about 140 to about 115, or even B.C. 110.

A DARA-SHIKOH LETTER.

BY KHAN SAHIB MAULAVI 'ABDU'L-WALÎ.

IN *ante*, vol. XXXIX, pp. 119—126, I published a short paper on "Sarmad" and his execution. Incidentally, I noted from memory, the fragment of a letter, which Dârâ had written to Sarmad, with English translation. After a search of many years, the full text of the letter is now available to me. The letter and its reply together with their translation are inserted below, Dârâ Shikôh's letter—written in fine, terse Persian—is a noteworthy instrument, which fully corroborates his inquisitive nature on theological and mystic questions.

DÂRÂ'S LETTER TO SARMAD.

(*Text.*)

[پیر و مرشدِ من] [1]

هر روز قصدِ مُلازمت دارد– مُیسّر نمي شود–

اگر من منم–پس اِرادهٔ من مُعطّل چرا–

[1] The words put under brackets are not in the present text.

واگر من نیستم ـ چه تقصیر مرا ـ
قتلِ امام حسین اگرچه مشیّت ایزدیست ـ
پس یزید درمیان کیست ـ واگر
غیر مشیّت است ـ پس معنی
یفعل الله ما یشاء ویحکم ما یرید
چیست ـ نبیِ مختار بجنگ کفّار میرفت ـ
شکست در لشکرِ اسلام [می] افتاد ـ
علمای ظاهری میگویند که تعلیم صبر است ـ
منتهی را تعلیم چه درکار *

SARMAD'S REPLY.

(*Text.*)

ایعزیز ـ
ما انچه خوانده ایم فراموش کرده ایم
الّا حدیثِ دوست که تکرار میکنیم *

TRANSLATION.

Dârâ's Letter.

My Pîr and Preceptor,

Everyday [I] [2] resolve to pay [my] respects [to you]. [It] remains unaccomplished. If I be I—wherefore is my intention of no account? If I be not—what is my fault? Though the murder of Imâm Ḥusayn was the Will of God: who was Yazîd between [God and Ḥusayn]? If it was not the Divine Will, then what is the meaning of [the Qurânic verse] "*God does whatever he wills, and commands whatever he intends*"? The most excellent Prophet used to go to fight with the unbelievers: defeat was inflicted on the army of Islâm. The exoteric scholars say it was [meant as] an education in resignation. To the perfect [fully educated] what education was necessary?

Sarmad's Reply.

My dear,

What we have read we have put away from the memory,
Save the discourse of the Friend which we reiterate.

At the outset Dârâ Shikôh finds himself at a loss to make out why human desire is not sometimes fulfilled. The next question is the martyrdom of Ḥusayn by order of Yazîd. If it was pre-ordained and according to the Divine Will, why is Yazîd condemned, as he was but a blind instrument in the hands of the Dispenser of all human destinies? The third and last query is about the defensive wars which the Prophet sometimes had to wage, and the repulse which his troops sustained.

Sarmad who was deeply absorbed in Divine contemplation gave a characteristic reply by a Persian couplet.

It has been rendered, at my request, into verse by Mr. Johan van Manen, the present learned Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, thus:—

Forgotten has been what we read
The Friend's Name only sung instead.

[2] The words put between brackets are not in the text.

THE RUINS OF KAJLI KANOJA.

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL, B.A., M.R.A.S.

BETUL is a jungle district in the Central Provinces inhabited mostly by aboriginal tribes—Gonds and Korkus—which form not less than 37 per cent. of the total population. The Gonds once attained regal power and ruled it, but all signs of their greatness have disappeared, there being now only 32 villages in their possession, in spite of their tribal strength of 83,000. Gonds erect no temples ; a living tree is the shrine of their God. They seldom erected forts, as the caves and mountain heights afforded them the necessary shelter. If they captured any stronghold[1] built by their predecessors, they did not disdain to utilize it, yet they always trusted to the inaccessible peaks and caverns, whence they defied the cannon of their more civilized enemies. Thus, while the forts commanded some little respect at their hands, the temples and their architecture enjoyed no such regard, as the Gonds could never persuade their *Barâ Deo* to change his habitation from the Saj (*Terminalia tomentosa*) tree to the lithic shrines of the Hindus or Jains. One could hardly expect the existence of the latter in the highlands of Betul, but an inspection of Kajli and Kanoja, two contiguous villages about 20 miles from Betul, the headquarters of the district, indicates that there was a time when Hinduism and Jainism flourished side by side. and that once there were much larger towns than those the district can at present boast of. Kanoja was apparently a flourishing place in the days of the Rashtrakûṭa kings of Mâlkhed, one of whose inscriptional records[2] on copper is still in possession of a Gosain of Multai, the headquarters of a Tahsil

1 Such for instance is the fort of Kheḍlâ, which I visited on 24th October 1909 and recorded the following note in the visitors' book. I venture to reproduce it, with a view to keep on record the date of the fort, which has remained undetermined as yet, except by fanciful guesses of no value. The inscription discovered by me forms part of the fort wall. "I visited the Kheḍlâ Fort on the above named date and found an inscription on the eastern wall which is dated in the year A.D. 1365, which leads to the inference that the Fort was built somewhere between A.D. 1365 and 1398, the latter being the year in which Narsing Rai, king of Kheḍlâ, opened hostilities with the Bâhmani kings of Berar, who in turn invaded his country and pursued his troops 'to Kheḍlâ, leaving upwards of ten thousand slain upon the field, while Narsing Rai, having with much difficulty gained the fortress, was besieged by the victorious army.' The quotation is from the Persian historian Firishta and shows the existence of the fortress in A.D. 1398. This fortress has played an important part in the History of Betul. In A.D. 1425 Hoshangshâh, who gave his name to Hoshangâbâd, twice invaded Kheḍlâ, but was repulsed with severe loss. In a third attack he, however. came suddenly on Narsing Rai, who petitioned Ahmad Shâh Bâhmani of Berar for assistance. The result was an utter defeat of Hoshangshâh who fled, leaving his harem in the enemy's hands. Hoshangshâh, however, watched for another opportunity, and in 1433 he again invaded Kheḍlâ and slew Narsing Rai, reducing the fort and its dependent territory.

"Betul was now attached to the western Dominions, but Kheḍlâ was to be the scene of yet another conflict. In 1467 the Bâhmanis of Berar invaded it and took it into their possession. In 1596 it was finally incorporated in the Mughal empire and was made the headquarters of a Sarkâr or District subordinate to the Subah of Ellichpore. The Kheḍlâ Sarkâr included 35 Parganas, embracing the centre and north of the Betul District and some tracts of Chhindwâra and Wardha. On the decline of the Mughal empire Bakht Buland, the Raja of Deogarh and Chhindwâra, extended his jurisdiction over Betul, which subsequently passed with the rest of the Deogarh territories to the Bhonslas of Nagpur in A.D. 1743. The inscription I have referred to above gives the name of the town as Khetakapura, which has apparently got corrupted into Kheḍlâ.

"Within the precincts of the fort there is the grave of Mukand Râj Swâmi, who is said to be the first Marathi poet. He is believed to have died about A.D. 1335. There are numberless traditions about the miracles he worked and that is why he is now universally worshipped by the people of the district. The lands inside the fort are leased to Nathulâl who is called *qiladâr* on that account, and it is at his request that I have given a brief account of the vicissitudes of the jungle fortress during its existence of about 500 years. It is now in ruins but the summit of the hill on which it is built commands a fine view of the fertile valley round about. The only work of art is a side window on the main entrance of the fort. The labour of ascending to the top is well repaid by the fine view referred to above."

2 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVIII, p. 230 ff. Another inscription of the same king was found at Tiwarkhed, 14 miles from Multai, vide *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XI, p. 276 ff

of that name, within which Kanoja is included. There are several heaps of temple ruins belonging to the mediæval Brahmanic style, and although many statues and images have been removed to distant places, such as Nagpur, there still remain several fragments which bespeak the glory of the ancient town. The architecture appears to belong to about the tenth century A.D. At that time the city appears to have extended for more than three miles from west to east, including the present villages of Kedârakhêḍa and Deogâon, and its breadth north to south was about two miles. The western and southern sides of the town seem to have been occupied by Śaivas, as in this part the ruins belong to Śaiva temples. The heap in the south-eastern corner of Kanoja village was a Śaiva temple. There two massive door jambs with three figures on each may be still seen. They are carved on two sides, one showing Śiva and Parvati and the other a female figure carrying a water jar. In one door jamb the *vâhana* is a *makara* and in the other a tortoise, and these clearly represent the Gaṅgâ and Yamunâ respectively. They are very important, as indicating the age of the temple, which belonged to the period when the representations of these rivers had crept down from the tops of the door to the bottom. In this heap there is a figure of a lion overpowering an elephant, which local historians have put down as a special sign-manual of the Gonds, but this is clearly a mistake. I have seen the same representation in the temples of Bhuvanêśwara in Orissa, and in other ancient temples which were built long before the Gonds came into power. Of course the Châṇdâ Gond rulers seem to have taken a fancy to that figure and had it carved on the walls of the rampart they built round Châṇdâ city, and also adopted it as their crest; but it was not their own invention and was an adaptation in a cruder form than the original from which they copied. On the bank of the Bel river to the south of Kanoja there are ruins of a big shrine with remains of similar door jambs, as described above, together with a headless Nandî, indicating that that temple was also Śaiva. There still lie many beautiful carved stones with friezes, inscribed with figures of a lion overpowering an elephant. There used to be an embankment in the river in front of the temple, which apparently faced north. Close to this place lies Kedârakheḍâ, whose name is significant. It is apparently named after Śiva, one of whose other names is Kedâra.

The centre of Kanoja town was occupied by the Jains[3], who had a shrine built near the place now known as Koṭa, where stood a small fortress, marks of whose bastions are still clearly visible. It was not long ago that the fortress was dismantled and stones removed for use in the Betul and Multai tanks. Fragments of Jain images lie in a field just outside the boundary of the Koṭa. These consist of a solid stone with figures of four Jain Tirthankaras, one on each face, and a separate broken statue. Two colossal naked images of the Tirthankaras were removed to the Nagpur museum some years ago. The local story about these figures is that they represent the two masons, Nângar and Bhongar, who built the temples at Kanoja. The execution of these required special sanctity, and therefore to avoid any *chhût* or pollution they had to put off their clothing and work in a state of nudity. They had a sister who used to bring them food, and when she entered the enclosure she was

[3] The Betul district contains a most sacred place of Jains named Muktagiri, an account of which I have already contributed in *ante*, vol. XLII, pp. 220 *et seq.*. Curiously in this jungly district there is also a Buddhist shrine at Salbardi, about 35 miles west of Muktagiri. The head of Buddha's image has been broken and it is now being worshipped as a Dêvi. This appears to be the work of Śâktas who enshrined Mahâdêva in a cave approached through a somewhat difficult and narrow passage, recently widened and provided with steps by the Amraoti District Council. About a dozen years ago, I discovered two *vihâras* in this place, one of which contains the headless image referred to above (vide *Amraoti District Gazetteer*, p. 425).

ordered to ring a bell. This used to serve as a signal for them to dress and receive their meals. One day out of curiosity she did not ring the bell and entered the enclosure, whereupon supernatural will intervened and turned the parties into stone, in order to cover their shame. The people of the place do not understand Jainism, and the story related above is a local explanation of the curious sight of naked figures, apparently borrowed from the Gondi idea of sanctity, required at the time of the preparation of their God. Their God is made of a piece of cloth, which they require to be woven by a naked weaver, who has cleaned himself in water, and who must not, during the period he is working, spit, or answer calls of nature. If he feels a necessity for these, he has to stop work for that day and begin again next day in the same state. Again, as works of art are considered by wild people to be accomplished by magic, which is most effective when done in a state of nudity, the explanation of the naked state of the so-called Nângar and Bhongar may have been influenced by this idea also.

Further east lies the village of Kajli, which was certainly a quarter of Kanoja formerly. Here there is a big heap of ruins with beautifully carved stones and figures in bas relief. This seems to have been a grand shrine dedicated to Vishṇu, whose broken statue has now been removed to Betul and is placed under a tree in front of the Government Treasury. It is an exquisitely carved statue in black stone. Some of the bas reliefs in the heap of ruins of Kajli are those of the four-handed Vishnu, carrying the conch, the mace, the lotus and the discus. The vandalism of railway contractors has deprived the ruins of many of its valuable sculptures. Kajli was apparently the Vaishnava quarter. There are several old tanks, on the banks of which temples were constructed, but they are all now gone, and only pieces of sculpture lying here and there show from their style their antiquity and the greatness of the town, within which they were originally constructed.

A NEW CRITICISM OF BHAVABHÛTI.

BY PANDIT BATUKNATH SHARMA, M.A.

IT is encouraging to note that, together with a healthy appreciation of literature, a determination to subject the works of all poets to critical analysis has also manifested itself in India. Admirable as this spirit of criticism is, it is occasionally apt, unless strictly controlled, to lack impartiality and to give a one-sided view of the matters in issue. We have a good example of this modern criticism in a peculiarly interesting article by a great Bengali scholar, who is well-known to almost all students of Sanskrit, especially to those who are constantly consulting notes on their prescribed texts. Principal Śârdâranjan Roy, to whom I refer, has published an article in the Aṣaḍha and Śrâvaṇa numbers of *Vangavâṇi*, a well-known Bengali Magazine, on *Bhavabhûtir Pratipatti*, the Fame of Bhavabhûti. Special interest attaches to his article by reason of his endeavour to prove that Bhavabhûti was not a very great poet and that *Uttaracharita* in particular is not his best work. In support of his opinion, Principal Roy has 'discovered' a number of blunders in the technique of *Uttararâmacharita*. My object here is simply to give a brief *résumé* of his learned paper, without at present venturing on any critical comment of my own.

Principal Roy starts with the conviction that Bhavabhûti, in spite of his great admiration for Vâlmîki, could not bring himself to believe in the story of Râma, exactly as it is given in the *Râmâyaṇa*. Bhavabhûti could not conceive how Kekai, the daughter of a famous family, the daughter-in-law of a Solar ruler and the mother of such a saintly person as Bharata, could indulge in such a mean intrigue for banishing the well-beloved Râma

from his paternal home. Likewise Bhavabhûti thought that the treacherous murder of Bâli and the merciless banishment of Sitâ at the hand of the guileless and all-loving Râma were improbable facts. Again, Bhavabhûti could not reconcile himself to the idea of the *Râmâyaṇa* as a tragedy. With so many incongruities confronting him in the work of Vâlmîki, Bhavabhûti was led to write two dramas on the life of Râma, in which he tried to expunge the four great blots from the traditional version of the story. In his *Vîracharita*, he made Śûrpanakhâ take the guise of Kekai and secure the banishment of Râma; he portrayed Bâli as instigated by Mâlyavan against Râma, and thus as taking the offensive himself. In his *Uttaracharita*, he showed that Râma, though fully convinced of Sita's chastity and loving her from the depth of his heart, was forced by peculiar circumstances to take the drastic step, at a time when he was wholly and solely responsible for all State affairs. In the same drama, says Principal Roy, he further showed that the 'सूचना' and 'उपसंहार' portions are later additions to Vâlmîki's work, and that the story is संयोगान्त, inasmuch as they were united in the hermitage of Vâlmîki.

After improving the *Râmâyaṇa* according to his own fancy, he was greatly elated and was naturally inclined to expect much admiration from contemporary critics. But his hopes were doomed to disappointment. We become aware of this from two very suggestive verses which appear in the opening portion of *Uttaracharita* and *Mâlati Mâdhava*.

They are—(*i*) "सर्वथा व्यवहर्तव्यं कुतो ह्यवचनीयता ।
यथा स्त्रीणां तथा वाचां साधुत्वे दुर्जनो जनः ॥ (उत्तरचरित)

(*ii*) ये नाम केचिदिह नः प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञां
जानन्ति ते किमपि तान् प्रति नैष यत्नः ।
उत्पत्स्यते तु मम कोऽपि समानधर्मा
कालोह्ययं निरवधिर्विपुलाच पृथ्वी" ॥ (मालतीमाधव)

In the latter *śloka*, there is further a note of defiance. He seems to say: "You critics of poor abilities, what do I care for you? He alone will understand me, who shares in my propensities and attainments. And such an one will be born, for Time is limitless and the Earth is boundless." Cherishing this proud conviction, he composed his third and, according to Principal Roy, his last and best work, named *Mâlati Mâdhava*. He thereby did acquire respect, but the number of his opponents did not greatly diminish. When his admirers said—"कवयः कालिदासाद्याभवभूतिर्महाकविः" his adversaries replied with a pointed taunt "तरवः पारिजाताद्याः स्नुहीवृक्षो महातरुः".

But times gradually changed. The number of his enemies dwindled Thankless criticism yielded place to grateful appreciation. At last, we find him in our own times on the pinnacle of glory. In almost every literary vernacular of the Indian continent we meet with appreciation of the three works of Bhavabhûti. Even Sir R. G. Bhandarker and Dr. S. K. Belvalker, two of the greatest Orientalists of the last and present generations respectively, have not failed to offer a glowing tribute to the old Sanskrit poet, trained as they are in Western methods of study and writing.

Those who find merit in the works of Bhavabhûti have given their reasons for doing so. Unfortunately the grounds on which ancient critics disparaged him, are wholly unknown to us. But there must have been such reasons, thinks Principal Roy, and they should be discoverable.

Principal Roy has constituted himself the champion of those unfortunate old critics of Bhavabhûti, who were destined by the rude hand of fate to be drowned with their learned reviews in the sea of pure oblivion. But the task is no easy one. He is obliged to call Imagination to his aid and create a new 'old world' around him. The two remarks of Bhavabhûti, quoted above, furnish him with the necessary material for the composition of that required world. In that world, he comes across the old votaries of Vâlmîki's muse, who, finding him sympathetic, lodge their complaint against Bhavabhûti. The author of *Vîrcharita* and *Uttarcharita*, a young upstart in his days, had the audacity to direct his impudent pen against आदिकवि (Vâlmîki). He had further the impertinence to brag about himself a great deal, calling himself वश्यवाक् पदवाक्य प्रमाणतत्त्वज्ञः and what not. But really speaking, he was so poor in dramatic skill that he could not manage properly the technique of even the *Uttaracharita*, which is now—God knows why—considered one of the greatest dramatic works, surpassing even those of Kâlidâsa. Even his करुणरस, which is unaccountably considered his *chef d'œuvre*, is not very elevating. One is at a loss to know why Bhavabhûti should command so much respect in these days.

Here was a clue for Principal Roy. He directed his keen attention to the first act of *Uttaracharita* and there detected a number of defects. Let us see what those defects are ?

In the प्रस्तावना, Sûtradhâra says—" एषोऽहं कार्यवशादायोध्यकः तदानीन्तनश्च संवृत्तः । (समन्तादवलोक्य) भो भो यदि" etc. It is a defect. As soon as an inhabitant of Ayodhyâ appears on the stage, the real drama begins and प्रस्तावना ends. Dramaturgy requires the exit of the Sûtradhâra as soon as the प्रस्तावना comes to an end. If he does not leave the stage, he transgresses the dicta of नाट्यशास्त्र. *Dasarûpake* is clear on this point. It says : "प्रस्तावनान्ते निर्गच्छेत् ततो वस्तु प्रपञ्चयेत् ।" It is no wonder that a critic should get enraged with a dramatist who performs an अशास्त्रीयकार्य ।

After this we have—" (प्रविश्य) नटः । भाव प्रेषिता हि इतः स्वगृहान् महाराजेन लङ्कासमरसुहृदः"—etc. Here also there is a defect. No actor can come upon the stage after प्रस्तावना without adopting the rôle of some character or other. He cannot be an actor of Ayodhyâ, for he addresses the other as भाव and is himself addressed as मारिष. The two persons cannot still be regarded as Sûtradhâra and Naṭa, for, firstly, the प्रस्तावना has come to an end, and secondly, such sentences as " किमिति विश्रान्तचारणानि चत्वरस्थानानि," "वैदेशिकोऽस्मीति " etc., would be wholly irrelevant on their lips. To the critic this does not appear commendable.

When asked why the festivities had ceased, the नट gives the following as one of the reasons—" संप्रति हि

वसिष्ठाधिष्ठिता देव्यो गता राघव मातरः ।
अरुन्धतीं पुरस्कृत्य यज्ञे जामातुराश्रमम् ॥"

It has been shown above that, in order that all the circumstances leading to the banishment of Sîtâ may appear natural, Bhavabhûti considered it advisable to remove all the elders from the capital. Here the poet informs us of that fact. But in a drama everything should be consistent and relevant. Does this appear consistent ? The absence of the elders is not a sufficient reason for the cessation of festivities. They were not strangers or guests that the rejoicings should continue as long as they were there and should cease as soon as they were gone. Such an inconsistency cannot contribute to the fame of a poet.

Sûtradhâra and Naṭa, as shown here, appear to be two Vaitâlikas attached to the court of Ayodhyâ. One of them says, "एहि राजद्वारमेव स्वसमयेनोपतिष्ठाव:". Then the other suggests, " तेन हि निरूपयतु राज्ञः सुपरिशुद्धां स्तोत्रपद्धतिं भाव." They are conversing as they walk along, and it seems therefrom that the राजद्वार was situated very near. He is to compose a स्तोत्र

within the time they will take to walk that distance, and the स्तोत्र should be at the same time a wholly faultless one ! Is this not absurd ? But what could the poet do ? He was under the stern necessity of informing his audience that there was a scandal afloat, and this talk about faultless स्तोत्र, was designed to elicit an ejaculation from the नट, after the Sûtradhâra's words "यथास्त्रीणां तथा वांचा साधुत्वे दुर्जनो जनः" to the effect that "भाति दुर्जन इति वक्तव्यम् ! देव्यामपिहि वैदेह्यां सापवादो यतो जनः । रक्षोगृहस्थितिर्मूलमग्निशुद्धौत्वनिश्चयः" Here there is another inconsistency also. It was the custom for Vaitâlikas to be present at the royal court, before the king occupied the throne and to sing according to the occasion. Here we find them reaching the royal court at the moment when the king is retiring to his inner apartments.

The reason why Râma and Sîtâ did not accompany their elders to the hermitage of ऋष्यशृङ्ग, is given in the message brought by अष्टावक्र. It is this, "कठोरगर्भेति नानीतासि, वत्सोऽपि रामभद्रस्त्वद्विनोदार्थमेव स्थापित" But why did लक्ष्मण not go ? Again, if Sîtâ was कठोरगर्भा, in an advanced state of pregnancy, why could not the elders wait for a day, and commence their twelve years' sacrifice after being assured of her happy delivery ? We know from the sequel that she gave birth to लव and कुश in the afternoon of that very day. Is it possible that such experienced matrons as अरुन्धती and कौशल्या would not have known of Sîtâ's advanced condition ? In a Hindu family such happenings are rare.

In the latter part of Aṣṭavakra's message, we hear राम advised—"यः कश्चिद् गर्भदोहदोऽस्या भवेत् सोऽवश्यमचिरादेव संपादयितव्यः" Râma replies—"क्रियते यदेषा कथयति" । Râma's words indicate that Sîtâ was very shy in revealing her desires to him. It is quite natural. But after a few moments, the poet wholly forgets this and makes Sîtâ say "एतेन चित्रदर्शनेन प्रत्युपन्न-दोहदाया अस्तिमे विज्ञाप्यम्", as if she could wholly divest herself of all womanly feelings in a minute and could make use of the word दोहद itself.

But what was the दोहद ? Sîtâ says, "जाने पुनरपि प्रसन्नगंभीरासु वनराजिषु विहरिष्यामि", etc. She conceived such a desire on the day of her delivery ! But Râma's answer is still more surprising. He not only agreed to her proposal but made all arrangements for her journey to Vâlmîki's hermitage. She was not taken to the hermitage of ऋष्यशृङ्ग because she was कठोरगर्भा. But this consideration was of no account, when it was a matter of going to the hermitage of Vâlmîki. Râma must have been very inconsiderate and forgetful, if he could allow such a journey at such a stage.

Sîtâ requested Râma—"आर्यपुत्र, त्वयापि तत्र गन्तव्यम्" । and Râma, at once complying with her request, said—"अपि कठोर हृदये एतदपि वक्तव्यमेव" । But when she goes, Râma is not with her. To our great surprise, she does not even enquire why Râma was not to go with her.

Let us view this from another standpoint. Râvaṇa was killed. Sîtâ passed through the ordeal of fire. On that very day Vibhîṣaṇa was installed on the throne and Râma with his retinue came back to Ayodhyâ. The coronation festivities lasted for fifteen or sixteen days. Thus we see that Râma and Sîtâ were together for barely fourteen or fifteen days, when Janaka departed and the festivities came to an end. But our dramatist speaks of Sîtâ as कठोरगर्भा on that very day,—the day on which so many events simultaneously took place. Was the limit of ten months and ten days not applicable in the case of Sîtâ ! We have never heard of any such concessions in the case of human beings.

One thing more is very surprising about this अष्टावक्रसंदेश. Why did not the elders impart their instructions on the eve of their departure ? Perhaps they forgot to do so, but suddenly remembered when they reached their destination. Such a विस्मृति even in the

case of ब्रह्मर्षि वशिष्ठ ! He also tells Râma through अष्टावक्र—" जामाता यज्ञेन वयं विरुद्धा स्त्वं बाल एवासिनवंच राज्यम्" But if राम was a बाल to the mind of वशिष्ठ, he ought to have given his instructions in such general terms for all time—" Don't take any important step without consulting me ". But the poet could not make Vaśiṣtha do that ; for in such a case Sitâ could not have been banished. But the poet ought to have seen that if वशिष्ठ did not take particular care of the 'new king' and the new kingdoms, he would fail in the performance of his duties as उपदेष्टा. Besides, Râma could have consulted Vaśiṣṭha very easily ; for he was at such a little distance from the capital that स्वयं could have come in a very short time.

But there was no reason why Râma should be considered as a बाल by Vaśiṣṭha. He himself speaks of him in वीरचरित्र—

" क्षमायाः स क्षेत्रं गुणमणिगणानामपि खनिः
प्रपन्नानां मूर्तः सुकृतपरिपाको जनिमताम् ।
कृपारामो रामो बहिरिह दृशोपास्यत इति
प्रमोदाद्वैतस्याप्युपरि परिवर्तामहे इमे ॥

We cannot assume that Vaśiṣṭha changed his opinion about Râma in a few years. *Vîrcharita* and *Uttaracharita* are inter-related. They are supplementary to one another. Such a contradiction is in no way in keeping with the talents of a real dramatist.

Besides these blunders in the technique of *Uttaracharita*, there are many linguistic defects, which it is unnecessary to point out here. They do not mar the effect so clearly as the other defects. The fame of a real dramatist depends on his handling of plot and the employment of proper devices. None can claim to be a dramatist by simply writing a few *ślokas*, beautifully delineating बीभत्स and भयानक रस.

It has been clearly shown above that Bhavabhûti utterly fails to fulfil the requirements of a dramatist. Just as a whole building deteriorates by reason of a weak foundation, so Bhavabhûti's dramas suffer by reason of his failure in the proper arrangements and handling of their technique.

Such are the few mistakes 'discovered' by Principal Roy in the *Uttaracharita* of Bhavabhûti. The present writer has no intention at present of examining his views and of showing how far they can really stand. He is, however, tempted to doubt whether these could have been the causes of Bhavabhûti's disparagement (if there was such disparagement at all). He further ventures to remark that if Bhavabhûti's two *ślokas* (सर्वथा व्यवहर्तव्यं, etc., and येनाम केचिदिह नः etc.) cited above, have really any reference to the unfavourable opinions about him, these must have been mostly due, not to his poetic failures but to prejudice generated by his philosophic views. In philosophic circles, he was known as उम्बेक and we do find उम्बेक disparaged in the 29th chapter of Bodhanâcharya's तत्त्वशुद्धि in words like— 'अयं न क्षपणकपक्षाऽपि पापीयानुम्बेकपक्ष इत्युपेक्ष्यते.' [1] So far as concerns his poetic abilities he was greatly respected and admired. Vâkpatirâja, the famous author गउडवहो and a well-known contemporary of भवभूति, gratefully remembers him in the following words—

भवभूइ जलहिणिग्गय-कव्वामयरसकणा इव फुरन्ति ।
जस्स विसेसा अज्जवि वियडेसु कहाणिवेसेसु ॥

1 See चित्सुखी, page 265 (Nirnayasagar edition).

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CHALUKYA VIKRAMADITYA VI. BY A. V. VENKATRAMA AYYAR, M.A.

This is a little book relating to the life of a great sovereign and dealing with an important epoch in the history of South India. Unlike many another epoch or personage in Indian History this happens to be a subject, the materials for the history of which we have in some quantity mainly in the shape of inscriptions. What is perhaps better in this particular case, we have a life of the ruler written, no doubt in true epic fashion, but by a person directly and intimately acquainted with him also. The whole of India south of the Vindhyas was divided during the last quarter of the eleventh century and the first quarter of the twelfth between the dominant rulers, the Chôla-Châḷukya Kulôttuṅga I and the Western Châḷukya Vikramâditya VI. We have therefore for the period a certain quantity of information, both of a friendly character and a quantity of matter bearing witness on the opposite side. The period lends itself therefore to far fuller treatment than several others of equal importance in South Indian History. Mr. Venkatrama Ayyar has been at the subject for some considerable time, and the work has been the result of years of study beginning ten years ago. He has attempted to do justice to the subject and has brought to bear upon it a considerable amount of labour and careful investigation of facts.

Vikramâditya VI was the son of a father who was a great man himself, and fought for the maintenance of his kingdom against a succession of powerful Chôla rulers, who exhibited a hatred of the Châḷukya empire and wreaked their vengeance upon it for all that they suffered from the Râshṭrakûṭas, the immediate predecessors of the Châḷukyas themselves. The wars were therefore more than ordinarily bitter and very often had been carried with destructive effect to the very heart of the Châḷukyan empire. Somêśvara struggled manfully against this irresistible torrent, and, on the whole, may be considered to have held his own.

He died what to modern people must appear an unnatural death, while the struggle was the hottest and the balance of success in the war still doubtful. The responsibilities of maintaining the struggle and keeping the enemy out of the empire attached to the Châḷukya empire at the time, whoever the successor was. Somêśvara Âhavamalla left three sons at least at the time of his death, of whom the eldest happened to be Somêśvara, and perhaps the fittest in Vikramâditya. The eldest son Somêśvara succeeded to his throne, apparently without difficulty, soon after the death of his father in A.D. 1068 and continued to rule for eight years. The contemporary great Chôla Vîrarâjêndra died in the year following and was succeeded by his own son, only to be set aside and killed by a more enterprising relation, the Châlukya-Chôla Kulôttuṅga, who succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1070. This latter was the daughter's son of the great Chôla Râjêndra I and the legitimate successor to the Eastern Châḷukya territories of his father. He does not appear to have made very much of this patrimony of his, and had been, for some reason or other, and perhaps with some little justification in his own eyes, waiting to succeed to this Chôla empire. He took the opportunity when the Chôla Vîrarâjêndra died and his son succeeded to the throne, with the aid of his brother-in-law, the prince Châḷukya Vikramâditya. That gave the occasion for him to occupy the Chôla throne.

Prince Vikramâditya, with his elder brother Somêśvara, had already a creditable share in the achievement of the father in his manful struggle against the Chôlas, and was already viceroy of perhaps the most vulnerable, but at the same time the most important viceroyalty of the empire. In the course of the series of wars between the Chôlas and the Châlukyas, chiefly under the Chôla Vîrarâjêndra, Vikramâditya bore a very considerable part and attained to some considerable distinction, and, by a series of complicated transactions, had entered into a treaty with the Chôla ruler, sealed by himself marrying the great Chôla's daughter. He let his brother rule however for over seven years after this event and ultimately succeeded to the throne by attacking and throwing his brother into prison. The main incident in the life of Vikramâditya himself, and the problem calling for solution in the history of the time, were the unravelling of the series of the complicated transactions leading up to this usurpation. as it seems. Mr. Venkatrama Ayyar with painstaking carefulness has sorted out and narrated the series of events leading up to this third act of the tragedy so far as Somêśvara II was concerned, and has on the whole done his work carefully and well. But in respect of the usurpation itself he has got into so much hero—worship by the time that he reaches the period of usurpation. that he lets himself go into arguing that Vikramâditya's was almost a legitimate succession to the throne of his brother. and exonerates him from the responsibility of having cherished the idea of a usurpation and of planning and carrying it out. We very much fear in this effort he overshoots the mark. His own exhibition of facts seems to give a clear indication that in his transactions. which terminated with his marriage with a Chôla princess, there must

have been an ulterior object beyond that of safeguarding the empire, which it may readily be granted was certainly one of the guiding motives. To set aside an elder brother and occupy his throne would have done great violence to the prevailing sentiment of the time, and if he took his measures with deliberation to lead gradually on to a combination of circumstances when he could justify a usurpation, it would certainly be in keeping with the character of the prince and the ruler later. We do not deny that Vikramâditya put the integrity of the empire before everything else in this transaction as in every other. But it must be remembered that it was his own arrangements for the imperial government that carried the seed of its ultimate dismemberment.

As we have already noted, it is quite a readable account of the great uler and his empire, and what we do say in criticism thereof has no other object than to invite attention to the points which would benefit by a revision. The first of such is the name of the dynasty. The term Châlukya has no derivation in Sanskrit or meaning so far. It seems most probable that it is an adaptation in Sanskrit from the term Śaḷukku of Tamil, a petty chief, usually chief not of a settled country but of a country which is in need of a settled organisation. It cannot be an accidental coincidence. The flag of the imperial Châḷukyas was the boar, the habitual emblem of the rulers of these comparatively barren and unsettled territories. The name may have been derived from such petty chieftains and the early dynasty that became heir to the title might have been of a different ethnic group. It is not unlikely therefore that the boar flag and the boar seals, etc., had something of a totemistic significance in them. That they were Agnikula chieftains has in support of it, not only Kapilar's reference to the Irungovêḷ chieftain of that locality, but is also found referred to in the name of the father of the early Sâtavâhana queen Nâganika. He is described as *Angiyakulavadano,* which Professor Rapson attempted to render 'of the family of the Angas' (Champa or Bhagalpur on the Ganges). But the term seems really to stand for *Agneyakulavardhana,* which simply means the up-raiser of the prosperity of the family of the fire-born. There is a large class of people called Vanniyans or Pallis widely spread in South India, who seem to have been the early occupants of the country and their name has some connection with the Agnikula, the term '*vanni*' being only another name for Agni (fire).

Mr. Venkatrama Ayyar's use of Kanarese words and place names leaves something to be desired. For instance what is written 'nelavîḍu' would be better if written '*nilaivîḍu*' in Tamil, the meaning being the same, the place of residence. But what is objectionable in the way that he writes it is, it is not 'Nela' in Kanarese but '*nelĕ*.' The place name Gadag is written in Tamil Kaṭak which is likely to lead to misunderstanding. So Aṇṇigere is written Aṇṇigêr; similarly, Puligere, etc. The place name written 'Santalij' in Tamil ought to be written 'Sântaḷigê', and so on. 'Âḷupa' is rendered 'Âlupa' or 'Âlupi' which is unjustifiable. 'Adiyama' and 'Aśugi' would be better as 'Adiyama' and 'Achchugi.' In regard to certain of the offices Mr. Venkatrama Ayyar writes 'Ayuktaka' which ought to be 'Âyuktaka,' and in regard to three other offices he writes them as Nâlakavunḍan and then Nûrakavunḍan and Manneyan, which ought to be Nâḷgâmunḍan or Nal-gâvunḍan, ûrgâvunḍan or the headman of the town, and Manneya, the chief or the governor of a fort. There is another expression *Ambali* which, I think, is properly *Umbali,* meaning maintenance.

Notwithstanding these little slips, which we hope would be corrected in the next edition, the little book is a welcome addition to the historical literature in Tamil of an important period. Its utility is enhanced by the addition of a map, which is a good enough one but we notice some bad blunders in it. The Chôla capital Gangaikonda Chôlapuram is shown on the south banks of the Kaveri, and we believe too far into the interior for the scale adopted. Kânchi is marked as if it were on the sea-coast. The former is about three miles north of the Coleroon, which is the northern arm of the Kaveri and is about 15 miles from the Kaveri. Kânchi is about 40 miles interior. Koppam is marked on the lower course of the Krishna in the Madras Presidency, whereas it is actually a few miles to the south-east of Kolhapur and belongs to the Southern Mahratta country. We commend the book none the less as a useful addition to the literature of the period.

S. K. AIYANGAR.

THE DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI, translated from the Tamil by order of the Government of Madras; edited by H. DODWELL. Vol. VIII. Government Press, Madras, 1922.

The latest instalment of this well-known and important record covers the period from May, 1751 to December, 1753, during which the successes of the French in South India, which had aroused Dupleix's ambitions, were counteracted by Clive's capture of Arcot and the loss of Trichinopoly. A useful sketch of the progress of events during this period is given in the Intro-

duction, and excellent footnotes illuminate the pages of the actual diary. From the record of Dupleix's *dubash* one obtains many a sidelight upon the difficulties confronting the Governor of Pondicherry, and upon his incurable addiction to intrigue. His personal vanity also is illustrated in more than one entry; and Mr. Dodwell includes injudicious nepotism also among the causes which contributed to ruin his ambitious schemes. There is no doubt that Dupleix failed chiefly because he could not adjust the measure of his grand schemes to that of his limited resources and because he was far too ready to use the disreputable trickery practised by the decadent Indian princes of his time.

The diary proves that the Maratha cavalry fully lived up to the reputation which they acquired in other parts of India, for nearly every reference to them speaks of their wholesale plundering of villages. Other interesting entries are concerned with the dominant influence of Madame Dupleix and the escape of Hasan-ud-dîn Khân from Fort St. David, which is reminiscent of Shivâji's famous escape from Agra. The influence of Madame Dupleix, the Portuguese half-caste, had apparently superseded that of Ananda Pillai to a large extent during the period covered by this volume. We read of her dealing direct with vakils in reference to money matters and issuing orders for the interception and censoring of letters. But perhaps her most amazing *tour-de force* was the forcible baptism of Muttâyan, brother of Dupleix's writer, Ranga Pillai, while he was on his death-bed. The diary describes her going to the dying man's house, driving away the relatives and others who were present, and then saying "*mantrams*" over him and anointing him with oil. Ranga Pillai, in an agony of fear and anger, rushed to Dupleix, fell at his feet and begged him to put a stop to Madame Dupleix's outrageous conduct. All he received in reply was a threat of beating. The dying man was then removed by Madame's orders to the house of a Christian, where he expired; and the final scene depicts this bigoted and intriguing woman, with a military guard round her, placing the corpse in an ivory palanquin and accompanying it to the Christian cemetery with acolytes bearing tapers, Roman Catholic priests reading from the Scriptures, sacred music and a *feu-de-joie* of crackers! This astonishing action, with which, be it noted, no respectable Christian priest in Pondicherry would have anything to do, must have shaken Hindu society in that town to its foundations. Volume VIII is a worthy companion to the previous issues of the Hindu agent's diary.

S. M. EDWARDES.

A STUDY OF CASTE. By P. LAKSHMI NARASU. K. V. Raghavulu, Mint Street, Madras, 1922.

This essay which fills one hundred and sixty pages of fairly small print is for the most part an exposure of the merciless character of the Indian caste-system and a plea for its abolition. At the same time the author, who has evidently read widely and thought deeply, traces the history of the system from the earliest ages and contrasts its effects upon Indian society with the progress achieved by those who follow other systems of religion and sociology. "Mutual repulsion, hierarchical organization, and hereditary specialization," he writes, "are the three main characteristics of Caste," and he proceeds to show that, while on the one hand it is directly responsible for such questionable customs as those of child-marriage and the prohibition of widow-remarriage, it has also exercised, and still exercises, a most disastrous influence upon national politics, national education, national intellectuality and national eugenics. Caste, according to the author, had its origin in magic and metaphysics: it crushes the individual under its dead weight, and hinders progress by killing all consciousness of liberty. So long as caste endures, India can never advance along the true path to responsible government and can never develop a real sense of national patriotism. Reading these severe strictures on the salient feature of Hinduism, one cannot help recalling to mind the pious hope expressed in the Report on Indian Constitutional Reform that the ballot-boxes and the hustings of the new era would tend to soften the asperities of the Caste system. If we are to believe Mr. Narasu—and his well-written treatise demands perusal by all who interest themselves in India—nothing short of the complete abolition of Caste and the radical extirpation of all religion based on caste, will enable the millions of India to weld themselves into a cultured and united nation. Pessimistic as this view is, we fear that it contains more than an element of truth, and that India may be unable to achieve the political and social progress that she so greatly desires, until she has cast aside the priestly heritage of the dead centuries and found her own soul. Mr. Narasu puts the point more plainly. "Priest-ridden, *karma*-obsessed and *maya*-enslaved mentality is the source of all the miseries under which the Hindus are groaning. Spiritual slavery, fatalism and superstition have smothered all power of self-reliance and all sense of freedom." Caste is responsible for this degradation of spirit, and caste must therefore disappear, if India is ever to leave the valley and scale the heights that guard the Promised Land.

S. M. EDWARDES.

VEDIC ANTIQUITIES. BY G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL. Luzac and Co., London, and Modern Press, Pondicherry, 1922.

Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil's work hardly requires an introduction to antiquarian circles: for his researches in South Indian antiquities are already widely appreciated. This modest little brochure of 29 pages deals with his discovery of the rock-cut tombs in Malabar (Kerala) which, as he explains, are exactly similar in their main features to the tombs of the Vedic Aryans. The Vedic tomb was merely a reproduction of the hemispherical hut of an Aryan chief—"a hollow stupa" made of timber and covered with clay; and the chief ceremony performed in it by the Aryans of the Vedic age was the fire-sacrifice, which necessitated the presence of some sort of chimney to carry off the smoke of the offerings. Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil's personal examination of the laterite caves of Malabar proves that they were furnished with "chimneys," as well as with other stereotyped features of the Vedic tomb; and this coupled with the fact that the traditional land-owners of Kerala are Arya Brahmanars (Nambudiri Brahmans) who perform the *Soma* and *Agni* sacrifices, leads to his main conclusion that Malabar in prehistoric ages was directly colonised by Aryans from the north of India. A very interesting little book.

S. M. EDWARDES.

SRI HARSHA OF KANAUJ. By K. M. PANIKKAR, B.A. (Oxon.); pp. iii, 82. Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala and Sons, 1922.

This is in reality more than a brief history of Sri Harsha. It is, as the sub-title says, "a monograph on the history of India in the first half of the 7th century A.D.," and as such it is a good book and well worth reading. Professor Panikkar starts with a capital *résumé* of the political condition in the 6th century A.D., and he is perhaps right in saying of the great ruler of that time. Yasodharman, that it is not known who he was, though there have been several people who have tried to hunt him down. At any rate in Yasodharman we have a character who is quite worth some such monograph as that under review. Perhaps Professor Panikkar may try his hand. The great religious point of that century which the writer makes is the breakdown of Buddhism before Brahmanism "in spite of the patronage of the great Emperor Harsha himself."

This short account is followed by the political history of Sri Harsha's reign for which, besides Bana, there is a good deal recorded in inscriptions, which has all been searched by Professor Panikkar and well set out. In fact to my mind the account put together by him is a good example of how such things ought to be done. There is only one point, and that in a footnote to p. 25, as to which Professor Panikkar may alter his mind when this little book finds a successor: "the origin of the Pallava family is obscure." Late research in this *Journal* points to an origin in Ceylon. The last remark on Harsha is arresting: "Harsha seems to have been unmarried, and in any case it is certain that he left no issue behind him." The first of these statements seems a little too modern in form for the 7th century A.D., and one would like to know if "unmarried" men at that time were at all known. The fact that both Yasodharman of the 6th century and Harsha of the 7th century left no successors is of itself remarkable. They were the last of the two 'general' rulers of their period, and the circumstance of both being childless or at any rate successorless has had so great an effect on Indian history that one would like to know all about their immediate followers, if that were possible.

The remaining short chapters of the book,—on 'Harsha the King,' 'Harsha the Poet,' and the social conditions of his time, are well put together and make excellent reading for the youth of the Bombay University. Finally the book winds up with a fine note on Bana's *Harsha Charita* and the other material available for a study of Harsha's life.

R. C. TEMPLE.

SÂRNÂTH-KÂ-ITIHÂSA. BY MR. BRINDABANACHANDRA BHATTACHARYA, M.A., M.R.S.G.S. Jñânamaṇḍal Press. Kashi. Samvat 1979.

This book is a translation in Hindi of Mr. Bhattacharya's *Sachitra Sârnâther Itihâsa* in the Bengali language which was published a few years ago. The need of a Hindi Guide to these ruins was greatly felt for a long time and Mr. Bhattacharya's book will, therefore, be welcomed by the Hindi-reading public. It would, however, have been more useful, if greater care had been exercised in its preparation. As it is, the printing leaves much to be desired, and the misprints and omissions make the author's meaning often doubtful. The value of this otherwise interesting book is further vitiated by numerous mistakes and mis-statements, and the author frequently finds fault with previous writers on Sârnâth, where he is himself obviously in error. The following notes are offered in a purely scientific spirit, merely to draw Mr. Bhattacharya's attention to such matters in his book as require correction or improvement, and to enable him to remedy them in the future editions of his book. Such points are dealt with, for convenience, *seriatim*.

Page 8, List of Contents, etc.—"Dhâmek Stûpa." The correct pronunciation is Dhamekh Stûpa in accordance with the original Sanskrit name Dharmekshâ. Similarly the spelling Buddha Gayâ in Mr. Bhattacharya's book should be corrected to Bodh Gayâ, conformably with the ancient Sanskrit name Bodhi Gayâ.

Page 24, *para.* 2.—Mr. Bhattacharya complains that no European or Indian archæologist has tried to explain when and how the modern name Sârnâth came to be associated with this place. This is not correct, for the point has been fully discussed by General Cunningham in his *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. I, p. 105, and repeated in Mr. Oertel's article and in my *Guide to the Buddhist Ruins of Sârnâth*, p. 2.

Page 29.—When the *Sârnâth Catalogue* and the *Guide to the Buddhiet Ruins at Sârnâth*, were published, the exact purpose of the Aśoka railing unearthed by Mr. Oertel in the southern chapel of the Main Shrine was not known. It was tentatively suggested that the railing might originally have surrounded some sacred spot at Sârnâth or possibly the Aśoka Pillar itself. Mr. Bhattacharya prefers the latter suggestion. It is, however, now evident that like the *stûpas* restored by Sir John Marshall at Sâñchî, the Dharmarâjikâ Stûpa (Jagatsingh Stûpa) at Sârnâth was also provided at the top with a *harmikâ* balustrade and that the railing brought to light by Mr. Oertel is the one which originally surmounted the *stûpa* referred to.

Page 36.—Mr. Bhattacharya states that no inscriptions of the reign of any other Gupta king than Kumâragupta II have so far been found at Sârnâth. This requires correction, for out of the three Gupta inscriptions carved on Buddha images, discovered by Mr. Hargreaves in 1914-15. two, both dated in the year 157 of the Gupta era, belong to the reign of Budhagupta (*vide* Director-General of Archæology's *Annual Report* for 1914-15, Part II. pp. 124-5, Inscriptions Nos. XVI and XVII).

Page 59.—*For* D (*c*) 8, *read* D (*l*) 8.

Page 61.—In lines 14 ff., we read that "in the end of the 13th century" queen Kumaradevi had an inscription engraved to record the restoration of a Buddha image of the time of Aśoka at Sârnâth. The words placed between the inverted commas should be corrected to "in the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century of the Vikrama era." The latest date known for Govindchandra (A.D. 1114—1154), husband of Kumaradevî, is 1211 of the Vikrama Samvat. It is highly improbable that this queen should have survived her husband so long as to have been living in the end of the 13th century V.S.

Page 69, *l.* 1.—*For* B (c.) *read* B (*c*) 1.

Page 77, *para* 1.—This para. is devoted to the description of an image (No. B*b* 175) representing the temptation of Gautama Śâkyamuni by the Evil One (Mâra). Mr. Bhattacharya describes it as still standing to the east of the Main Shrine, but the visitor using this Hindi Guide will in vain search for it in the area indicated. Having been unearthed in 1904-05 by Mr. Oertel, it was first deposited along with other sculptures in the Sculpture Shed to the west of the Jain temple and transferred to the main Archæological Museum at Sârnâth in 1911 where it is exhibited in the Central Hall against the west wall. The description given by Mr. Bhattacharya is also incomplete as it leaves the figures in the relief on the base unidentified. Correct information about them is given in the *Catalogue* of the Museum of Archæology p. 67, No. B (*b*) 175. Mr. Bhattacharya is also wrong in stating that the back of this sculpture bears six *chaityas* sketched in three tiers. In reality there are eight *chaityas* arranged in only two rows.

P. 77, *l.* 24—25.—Here we are i formed that the monolithic railing disclosed in the southern chapel of the Main Shrine is engraved with "two or three letters" which baffle decipherment. This railing. indeed, bears two short inscriptions engraved, one completely and the other only partially, by the priests of the Sarvâstivâdi sect of Buddhists in the 3rd or 4th century A.D. Both these inscriptions have been deciphered and published in the *Annual Report*, of the Director-General of Archæology in India for 1904-05, Part II, p. 68 and for 1906—07, p. 96, No. IV. There is no other writing on the visible portion of this railing, which has not yet been deciphered.

P. 78, *ll* 20-23.—These lines inform us that in view of the inscription engraved on the back of the Bodhisattva statue (B*a* 1), Dr. Vogel has expressed the opinion that. at the time when this image was installed, it was not the custom "to erect statues against the walls of the temples." What Dr. Vogel does say in his *Annual Report* for 1904-05, p. 47 (not 57 as quoted) is: "It is noticeable that the image is also carved on the back, which indicates that it stood detached and not inside a shrine or against the wall of some building. I presume that the first Buddhist images were erected in the open with umbrellas over them," etc.

P. 79, *ll.* 16 *ff.*—"Like other Aśoka Pillars this pillar (the Sârnâth Aśoka Pillar) is also crowned with 'four lions.'" It is by no means the rule. Only one other Aśoka Pillar, namely the one at Sâñchî. is known to have four lions. Other Aśoka pillars bear a single lion, or elephant or bull.

P. 80, *ll.* 21-22.—*For* B (6) 73, *read* B (*b*) 173, Mr. Bhattacharya is so convinced of this tiny image having been a gift of the Mahârâja Kumâragupta II, that he emphatically mentions this opinion at p. 39 and 98 also of his book. It is true that Dr. Konow mentioned this as a possibility, but I agree with Dr. Vogel that the absence of any titles before the name of Kumâragupta in the inscription on this image and the insignificant character of the gift militate against such an assumption.

P. 80, *l.* 23.—*For* B (6) 79, *read* B (*b*) 179.

P. 86.—Referring to the four animals carved on the abacus of the Aśoka Capital, Mr. Bhattacharya remarks that he accepts the late Dr. Bloch's view

that they are meant to demonstrate the subordination of the Hindu gods, whose vehicles they are, to the founder of Buddhism. He himself further suggests that these animals are shown in motion to signify that the Buddhist doctrine will continue to flourish as long as animals of these species exist on the earth. The real purpose of the circular member of the capital and the animals carved on it appears to be to illustrate the Anotatta lake. (Vide *Guide to the Buddhist Ruins at Sarnath*, 3rd edition.)

P. 88, *para.* 2.—In this paragraph Mr. Bhattacharya criticises the view of European archæologists that the Buddha image was created by the Greco-Buddhist artists after the appearance of the Mahâyâna sect of the Buddhists. He seeks to prove that images of the Buddha were made in India by Indian sculptors several centuries before Christ on the evidence of the inscription (D *l.* 9) of Kumaradevî, queen of Govindachandra of Kanauj, which states that this lady had an image of the Buddha at Sârnâth restored in accordance with the way in which it existed in the days of Dharmâśoka. He adds that unless this queen told a deliberate lie, we must accept the existence of Buddha images in ancient times, for why were the artists who produced the fine Aśoka capital and the magnificent sculptures of Sâñchî incapable of making images of the Buddha? Of course Mr. Bhattacharya himself knows of no Buddha images of an earlier date than those of Gandhâra as actually existing anywhere. I agree with Mr. Bhattacharya that Kumaradevî had no object in recording a falsehood or deceiving the future generations. It was, however, a case of misunderstanding or vague and wrong information. The inscription of Kumaradevî, on whose evidence Mr. Bhattacharya solely relies, is fully fourteen centuries later than the time of Aśoka. Kumaradevî was no trained archæologist. She saw the principal image of the Master at Sârnâth, which, owing to the ignorance of the priests in charge or to their desire to impress her with its high antiquity, was described to be as ancient as the famous patron of the Buddhist Church. As a true believer and pious votary she accepted the information as correct and the poet who composed the inscription mentioned it as a fact. In this connection it is interesting to be able to cite the parallel cases of Hiuen Thsang, who habitually refers monuments of a later date to Aśoka, or the church on St. Thomas' Mount at Madras where an inferior copy of a Renaissance Madonna is pointed out still as the work of St. Thomas with every desire for truth and certainty with no intention of guile.

Page 89, *para.* 3.—This paragraph is meant to continue the description of the Aśoka railing at Sârnâth from the preceding paragraph. Here we are informed that the railing is polished in the same way as the railings at Sâñchî and Bharhut. It will be observed, however, that the railing from Bharhut, now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, is fashioned in a different variety of stone and bears no polish. The large balustrade which surrounds the main *stûpa* at Sâñchî is also not polished like the products of Aśokan craftsmen. Nor is it correct to say, as Mr. Bhattacharya does, that the Aśoka railing unearthed in the southern chapel of the Main Shrine at Sârnâth is inscribed with short votive records of donors, like the railings at Bharhut and Sâñchî; for no such records have been noticed on the visible portion of the Sârnâth railing. The two inscriptions containing the name of the Sarvâstivâdin sect which do exist on this railing merely record the fact of the railing being in the possession of the above sect. Mr. Bhattacharya appears to have been led into this error by a supposition that the short inscription containing the name of the nun *Saṁvahikâ* occurs on the Aśoka railing. In reality this inscription is engraved on a stone (No. Da 39 in the Museum at Sârnâth) which belonged to an altogether separate railing, of a later date, part of which has survived on the outside wall of the rectangular walled court immediately to the east of the Main Shrine.

P. 90, *l.* 3.—*For* D (9) 4, *read* D (*g*) 4.

P. 92, *last para.*—The red stone colossal statue (No. Ba 1 in the Sârnâth Museum) shows a miniature figure of a lion standing between the feet of the statue and Dr. Vogel suggested that the figure was meant to distinguish the statue as one of the Śâkyasiṁha Gautama before his enlightenment. Mr. Bhattacharya rejects this view, as he is unable to understand why the symbol of "the Lion of the Śâkya race" should have been represented *under* the feet of the statue. He is, therefore, of opinion that the figure of the lion in question must have been intended to symbolise something else, that is not known to him. This point seems to need no further comment, because presumably Mr. Bhattacharya's difficulty is due to his reading *under* instead of *between* the feet of the statue.

P. 103. B (*d*) 2.—In my *Catalogue of the Museum of Archæology at Sarnath*, I have, following Dr. Vogel, identified this image *tentatively* as one of the Bodhisattva Maitreya. Mr. Bhattacharya rejects this view because images of Maitreya, according to his Dhyâna, ought to have three eyes, four arms and the posture of preaching, whereas this image has only two eyes and two arms and is represented in the gift—bestowing attitude (*varamudrâ*). For these reasons and on account of the Dhyâni-Buddha in the forehead of the Bodhisattva and what he believes to be a lotus stalk in his left hand, Mr. Bhattacharya is inclined to identify this image with the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

It would have been unnecessary for me to answer Mr. Bhattacharya's objections on this point, if he had given in his book all the characteristics of Maitreya enumerated in the *sâdhana* of this deity, as quoted in M. A. Foucher's *Etude sur*

L' iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde, 1905, page 48. For, if we read the *sâdhana* with care we find that the form of Maitreya, enjoined in the text for meditation, is a three-faced, three-eyed and four-armed deity who makes the gesture of teaching (*vyâkhyâna*) with one pair of his hands, while the right hand of the remaining pair has the gift bestowing attitude, and the left hand holds a sprout of the Nâgakeśara flower. Mr. Bhattacharya overlooks the *vara-mudrâ*, and makes its absence in the sculpture under discussion a ground against its being an image of Maitreya. The statues of Maitreya noticed in the Gangetic plains, including, Magadha have only two arms, and the sculptors who made them preferred the *vara-mudrâ* which could be made with a single hand and left the other hand free to hold the prescribed flower. An image of this type from Magadha is illustrated in M. A. Foucher's *Iconographie Bouddhique*, 1900, page 112, fig. 14. In Gandhâra, too, Maitreya images have only two arms, but the right hand is raised in the *abhaya-mudrâ*, presumably because the postures of the various Bodhisattvas had not yet become definitely fixed in that period.

There is, however, further evidence in support of the identification proposed in my catalogue. A useful criterion for determining the identity of the Bodhisattvas at Sârnâth is the effigy of the Dhyâni-Buddha, which is almost invariably depicted in the crown or the hair of the Bodhisattva images. The Dhyâni-Buddha of Maitreya is Amoghasiddhi, whose characteristic attitude is the *abhaya-mudrâ*, and a miniature figure of this deity is clearly exhibited in the hair of the image in question (vide *Archæological Survey of India Annual Report*, for 1904-05, part II, Pl. XXVIII, Fig. *d*). It is true that the right forearm of the Dhyâni-Buddha is damaged, but what remains leaves no doubt as to the right hand having been raised to the shoulder in the posture of granting security. Mr. Bhattacharya does not appear to be ignorant of the importance of this feature, for he himself describes, ten lines higher up in his book, the effigy of the Dhyâni-Buddha Amitâbha as the principal cognizance (*pradhâna chihna*) of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (B*d* 1). It will thus be seen that the identification of this image (B*d* 2) as one of Maitreya rests on good reasons, and that it certainly cannot be a representation of Avalokiteśvara as proposed by Mr. Bhattacharya.

P. 105. *B* (c) 1.—This is the pedestal of a statue of the Buddha preaching his first sermon, with the well-known Sanskrit inscription recording the restoration of some of the monuments of Sàrnâth in the reign of the king Mahipàla of Bengal in the year Saṁvat 1083. The relief on the base shows the Wheel of the Law with a deer, a lion and an Atlante on either side. Between the two deer and the wheel we further notice two symbols which in the *Catalogue of the Museum of Archæology at Sarnath* have been correctly described as thunderbolts (*vajra*), possibly to symbolize the Adamantine throne, seated on which Gautama-Buddha attained supreme wisdom. Mr. Bhattacharya, however, considers these symbols to be two dwarfish men and identifies them as Mâra and one of his daughters.

P. 107, *ll.* 1 *and* 2.—In his description of the image of Avalokiteśvara, B (*d*) 8, Mr. Bhattacharya informs us that on the forehead of the figure in front of the headdress conformably with the Buddhist canon, "there is an effigy of Amitâbha together with Dhyâni-Buddhas." The meaning of this remark is not clear, for what we really find is a miniature figure of Amitâbha in the headdress and a separate single Bodhisattva figure seated in *vara-mudrâ* on the proper right side of the halo of the central image.

P. 107.—*For* B (*b*) 17, *read* B (*d*) 17.

P. 107, *footnote* 28.—In this footnote Mr. Bhattacharya represents me as having stated in a footnote at p. 126 of my *Catalogue of the Museum of Archœology at Sârnâth* that *image No.* 19 *from Magadha now deposited in the Calcutta Museum* is similar to the image of the Bodhisattva Vajrasattva B (*d*) 20 in the Sârnâth Museum. Mr. Bhattacharya adds that he is unable to trace the Magadha image in question in the *Catalogue of the Calcutta Museum*. The footnote in my *Catalogue* referred to runs as follows:—"2 Cf. Foucher *Iconographie Bouddhique*, edition of 1900, Pl. VI, 6; also image from Magadha now in Calcutta Museum in fig. 19 on p. 122." The image in question is indeed illustrated in M. Foucher's book named in the footnote "in fig. 19 on p. 122" as stated in the *Sarnath Catalogue*.

Pp. 114–117.—These pages are devoted to a criticism of Dr. Vogel's view expressed at p. 24 of his introduction to my *Catalogue of the Museum of Archæology at Sârnâth*, which of course is shared by other archæologists, that "It is very curious how in this manner the Indian sculptors, after having adopted from their Græco-Bactrian brethren a division of various scenes in clearly partitioned panels, gradually reverted to the primitive method of the earliest school, namely, that of crowding a number of consecutive scenes in one panel." Dr. Vogel illustrates his remark by a reference to the fragmentary stele No. C (*a*) 2 (Pl. XX of *Sârnâth Catalogue*) where the lowermost panel, for instance, shows, besides the nativity of the Buddha, the conception (Mâyâ's dream) with the Bodhisattva descending in the form of an elephant and the first bath ministered by the two Nâgas. Mr. Bhattacharya rejects this view and informs us that Dr. Vogel failed to understand the chronology of the reliefs delineating the life of the Buddha. He himself considers the Sârnâth steles, which in some

cases delineate the scenes in clearly divided panels, while in others they represent more than one event in one and the same panel, as marking a transitional stage of development between the Jâtaka reliefs on the Sâñchî *stûpa*, where there is no division at all of separate events on the one hand, and the Gandhâra reliefs on the other, where obviously he meant to convey there is no trace of the primitive practice, each independent scene being exhibited in a separate compartment. Mr. Bhattacharya, therefore, "concludes that the Gandhâra reliefs of this kind are copied from the steles of Sârnâth and that the Mathurâ reliefs represent an intermediate stage between the Sârnâth and Gandhâra representations." In the present advanced state of our knowledge of the sculptural art of India it appears scarcely necessary to offer any detailed comment on such a belated theory. The sole foundation of Mr. Bhattacharya's conclusion is his belief that the Sârnâth steles are anterior to the early Gandhâra sculptures. The following paragraph will show the untenability of this view.

Pp. 117-119. *C* (*a*) 1.—This stele representing the four main events from the life of the Buddha has in the *Sârnâth Catalogue* been assigned to the 5th century A.D. Mr. Bhattacharya believes the sculpture to be earlier than the Gandhâra reliefs of this kind in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. His reasons are these :—(1) the latter represent a maturer execution of the subjects portrayed than the Sârnâth reliefs, and (2) that the Gandhâra sculptures delineate, besides the main events, others which are absent in the Sârnâth slabs, as for example the seven steps of the infant Bodhisattva by the side of the birth scene. As regards Mr. Bhattacharya's first argument, it is sufficient to observe that the closest examination of the reliefs illustrating the career of the Buddha at Sârnâth fails to reveal any difference in artistic treatment between them and several hundreds of other sculptures in authentic Gupta style, some of which bear contemporary inscriptions dated in the Gupta era. Nor does the second argument carry any greater weight, for though the scene of taking the seven steps is missing in all the five steles (*Ca* 1—5) in the Sârnâth Museum, its place is taken by the First Bath and the other events are as detailed in treatment as then seemed necessary. The absence at Sârnâth, as also at Mathurâ, of many of the less important events and Jâtaka stories that are so abundant in Gandhâra is, however, an admitted fact and was due to the sculptors of the Gangetic regions having chosen only the main events for portrayal.

Mr. Bhattacharya takes the author of the *Sârnâth Catalogue* to task for assigning this slab to the Gupta period without giving any reasons. The Gupta inscription containing the Buddhist formula *ye dharmâ* etc. cut on the back of the sculpture proves nothing, because the same formula is found engraved on the sculptures of different periods, and the old practice of engraving inscriptions in later periods on the same sculpture is well known. Mr. Bhattacharya would have accepted the existing epigraph on C (*a*) 1 as evidence of its date, had it contained the name of the actual donor of the sculpture Now though none of the five steles (*Ca* 1—5) in the Sârnâth Museum bears such an inscription, it is fortunate that we can remind the critic of four steles in exactly the same style, which were found at Sârnâth itself by General Cunningham in 1835-36 and are now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. One of these reliefs bears an inscription in typical Gupta characters and clearly supplies the information insisted on by Mr. Bhattacharya ; for it states that this image of the Teacher (Śâstṛi) was caused to be made by a certain Harigupta (Cunningham, *A.S.R.,* vol. I, p. 123 and Pl. XXXIV, 4). It may be hoped that Mr. Bhattacharya will now be convinced of his error.

P. 120, *footnote* 44.—The author of the *Sârnâth Catalogue* is charged with lack of consistency, for while he correctly identifies the two figures depicted on the base of B (*b*) 181 alongside of the first five disciples as the two donors of that sculpture, he describes a similar figure in *C*(*a*)1, as having been added for the sake of symmetry. Mr. Bhattacharya will, however, note that the possibility of the figure in the latter sculpture also being a donor is not denied. Then where does inconsistency come in ?

P. 120, *ll.* 14—16.—Mr. Bhattacharya finds yet another error in my description of C (*a*) 1 in the *Sârnâth Catalogue*, for he says that behind the dying Buddha there are five figures of mourners, whereas by a mistake I make out only four If Mr. Bhattacharya will read with care the *Sârnâth Catalogue*, p. 185, ll. 23-27, he will find that I have actually described six figures (neither four nor five), namely, four ordinary mourners and two dryads or tree spirits which are issuing from the foliage of the twin *sâḷa* trees under which the Buddha attained *Parinirvâṇa*.

P. 133, *l.* 4.—*For* 'Sâñchî', *read* 'Maski.'

Pp. 141-142. D (*a*) 14 and 16.—These two railing pillars contain the following two inscriptions :—*Sihaye sâhi Jamteyikâye thabho* and [*Bha*]*riniye sahaṁ Jateyikâ*[*ye thabho dânaṁ*] which have been translated (*Sârnâth Catalogue*, pp. 210 and 211) as "The pillar (is the gift) of Jamteyikâ with Sihâ" and "[This pillar is the gift] of Jateyikâ together with Bharinî." Mr. Bhattacharya approves of and quotes the translation of the second inscription. In the first inscription, however, he considers the rendering given in the *Sârnâth Catalogue* as incorrect, and he himself proposes to interpret the words *Sihaye sâhi* as the title "*Shâhan shâhî*" and to suggest that the donor named here was a male inhabitant of Persia. It appears to me that Mr. Bhattacharya has fallen into this error on account

of the somewhat different form of the preposition *sâhi* in this epigraph. He also appears to be unaware of the fact that *Sîhâ* (Sanskrit *Siṁhâ*) as the name of a nun or laywoman is very frequently met with in early Prâkṛit inscriptions ; *cf.* for example, Sâñchi inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 112, Inscription No. 18 ; p. 379, No. 212 ; and p. 394, No. 358.

P. 152, *ll.* 2-4.—Mr. Bhattacharya states that "as the inscription of Kumâragupta recently found at Sârnâth has not yet been published for the general public, it is not noticed in his book." The Hindi Guide being reviewed in these notes was published in Vikrama Saṁvat 1979, *i.e.*, only a few months ago, and all the three inscriptions of Kumâragupta and Budhagupta excavated by Mr. Hargreaves in 1914-15 were duly published by the explorer in the Director-General of Archæology's *Annual Report* for 1914-15, Pt. II, and discussed at greater length by Mr. Panna Lall, I.C.S., in his paper, "The dates of Skandagupta and his successors" in the *Hindustan Review* for January 1918.

P. 152, *ll.* 15-18.—The text of the inscription on D (*f*) 59 quoted by Mr. Bhattacharya contains several mistakes.

DAYA RAM SAHNI.

A NEW AND CRITICAL EDITION OF THE MAHÂBHÂRATA.

It is almost five years since the Bandharkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona, following the lead given by the talented and liberal minded nobleman of Bombay, the Pant Prathinidhi of Aundh, undertook an All-India critical edition of the *Mahâbhârata*. An edition of the *Mahâbhârata* is, on the face of it, a very large venture, and the undertaking by the Institute of its publication in a critical edition must have appeared to people at the time a bold venture on the part of the Institute, having regard to all the implications of a scheme of that magnitude. It is matter for great gratification that a large scheme like that should have been put in hand, and earnestly and enthusiastically carried so far forward as to give us a tentative edition of the *Virâtaparvan* on lines of modern criticism acceptable to Oriental Scholars, Eastern and Western. It is almost a quarter of a century since an edition of *Mahâbhârata* was projected in Europe and that on closer examination limited itself to an edition only of the southern recension of the great work, and even so the advance that has been made is, for very satisfactory reasons, undoubtedly not much although it was feared at the time that this project was being discussed whether the two schemes would not prove to be a needless duplication of resources. As far as it is known at present, the need for an authoritative southern recension has not ceased to be of force. But at the same time having regard to the magnitude of the work and the resources, material and mental, that it necessarily calls forth for its successful completion, it would be a great pity if at this stage anything should come in the way of gathering all the resources together with a view to a single edition, leaving the question of an authoritative southern recension aside for the while. There seems to be good prospect of such a combination of the two projects, and we hope that this would come about and accelerate the pace of work, so that this vast enterprise may reach its completion, while those engaged in the work are yet alive and active. It is therefore matter for special gratification that the work should have advanced so far satisfactorily that we have before us an edition, tentative though it be, of one *parvan* at least, so that those interested may know how exactly the work is being carried on, and as giving an earnest of the possible completion of the work to those who exhibited their sympathy for the enterprise by substantial grants of money for the work.

The *Mahâbhârata* is a work, as is well-known, which in some recensions runs to 125,000 verses and in others, which perhaps may be regarded as closer to the original, to more than 85,000 verses, without the Harivaṁśa. It is available in something like 1,200 manuscripts, which have all to be collected and collated before anything like an edition of an authoritative character could be attempted. All the 1,200 manuscripts are not all of them complete, and being in parts reduces a great deal the magnitude of numbers. Even so we get to an average of about 64 for each separate *parvan* of the work. The part of the work before us is based on more than half a dozen published editions and 16 manuscripts, of which 12 are classed as containing the northern version, and 4 the southern, of which one is in Grantha characters with its provenance chiefly in the Tamil country, one in Telugu and two in Malayâlam characters. Of the twelve northern manuscripts, one is in Bengalee and the remaining eleven in Old and New Nâgari, having come from various localities, so that the number of manuscripts though small is of wide geographical distribution and is of a very representative character. The earliest of these manuscripts go down to the days of the Vijayanagar Emperor Dêvarâya II, or about 500 years since, and are based entirely upon material far older still. These manuscripts fall into separate well-defined groups and are actually arranged in ten groups by the editor. With this variety of texts both published and manuscript before him the editor's work becomes somewhat difficult and puzzling unless he could proceed on a definite principle in regard to the choice of the texts. The supreme need in such cases is the recovery of the texts as used by a commentator of standing and reputation or something similar.

[illegible] compared [illegible] regarded [illegible] the [l]atest is Nilkanta [illegible] commentator Arjunamiśra [illegible] for regarding the [illegible] Vishnu [illegible] being [illegible] The readings warranted [illegible] commentaries are included [illegible] stage in this work would [illegible] the oldest available manuscript [illegible] them. But happily for us we are able to carry the process on to a period far earlier than that.

[illegible] the *Virâṭaparvan* at any rate is concerned [illegible] provided with a welcome check by [illegible] the Javanese version of this *parvan* [illegible] the year A.D. 996, and this version [illegible] carefully edited and published by Juynboll [illegible] based entirely on the southern recension [illegible] we get a comparatively early date [illegible] thus making it clear that the southern [illegible] with the whole mass of its interpolations goes back to about A.D. 1000. This gives [illegible] chronological land-mark which we are [illegible] in respect of Indian literary works. [illegible] according to the editor, may warrant our [illegible] back the texts of the *Mahâbhârata* [illegible] form perhaps to the commencement [illegible] the Christian era. The position [illegible] supported by the fact that all the [illegible] uniformly state that [illegible] was composed of 67 chapters [illegible] the part of it that makes [illegible] known to the Mîmâṁsâ scholar Kumârila [illegible] whose date is about A.D. 700. A [illegible] of the texts seems to adjust them [illegible] computation of chapters and verses contained [illegible] *Mahâbhârata* itself. This can be carried [illegible] back as the editor points out by the [illegible] of Hertel, who has noted it in his edition [illegible] the *Pañchatantra*, that a Pahalvi translation [illegible] three chapters of the *Śântiparvan* was made in the reign of Khusru Nushirvan A.D. 531-7[illegible] This Persian version is now lost, but [a] Syriac translation of it exists and a comparison of this Syriac version with the three chapters [illegible] as it exists in the original [illegible] that the text was substantially the [illegible] the translation was executed. [illegible] be carried back to a period much [illegible] 500 for the text of the *Mahâbhârata* [illegible] form, if any [illegible] according to the editor [illegible]

[illegible] very interesting in this connection [illegible] possible to compare two Tamil versions [illegible] of the existence of which we have some [illegible] One of them is datable in the [illegible] A.D., or perhaps in the early ninth, [illegible] 12,000 stanzas in Tamil of which [illegible] exist [illegible] and this does not relate to the *Virâṭaparvan* at all so far. There seems good reason for believing that there was an earlier version of the *Mahâbhârata* which must go back [to] the third century A.D., and of which we have a part extant as it seems, and which is said to have been a deliberate version in Tamil of the Sanskrit *Mahâbhârata*. Although perhaps it is not likely that this work was a verse-to-verse translation, still if the manuscript of this work can be secured we may gain at least the broad lines of the original of the *Mahâbhârata*, but unfortunately we are denied this source of criticism of the existing texts.

Setting before himself therefore, the recovery of the text of the *Mahâbhârata* as the main object of the critical edition which contains no external interpolations, and which intrinsically approximates to the spirit and characteristics of the period to which by tradition, as corroborated by external evidence, the epic is generally assigned, the editor has achieved the task which may, having regard to all the circumstances, be regarded as eminently successful. The result achieved seems to bring the text of *Virâṭaparvan* to a fairly close correspondence to the text of the original edition when the *parvasangraha* chapter was added to it. This first critical edition of the *Mahâbhârata* is perhaps just as far as we can reach at present, and what that period actually is, is matter which may have to be settled after we have this full edition before us. It was already stated that in this particular case the recovery of the text used by the commentator would have been comparatively modern. Therefore the editor naturally has depended upon the manuscript sources which take us back to a time considerably anterior to the oldest known commentary. He has therefore pitched upon three of the manuscripts of the northern recension which have proved more reliable from many points of view than anything else that could be thought of. He finds that his manuscript authorities clear the confusion created by the interpolations, and give us a text which is perhaps as old as we can reach at present. Passing over the question whether the whole of the *Virâṭaparvan* is an interpolation with the remark that the arguments so far offered in support of the position that it is an interpolation are not satisfactory. These criticisms were based upon the existing editions, which lose a considerable part of their validity by the fact that the passages fixed upon as giving evidence of this character of the *parvan* drop away from the text on the standard of the manuscript criticism adopted by the editor. Anyway, that question will have to be considered finally when the whole of the edition is available for critical study. It may however be accepted without a doubt that the *Virâṭaparvan* editions contain interpolations

as other [illegible] etc. and the actual point for consideration is [illegible] the actual criterion of criticism for the [illegible] of these interpolations. A mere criticism [illegible] the test of ideas will not constitute a standard [illegible] individual opinions on matters like this, are likely to differ very widely indeed. Therefore the [illegible] perhaps, in the present state of study of the *Mahâbhârata*, critically the most acceptable course would be to reconstruct the text on the basis of the manuscripts. If this reconstruction brings us close to the enumeration in the *parvasangrahaparva*, we gain at least one step, and that a long step, forward in the recovery of the original text.

The *parvasangrahaparvan* gives, both the Nâgari and the Southern Recensions happen to be in agreement in giving, to the *Virâṭaparvan*, 67 *adhyâyas* and 2,050 verses. As against this, the two Nâgari editions give 72 *adhyâyas*, and 2,272 verses and 2,376 verses respectively. The most recent southern printed edition, that of Kumbhakonam, gives to it 78 *adhyâyas* and 3,494 verses, the Grantha edition giving 76 *adhyâyas* and 3,281½ verses, thus exhibiting a comparatively small difference in respect of chapters and verses as between the two southern editions. By adopting mainly the ordinary principles of manuscript criticism only, the editor has produced a text of 2,033 lines. The division of chapters is a matter perhaps of late arrangement, and actually is of less importance. Thus the difference between the total of verses according to the *parvasangrahaparva* and the tentative edition is that the former has 17 more verses. As against these 17, there are 35 half verses, which are all collected in an appendix on the authority of the manuscripts, most of which happen to be extra lines to the two line stanzas. If this could be taken as the equivalent of 17½ *ślokas* the total quantity comes up to be the same with a difference of [illegible] *śloka*. This ought to be regarded as a great success as the new text is vouched for by manuscript authority, and the critical tests applied are within very reasonable limits of individual opinion. According to the editor, "the passages which are now considered as interpolated on the evidence of the manuscripts are (1) mostly repetitions or (2) meaningless additions, (3) those which cannot be regarded as necessary to the texts by any cogent line of argument, (4) passages otherwise considered interpolated and which are absent in the southern recension, and (5) similar passages not found in the Bengali manuscripts." The *parvasangrahaparva* dating back to at least A.D. 500 and the manuscripts most relied on going back to the fifteenth century A.D., a mere manuscript [illegible] would justify the assumption that for [illegible] thousand years the manuscript tradition [illegible] to be handed down without m[illegible]. This position in regard to the manuscript tradition is confirmed by the fact that the passages which are, from the point of view of the manuscripts themselves, regarded as interpolated are uniformly omitted from the southern recension. While there is every possibility of additions being made for various reasons, anything like a curtailment, it would be difficult to prove if postulated. Comparing the reckoning as contained in the first chapter and the second chapter of the *Âdiparvan*, it is found that the second reckoning refers to a period when the *Mahâbhârata* was divided into 18 *parvans* while that of the first chapter refers perhaps to a period anterior to that. The concluding portion of the passage in the second chapter makes it absolutely clear, that the 18 *parvan* Bhârata was the edition of Lômaharsha, whereas the previous one was one of a hundred *parvans* by Vyâsa, though it is possible that the word *parvan* is not used in the same sense in the two contexts. The *parvasangraha* having continued the same in all the recensions, north and south, we have to accept it as the reckoning according to the original editor. It would seem however that there should have been vast additions, and at the same time the chapter which gives the reckoning should have remained the same. There is one explanation possible for this. The expansion, which seems to us very vast in the southern recension, appears to be, most of it, if not all, of the character of the expansion of the original text, the original being swamped by the additions. Since this expansion seems to have been more or less due to the sense of propriety of the redactors of the *Mahâbhârata*, it seems to have been of the character of a mere exposition of the original texts, and as such even the vast additions were not actually regarded as addition to the substance of the whole work. That seems how it is that the so-called interpolations have been coming in, and that perhaps accounts for the original reckoning being left uninterfered with.

What is said above in regard to the character of the expansion of the southern recension would perhaps explain why some of the *ślokas* found in the northern recension are not found in the southern. This will also satisfactorily account for the swamping of the portions of the original text and the removal of features which might be regarded as crude and unrefined. Hence the editor prefers inclusion of lines and *ślokas* found in the three manuscripts whose reliability he has taken pains to demonstrate. Hence it seems justified that some of the *ślokas* not found in the southern recension are worthy of inclusion in the critical text. The main point in each case will however be whether the idea has not been worked up in any corresponding "interpolated" passage, the working up showing the character of expansion and removal of features that jar upon the taste of the redactor or the editor. The editor finds that out of the 3,494 *ślokas* of the *Virâṭaparvan* in the published Dêvanâgari edition of the southern

recension. 222 are from the northern recension. and this is just about the number of additional ślokas found in the northern recension over and above the *parvasangraha* enumeration. Subtracting these additional *ślokas* he arrived at 3,272 as the actual number of the southern recension. while the Tanjore Grantha edition which in the Tamil country enjoys the reputation of being based on the best available manuscripts is 3,281½ *ślokas*. This gives the *Virâṭaparvan* in the southern recension a little over 1,230 additional *ślokas*. Of these. as many as 321 *ślokas* are found in the critical edition for which there is no corresponding text in the southern recension. working up to a percentage of 15 of the text of the critical edition not being found in the southern recension. These include three full chapters for which no textual equivalent could be found in the northern recension. accounting for 57 *ślokas* of the critical text. This difference may be due to the different method of exposition adopted before the recensions got fixed by being committed to writing. The so-called expurgated passages would find an explanation in this fact that in the course of the exposition what seemed objectionable to good taste had been worked over. the expurgation thus taking on the form not of a recision but of a modified paraphrase. This would reduce considerably the *ślokas* wanting authority in the southern recension. and thus diminish the consequence on the actual text owing to the want of support in all the recensions. The editor therefore seems justified in his assumption that "this divergence may possibly be connected with the *Mahâbhârata* text as such being fixed in the two recensions separately after the *Mahâbhârata* had extended to the south. and had been current both in the north and south. and was receiving incidents and descriptions in both places or in each recension. according to its peculiar development and style. with the result that these new incidents came to be worded differently in the two recensions."

There are 11 lines that the editor has included in the critical edition on the authority of some of the manuscripts, most of which are perhaps not found in the southern recension. He would justify their inclusion on the ground that it is possible they were excluded from the southern recension because of their violent character and because no motive could be established for their inclusion in some of the manuscripts. We congratulate the editor on the success that he has so far obtained in the reclamation of a text which comes so close to the early redaction when the second *parvasangraha* chapter was added to the text. It is just possible that there will be differences of opinion in respect of details here and there. but on the whole the work shows that the editor is well on the way to the recovery of the text of an early redaction.

In regard to the illustrations there are three in the *Virâṭaparvan*. These follow in the plan adopted by the illustrious Pant Prathinidhi of Aundh. in regard to dress. ornaments. animals. etc.. the illustrations in the sculptures at Bharhut and Sanchi. He has adopted for good reasons the mode of painting found in the Ajanta caves. The accomplished Pant. on an elaborate examination. finds that the Ajanta colouring is the parent of all the old schools of the painting art in India. While adopting therefore the Ajanta style he follows the best schools of Mogul Jaipur. and Mahârâshṭra art for light and shade. In doing so he is not oblivious of the spirit of the poem differing in its descriptions of various scenes; nor would he neglect anatomy and perspective as some of the modern schools of painting do. "The Heroes in the *Mahâbhârata*" according to the Pant. "were all men and they acted like men. They had good qualities as well as many faults; and therefore. we must paint them as men. and as described in the *Mahâbhârata*, like figures that we see sculptured in Sanchi and other places. and as painted in Ajanta, or in other Indian schools. which, as I have shown above, have been faithfully following Ajanta." The question would arise how far the sculptural representations of Bharhut and Sanchi are true to the men and women of their surroundings of the days of the *Mahâbhârata*. The answer to this question would naturally depend upon how far these details of the life of the ancients among the Hindus. changed from the days of the *Mahâbhârata* to the second century B.C. or thereabouts. It is just possible that there have been great changes. It is perhaps more probable that the change was not so great in real life. Whether it be the one or the other. so long as the painter primes himself by a careful study and successful grasp of the theme he is going to paint. we carry ourselves to the scene of the *Mahâbhârata* as near as it is possible to do with the means at our disposal. To adopt what others perhaps, with far greater [illegible] the scene of a modern bazaar for the court of Dhuryôdhana. or otherwise adopt the method of painting from mediæval art in India [illegible] altogether a false notion. The accomplished Pant has adopted just these as the criteria for his illustrations and a comparison of Arjuna's [illegible] in the war in the *Virâṭaparvan* with the [illegible] of Krishna's chariot quoted in the preface [illegible] 58 would give us some idea of the actual [illegible] distinction. We are decidedly of opinion this makes a closer approach to the idea of the text than any other proposed scheme will. We commend the work as a whole without going into the [illegible] minutiæ.

S. K. AIYANGAR.

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NOTES ON PIRACY IN EASTERN WATERS.

By S. CHARLES HILL.

Introduction.

1. In collecting the following notes I have been guided rather by the popular than by the legal interpretation of the terms Pirate and Piracy. Whilst legal rulings would exclude all acts of violence at sea, the perpetrators of which held regular commissions or acted with the approval of the princes whose subjects they were or of the communities to which they belonged, the general opinion of mankind has through all times stigmatized as piratical all unnecessary violence or excessive cruelty committed on the seas, without any regard to any technical justification put forward by the perpetrators. Thus Thucydides (*Pelop. War*, I, 4, 8) describes as piratical the exploits of the Hellenes and Barbarians who harassed the trade of the Mediterranean in the fourth century B.C., though so far from these being considered disgraceful, they carried with them "even some glory," and when in the year 1822 Sir George Cockburn asserted in Parliament that the ill-treatment of British merchant sailors in the West Indies was not piratical because committed under the Spanish flag, Edmund Burke indignantly protested (*Hansard Parl. Debates*, 31st July 1822) that such "fictions of law and metaphysical fallacies" made "an end of all security on the sea," and that "when the crew of a vessel perpetrated acts which were unknown to civilized war, she must be considered *prima facie* a pirate".

2. I had originally intended to include in my collection instances of piracy in all the seven seas, but the amount of material is so great that I have here limited myself to that which refers to piracy east of the Cape of Good Hope, with only occasional reference to piratical interruption in the Atlantic of trade between Europe and the East. Even so the subject is immense. The indigenous pirates belonged to many races and may roughly be divided into (1) the Arabians on the shores of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, (2) the Sanganians, inhabitants of the Indian Coast from the delta of the Indus to Kathiawar, (3) the Malabarese and Marathas dominating the coast from Surat to Cape Comorin, (4) the Arakanese or Maghs inhabiting the northern coast of the Bay of Bengal, (5) Andaman and Nicobar Islanders, (6) the Malays and Dyaks of the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, (7) the Chinese and (8) the Japanese. To the above groups of pirates must be added the European pirates who infested the Eastern Seas from the arrival of the Portuguese at the end of the fifteenth century up to the middle of the eighteenth. Amongst these, British, Irish and American (all under the common denomination of English) are exceedingly prominent, but though there is no doubt that in point of numbers they exceeded the pirates of other European nations (excepting perhaps the Portuguese), it is equally certain that these other nations supplied recruits to the bands of desperadoes in full proportion to their mercantile strength and activity in the East. As I have not had access to their national Records, these notes, as far as regards piracy by subjects of the Continental nations of Europe, are lamentably incomplete. Further, it must be remembered that the indigenous pirates preyed chiefly upon native trade and so their depredations, which must have been enormous and continuous, are hardly ever mentioned in European Records except when European trade was affected. The study of the private records of leading Indian families in the Bombay Presidency ought to throw much light on this subject.

3. In these notes are included a number of incidents of a non-piratical nature. These are chiefly connected with the occupation of territory by European Powers and are included simply to show how these Powers were concerned with the repression of the local piratical

communities. It will be observed that many incidents and details have been included upon doubtful authority. I can only reply that I give my authorities. Also, when one remembers that pirates were never looked upon as honourable enemies, it is natural that, whilst the depositions of their victims were exculpatory of their own carelessness or cowardice, they exaggerated the criminality of the freebooters ; on the other hand, the depositions of captured pirates were always open to the suspicion which attaches to King's Evidence. Thus, except as regards the bare outlines and exact dates of events, official records are as untrustworthy as private accounts, whilst the latter are fuller, more human and more illuminating. We may, in short, be sure that tales of comtemporary piracy, even if untrue as to facts, were correct delineations of character and customs. Beside the authors, upon whose writings I have drawn freely, I am much indebted for assistance to Sir Richard Temple, Mr. W. Foster, C.I.E., Mr. A. I. Ellis and above all, to Miss L. M. Anstey.

N.B.—I have left the spelling of the names of persons and places, whether they occur in quotations or in the narrative, practically as they are to be found in the original sources of my information.

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I.—EARLY NOTICES OF PIRACY.

Arabians.

4. The earliest instances of piracy in the Eastern Seas of which any mention is to be found are connected with the inhabitants of Arabia. In the Koran (Sale's ed., cap. XVIII) it is written :—" The vessel belonged to certain poor men, who did their business in the sea : and I was minded to render it unserviceable, because there was a king behind them, who took every sound ship by force ". This piratical personage is supposed to have been Jaland Ibn Karkar or Minwar Ibn Jaland al Azdi, who reigned in Oman in the time of Moses, *i.e.*, about the middle of the sixteenth century B.C.

5. According to Herodotus (I. 1) the Phœnicians came originally [*c.* 3000 B.C.] from the coasts of the Erythræan Sea, *i.e.*, that portion of the Indian Ocean which washes the shores of Arabia from Aden to the Persian Gulf, and Strabo (Bohn's ed., III, 187 ; XVI, iii, 4, 5) says that in his time certain islands in the Persian Gulf claimed Tyre and Sidon as their colonies. Wilkinson (*Malta and Gogo.*, p. 4) asserts that the Phœnicians founded a colony in Malta in 1519 B.C. It was their piratical seizure of Io, daughter of Inachus, king of Argos, which, according to tradition, originated that hostility between Europe and Asia, which culminated in the Trojan War in the eleventh century B.C. The Phœnician pirates were certainly amongst the earliest of their profession in the Mediterranean ; so, if Herodotus and Strabo are to be believed, Europe owes the introduction of piracy to the East. According to Justice (*Dominion of the Sea,* p. 55), the Phœnicians became prominent in the Mediterranean about 810 B.C.

6. The two most prominent tribes in the Annals of Oman are the Hinavi, to whom belong the tribes subject to the Imams of Muscat, and the Ghafiris, to whom belong the Joasmis of Ras-ul-Khymah. All of these, at different times, indulged in piracy (*Bomb. Sel.*, XXIV, 1). The Hinavi Arabs are said to have established themselves near Muscat in the fourth century B.C. (Danvers' *Persian Records*, p. 5). Further, according to Strabo (XVI, i, 10) and Arrian, the Persians blocked the mouths of the Tigris to prevent the incursions of pirates from this part of the coast, and it was not until the time of Alexander that the obstructions were removed. (Vincent, *Ancient Commerce*, I, 505).

Sanganians.

7. In the year 325 B.C. Nearchus, the Admiral of Alexander the Great, conducted a fleet from the mouth of the Indus to the Persian Gulf. A short distance from the former he came upon an island called Bibacta, though the adjacent country was named Sangada. The latter name at once suggests the Sangadian or Sanganian pirates, who in later times found their headquarters in Gujarat (Arrian, *Indica*, XXI). Again, in cap. XXXI, Arrian records the mysterious disappearance of an Egyptian ship belonging to this fleet at the island of Nosala, which lay about seven miles off the shore and was dedicated to the Sun. This island Vincent (*Voyage of Nearchus and Periplus*, p. 48) indentifies with the modern Ashtola, which, according to Kempthorne, was, in historical times, a rendezvous of the Joasmi pirates (McCrindle, *Periplus*, p. 188 *n.* 40). It might well happen that pirates took advantage of superstitious beliefs to conceal their operations.

8. In the third century B.C. Ptolemy Euergetes (246–221 B.C.), in order to free the Red Sea from pirates, established fortified posts on both the Arabian and African coasts from Suez to the Straits, as well as colonies of Greeks and Egyptians at various places, *e.g.*, Massowah (Kerr, XVIII, 86). These pirates must have been either Arabs or inhabitants of the coasts of Sind, Kathiawar, Cambay and Gujarat, afterwards known to Europeans under the general name of Sanganians, but to themselves under different tribal names. Along

the South Kathiawar, Cambay and Gujarat coasts the pirates were chiefly Kolis and to a less extent Kharvas. About the Gulf of Cutch, near Beyt, Dwarka and Porbandar, which was their chief haven, they were Jats, Vaghers, Sanghars, Meds or Mers, and Mianas. Of these, the Sanghars and Vaghers were probably the most ancient. The Vaghers or Kabas are mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata*, the Sanghars (of Sindh and west of the Indus) are possibly alluded to by Nearchus, as already stated. (*Bomb. Gaz.*, IX, 526). According to Vincent, in the time of Agatharchides (B.C. 200) the ports of Arabia and Ceylon were entirely in the hands of the people of Gujarat (*Periplus*, I, 25, 36, 254; *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, i, 492 *n*).

Mediterranean Pirate Boats.

9. It was in the time of Ptolemy Euergetes that one Eudoxus is said (Strabo, II, 3, 4) to have circumnavigated Africa, taking with him two boats resembling those used by pirates, probably such as were used in the Mediterranean and described later as Hemioliæ or Myoparones or Liburnian Galleys.

Chinese.

10. In the third century B.C. possibly occurred an instance of Chinese piracy, for in the *Bodhisattvavadana Kalpalata* of the poet Kohemendra (tenth century A.D.) it is stated that Indian merchants trading to distant lands, complained to the Emperor Asoka (d. 223 B.C.) that they had been plundered by certain pirates called Nagas *i.e.*, Serpent-worshippers and so, probably, Chinese (Mukherji, *Indian Shipping*, p. 113). In 400 A.D. a famous Chinese pirate San-wen, who had ravaged the northern seaboard of China, raised a rebellion in the south in Chehkiang. He was not suppressed until 403, when having been defeated by Sin-king, Governor of Linhai, and seeing no chance of escape, he leaped into the sea and was drowned (Macgowan, p. 195). In 447 A.D. the Emperor Won-ti sent a punitive expedition which laid the country waste and sacked the capital of Tonquin, because pirates from that country had harassed towns and villages on the south coast of China (Macgowan, pp. 209-210).

Arabians.

11. During the first century A.D. it appears unlikely that the inhabitants of Arabia Proper engaged in open piracy. When the Roman Aelius Gellius invaded Arabia Felix he found no use for his warships "for the Arabians being mostly engaged in traffic and commerce are not a very warlike people on land, much less so at sea" (Strabo, XVI, 4, 23). On the other hand, Pliny (23-79 A.D.) mentions a report that some islands on the Ethiopian coast were inhabited by a piratical tribe of Arabians called Ascitae, who, "placing the inflated skins of oxen beneath a raft of wood......ply their piratical vocation with the aid of poisoned arrows (*Hist. Nat.*, VI, 35). It is not possible to identify these people, but it is a fact that such petty piracy by the coast Arabs prevailed right on into modern times (*see* para. 538 below).

Malabarese.

12. Pliny tells us (*Hist. Nat.*, VI, 23) that the merchant vessels, Greek or Egyptian, which traded to India, were large, well-found and well-manned, and carried companies of archers, as those seas were greatly infested with pirates. According to him, the port of departure was Ocelis (? Gehla at the south-west point of Arabia Felix) and the nearest mart in India was Muziris (? Cranganore), which however was not a very suitable port "on account of the pirates which frequent its vicinity, where they occupy a place called Nitrias". This was probably Nitran or Netrani (or Pigeon Island), fifteen miles north-west of Bhatkal and

25 miles south-west of Honavar. In 1801 it was a nest of Maratha pirates. On it was a pillar sacred to the spirit Jetiga, which destroyed the boats of fishermen and traders who neglected to propitiate it (*Bomb. Gaz.*, XV, ii, 335).

13. Ptolemy (second century A.D.) refers definitely to a portion of the western coast of India as the Pirate Coast, which (McCrindle, *India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 45) extended from Chaul to Mangalore, or roughly from Bombay to Goa, and which Ptolemy calls a part of Ariaka (*Bomb. Gaz.*. I, ii, 1). This part of the coast remained piratical up to the nineteenth century. Ptolemy says (VII, i, 84) that the pirates occupied five ports, *viz.*, Mandagara (modern Madangad to the south of Bankot creek), Byzantion (*i.e.*, Vaijayanti, probably Chiplun or Dhabol), Khersonesus (the peninsula of Goa), Armagara (Cape Ramas) and Nitria (? Mangalore), and even two inland towns, *viz.*, Olokhaira (? Kheda in the Ratnagiri District, and Mousopalla (? Miraj near the river Krishna), (*Bom. Gaz.*, I, 1, 541 ; X, 192 *n.*).

14. According to Vincent (*Periplus*, p. 105, supposed to have been composed about 247 A.D., Colonel Miles says 80 A.D.), there were pirates on the Malabar Coast at places conjectured to be Vingurla, Goa and Marmagon.

Sanganians.

15. Wilford (*Asiatic Researches*, IX, 224) says that in the fourth century A.D. the Diveni or pirates of Diu were forced to send hostages to the Emperor Constantine (320–340), one of them being a Christian Bishop named Theophilus.

16. In the sixth and seventh centuries, fleets from the coasts of Sind and Gujarat are said to have formed settlements in Java and Cambodia, whilst Sumatra is said to have received settlements from Bengal and Orissa (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, I, 489).

17. In the sixth century A.D. the Jats of the Indus and Cutch (Kachh), driven from their homes by the White Huns, occupied the Bahrein Islands. At the same time the Persians complained of Indian piracy, and Naushirvan the Sassanian demanded the cession of the whole of the Baluchistan coast. It is said that in 570 he invaded the lower Indus, and perhaps Ceylon. Possibly he used the very Jats just mentioned to man his ships. At any rate it is certain that the early Muhammadan piratical attacks on Gujarat and the Konkan (637—770) were due to these Jat settlers and not to the Arabs themselves, whose chiefs forbade such enterprises (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, i, 433 *n.*; XIII, 433 *n.*).

18. About 710 the Meds and other pirates of Debal and the Indus mouths plundered eight vessels sent by the Ruler of Ceylon with presents, pilgrims, Muhammadan female orphans and Abyssinian slaves to secure the favour of Hajjaj-bin-Yusuf-al-Saquali (Governor of Arabia, who rebuilt the tomb of the Prophet at Mecca). This and other Sanganian outrages led to the Arab invasion of Sind (711-12) under Muhammad son of Kasim. When Muhammad besieged Debal (*i.e.*, Karachi), the defenders flew a *red flag* on a long staff placed upon a lofty temple but the destruction of the staff by a stone from a *manjanik* (? a kind of catapult) so discouraged them that they surrendered (Al Biladuri in Elliott, I, 118-20). This is the earliest instance I have found of the use of the red flag and it probably had the signification of " No Surrender " or a fight to the death. How this use has continued up to the present day in India may be seen from the following extract from the *Times* of the 2nd June 1919 :—

" Simla, May 29.—The assault and capture of the Spin Baldak fort were characterized by smart work. Early in the morning a party bearing a white flag advanced to the fort to deliver a written message requiring its surrender. The garrison

replied by hoisting a *red flag* and opening fire. Our guns made a breach in the wall and the fort was finally reduced by a flanking and frontal assault. The infantry battalion forming the garrison fought bravely and most of them were killed ".

Arabians.

19. It is said that there are records of Arab settlements on the Indian Coast in the time of the historian Agatharchides (c. 200 B.C.), but the Arab settlers seem to have been for long engaged only in commerce (Edwardes, *Rise of Bombay*, p. 48). About 571 A.D. the Hinavi Arabs of Muscat took Ormuz from the Persians and made it a base for piracy (Danvers' *Persian Records*, p. 5), but it was not until the whole Arab world had been stirred up by the wars which followed the rise of Muhammadanism that the lust of fighting seized upon the Arab mind and the Arab sailor turned into the Arab pirate. In the seventh century the island of Bahrein was seized by the piratical tribe of Abd-ul-Kais (*Bomb. Gaz.*, XIII, 433). Muhammad died in the year 632 and in 636 took place the first Muslim Arab attack upon the Indian Coast. The same year the Arab Governor of Bahrein fitted out two fleets against the ports of Cambay (Edwardes, pp. 46, 49). There can be little doubt that the new religion spread to the Arab settlers and that their influence caused a change of religion among the lower classes of the Coast Hindus (*Bom. Gaz.*, XIII, ii, 404 *n*).

20. During the seventh and eighth centuries the Arabs settled freely in Gujarat, Cambay and Malabar. This not only greatly increased the commerce on the coast but supplied an incentive to piracy, whilst it brought a large influx of strangers who took willingly to that occupation (Danvers, I, 26). At the same time the Arabs conquered Persia and founded Basra on the Persian Gulf (Kerr, XVIII, 276). It was not however the Arabs proper but the Jats, already settled in large numbers on the shores of the Persian Gulf, who for the next one hundred and fifty years, were the moving spirits of the Muhammadan sea-raids on the Gujarat and Konkan Coasts (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, i, 493 *n.*).

21. About this time Muhammadan traders appear to have reached the coast of China, for it is said that in Canton there is the tomb of one of their saints named Omrah, who died 629 A.D. (*Chin. Repos.*, XX, 79). On the other hand, Chinese traders visited Diu in the seventh and eighth centuries (Mukherji, 169) and in the ninth century Chinese vessels reached the Persian Gulf (Renaudot, in Kerr, VIII, 276).

22. In 759 A.D. Arab and Persian vessels plundered Canton and carried off the booty by sea (Bretschneider, pp. 10-11; *Bomb. Gaz.*, XIII, 433).

23. Before this the attacks on Arab trade and the Arabian coast had forced the Arabs to reprisal (*see* para. 18 above). In 730 an Arab fleet attacked Broach (Mukherji, p. 185). Between 750 and 770 the Arab Lord of Mansura (capital of Sind) sent an expedition against Valabha (Valeh) and in 758 the Khalif Mansur sent Amru bin Jamal with a fleet to the coast of Baroda. A second expedition in 776 took the town of Broach (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, 94-5). During the reign of the Kalif Al Mamun (813-33), Muhammad Fazl sailed with 60 ships against the Meds and took Mali in North Kathiawar with a great slaughter of the defenders (*Bomb. Gaz.*, IX, 527).

24. The Moplahs, of whom there are now about a million in Malabar, are said to be descendants of Arab immigrants, who landed in the tenth century, whilst the great trading community, the Borahs, are said to be mainly descendants of Hindus converted by Arab teachers in the eleventh century (*Imperial Gaz. of India*, I, 438).

25. Al Idrisi (A.D. 1100) says that Cambaya in Gujarat is a pretty and well-known naval station, second among the towns of Gujarat. " It has a fine fortress built by Government to prevent the inroads of the pirates of Kish (*i.e.*, Mekran)," (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, i, p. 515).

Sanganians.

26. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang (about 630 A.D.) describes the inhabitants of Saurashtra (*i.e.*, Gujarat) as sea-faring (Mukherji, p. 169). At the end of the seventh century the enterprise of these Sanganian pirates of Cutch and Kathiawar, who united themselves with the Meds and Kerks of Sind, was so great that they extended their operations to the Red Sea as far as Jeddah and to the Persian Gulf and banks of the Euphrates, in which latter locality they were sometimes associated with the Jats, though the Jats were just as ready to attack the Indian coast as the Arabian (*Bomb. Gaz.*, XIII, 433). The whole power of the Khalifs was brought against these marauders during the 8th and 9th centuries, and when conquered, the pirates were transported to Asia Minor (*Bomb. Gaz.*, XIII, ii, 714). Ebn Hankal, writing in the 10th century, says that Abadon, on the Persian Gulf, was one of the stations where sentinels were placed on watch against pirates (Ouseley, *Oriental Geography*, p. 11).

27. During the 7th century Gurjjaras, chiefly of the Chapa or Chavada clan, rose to power in Dwarka and Somnath. In 740 they established themselves at Anahilvada Patan. Their kings, especially Vanaraja (720–780) and Yogaraja (806–841), made great efforts to put down piracy, and succeeded in driving the Jats from the Gujarat coast, only however to turn their attention elsewhere, for in 834–5 a Jat fleet made a descent upon the Tigris. The Chavas themselves soon succumbed to local influences and became as desperate pirates as their predecessors (*Bom. Gaz.*, I, i, 492–6 *n.*). Towards the end of the 9th century the seas in this part of the world had become so dangerous to merchant vessels that the Chinese ships, which sailed to Arabia, carried crews of as many as 500 armed men and supplies of naphtha, with which to defend themselves against pirates (*Bomb. Gaz.*, XIII, 434). Al Biladuri, in 892, says that the pirates infesting these seas were Meds and people of Saurashtra, who were Chauras or Gurjjaras (*Bom. Gaz.*, I, i, 492–6 *n.*).

28. We now first hear of Sokotra as a pirate resort. Masudi (who died at Cairo in 957) says :—" Sokotra is one of the stations frequented by the Indian corsairs called Bawarij, which chase the Arab ships bound for India and China, just as the Greek vessels chase the Mussulmans in the sea of Rum along the coasts of Syria and Egypt " (Yule, *Marco Polo*, II, 410 *n.*). Albiruni (*Takhik-i-Hind.*, 1030 A.D.) says that the Bawarij were the Med pirates of Cutch and Somnath, and were so named from the fact that they used ships called *baira* [or *bera*] (Elliott, *Hist.*, I, 65). *Bira* being the Gipsy word for a boat, some have supposed that these Cutch pirates were the forbears of the modern Gipsies (*Bomb. Gaz.*, XIII, ii, 714 *n.*). In 980 Grahari the Chaudasama, known in story as Graharipu, the Ahir of Sorath and Girnar, so infested the Indian Ocean with his cruisers that no ship was safe (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, i, 492–6 *n.* ; IX, 527).

29. In 1025 Mahmud of Ghazni captured Somnath and is said to have planned an expedition by sea against Ceylon (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, i, 494 *n.*). Such was the influence of Kathiawar on every one who in turn became its master, that he was inevitably and irresistibly led to piratical exploits.

Japanese.

30. The mention of piracy in Japan occurs at a very early date. In 862 the Inland Sea pirates pillaged the Bizen tax-rice on its way to the Capital, after killing the officer in charge. In 866 Settsu, Idzumi, Harima, Bizen, Bingo, Aki, Suwo, Nagato and all the provinces of the Nankaido were infested by swarms of freebooters (Murdoch, *Japan*, I, 231). Brigandage and piracy were drastically dealt with by the minister Tokihara, who died about 909. They revived under Shujaki Teimo (939–46). Fujiwara Sumitomo was sent from Kyoto to assist the Governor of Iyo to deal with the sea-rovers. On the expiration of his

commission, he established himself as a pirate chief in the island of Hiburi in the Bungo Channel (936). By 938 he had 1500 craft under his flag and was practically master of the Inland Sea. All that the Government did was to send him a letter of warning and to raise him a grade in official rank. This encouraged him to indulge in further depredations; so, in 940, Ono Yushifuro was appointed to deal with him. The treachery of one of his lieutenants enabled Ono to drive him from the Inland Sea. With help from Kyushu he established himself at Hakata, where his ships were burnt or captured and the fortress taken after a desperate resistence. Sumitomo escaped to Iyo, where he was captured and executed in 941, his head being sent to the Capital (Murdoch, I, 250-2).

31. In 1129 piracy in the Inland Sea was suppressed by Taida Tadamori, who governed Harima, Ise and Bizen in succession (Murdoch, I, 283).

32. In order to open commerce with the Chinese between 1166 and 1170, Tseonyana, King of Japan, sent emissaries to the Island of Flaynan (? Hainan), but these men plundered instead of trading, so that the Chinese refused all overtures (*Lettres Edifiantes*, XVI, 258).

Chinese.

33. In 998 A.D. the Government at Dazaifu reported to Kioto that Chinese pirates had ravaged the coast at Tsukushi. Next year troops were sent against them. In April 1019 Chinese pirates again ravaged the coast of Tsukushi and killed Fujiwara Masatada, the Governor (*Asiat. Soc. of Japan*, IX, 127). In 1270 Kublai Khan sent an Ambassador, Chao-liang, to demand homage from Japan. This was refused, and in 1274 he sent a fleet which the Japanese defeated. In 1279 he sent an Ambassador whom the Japanese executed, as it appeared that his predecessor Chao had played the spy. In 1281 a great Chinese fleet was destroyed at Firando by a storm and 100,000 Chinese soldiers, who had been landed, were killed by the Japanese (Allen, in *China Review*, III, 59; Macgowan, 437). In 1348 one Fang-Kwo Chin, a salt dealer, being accused of collusion with the pirates who infested the Tai-chow Islands in Chehkiang, turned pirate to avoid arrest and ravaged the coast. Having captured an Imperialist officer, he set him free on condition that he would represent his innocence and procure his pardon. This was granted and he was made a minor Mandarin, but in 1354 he rebelled again, and it was not until 1366 that he was finally defeated and ceased to trouble Government (Macgowan, pp. 456-63). In 1373 Itataha, King of Cochin-China, defeated a fleet of pirates which infested the coast and sank 20 of their ships (*Mémoire historique de la Cochin-Chine. Lettres Edifiantes*, IV, 587).

Sanganians.

34. At the end of the 12th century the Gohils, a Rajput tribe, driven from their possessions, settled in Saurashtra under one Sejuk. They made their head-quarters first at Piram Island in the Gulf of Cambay and then at Gogo. Like their predecessors they quickly adopted the local profession, and Sejuk's grandson Mocarro (Mokhraj Gohil) became a noted pirate, levying tribute from every ship that passed and using his spoils largely in fortifying his castle on Piram Island, which he took from the Baria Kolis about 1326 (*Bomb. Gaz.*, VIII, 153). In 1345 [or 1347, *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, i, 230] the castle was taken and Mokhraj killed by Muhammad Tughlak (*Ras Mala*, I, 318). It is said that 25,000 men were killed in the defence (Tod, *Travels*, pp. 265-6). This disaster did not, however, put an end to the Rajputs of Saurashtra, for Vaja chieftains of Vejalkot in the Gir and Janjmer on the East Bhavnagar coast openly practised piracy (*Bomb. Gaz.*, VIII, 153), and the Sultans of Ahmadabad (*i.e.*,

of Gujarat) long retained the title of "lord of the sea", which we find applied to Sultan Bahadur when he was defeated by Humayun in 1535 (Bayley, *Gujarat*, p. 386). In fact, these Rajputs were the ancestors of the Sanganian pirates who were to become so troublesome in the 17th and 18th centuries, and are described in the Bombay Gazetteer (I, i, 495) as the Sangar Rajputs of Mandvi in Cutch and of Navanagar in North Kathiawar. The origin of the name Sangadian or Sanganians is not certainly known. Colonel Tod was of opinion that it was not taken from any particular tribe or country, but was derived from the word *sangam* (meaning "confluence of waters", such as occurs at the mouths of creeks or rivers). At such places were found the haunts of pirates, *e.g.*, at Aramra and Dwarka, and shrines were there erected to Sangam-Narayan, the God of thieves, their protector. These nests they called Sangada or Sangam-dhara, whence the name Sangadian or Sanganian was applied to the pirates, though the Gohils' own name for themselves was "children of Tricum-Rae". On the other hand, Sir Richard Temple informs me that the various forms under which the name appears are clearly descriptive, relating to a tribe occupying Sind, if not in the time of Alexander (see para. 7 above), at least as early as the 8th century A.D., which spread later as Rajputs to many parts of Western India and notably to Cutch and Kathiawar, those on the sea-board betaking themselves to piracy. In Ogilvy's *Atlas* (1670) Cutch is called Sanga. (See also *Bomb. Gaz.*, IX, i, 519 and XIII, ii, 713-4 *n.*) I use the term for all the pirates of this coast, whatever their race or religion.

35. "These corsairs," says Tod, "never spread their sails in quest of prey without first propitiating or bribing their deity, and never returned without offering a share of their spoils to this Mercury. Like the Pindaris, those scourges of India who prayed seven times a day, these "seizers of rings considered their hazardous occupation not only honourable but sanctified". It was not until the 19th century that they were finally suppressed, and how high was the honour in which the pirate chiefs were held by their fellow tribesmen is shown by their sepulchres. "Let us quit," says Tod (p. 430), "the graves of the giants of Aramra for its more interesting memorials, the *pallias* of the pirates........There remain two on which are sculptured in high relief 'the ships of Tricum-Rae' engaged in combat. One of these is a three-masted vessel, pierced for guns, the other is of a more antique form and character, having but one mast and none of those modern inventions of war. Both are represented in the act of boarding the chase. One of the piratical sailors, with sword and shield, is depicted as springing from the shrouds, another from the bow of his ship, and it may be supposed they are the effigies of the heroes who lie there". Another *pallia* was inscribed to the memory of Rana Raimal, who in A.D. 1572 performed the *Saka*, when attacked by the king. There was another, and the latest in date, erected to the memory of these buccaneers and sufficiently laconic, 'S. 1819 (A.D. 1763) Jadoo Kharwa was slain on the seas'. Kharwa is the most common epithet of the Indian sailor.

36. Opposite Aramra is the Pirates' Island Baté or Beyt (*Bet.*) In the last edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer* this is called Beyt Shankhodar, owing to the immense number of *sankh* or conch shells found there. It is a very holy place and on its western side the Kullore-kot or Pirates' Castle still stands, as in Tod's time, "a memorial of a scourge which from the earliest period of History infested these waters from the Shankhodwara at the entrance of the Red Sea to the Gulf of Cutch." The most famous chief of Beyt was Rana Raimal, who was known as Sangam-Dhara or the Pirate. After a long career he was captured and taken to Timur, who not only set him free but gave him a title, (Tod, pp. 431-437). The last chief of Beyt was one Singram, who was so terrified by the storming of Dwarka, the stronghold

of the Vagher pirates, by Colonel Lincoln Stanhope in 1820 (see para. 798 below), that he surrendered his castle and was granted a pension by the Gaikwar of Baroda. Colonel Tod himself spoke with the sister-in-law of this chief (Tod, 440). The fortress of Beyt was finally destroyed by Colonel Donovan in October 1859, after an outbreak amongst the Waghers of Okhamandal (*Bomb. Gaz,* I, i, 446-8).

Malays.

37. Fah Hien, the Chinese traveller, sailing from Ceylon to Java in the year 414 A.D., says:—" In this Ocean there are many pirates who coming on you suddenly destroy everything". It is not clear who these pirates were, but probably they were Malays, who had not yet become Muhammadans. (S.S. Beal, *Travels of Fah Hian and Sung-Yan*). Kia Tan (*Itineraries*, pp. 785-805) says that the people of the Island of Ko-ko-seng (? on the east coast of Sumatra) " are pirates and cruel sailors dread them." (*Chau-Ju-Kua*, p. 11.)

38. About 1160 A.D. Malays began to settle in what is now known as the Malay Peninsula, and it is said that in 1252 they founded the city of Malacca. (See para. 59 below.) This date therefore appears to mark the rise of Muhammadan influence in that part of the world and the origin of those petty states from which came the Malay pirates, who infested all these regions and especially the eastern coast of Sumatra, the river mouths of which were well suited to their requirements (Marsden, *Sumatra*, p. 36, and Crawford, *Indian Archipelago*, II, 481-2).

39. The Malays have very ancient Maritime Codes, which deal amongst other subjects, with Piracy. The Malacca Code is said to have been compiled by Sultan Mahmud Shah, the first sovereign of Malacca mentioned as having turned Muhammadan, about the year 1296 A.D. (*JRAS., Straits Branch*, July 1879, No. 3).[2] Other authorities say that Raja Iskandar Shah of Malacca was converted to Muhammadanism on his marriage with the daughter of a Raja of Pasei, where Muhammadanism was established about 1300 A.D. (Blagden, *Malay History*, in *JRAS., Straits Branch*, September 1909).

40. Friar Odoric (*Travels*, 1318—1330) says that in the country of Thalamassin, near Java, the inhabitants are nearly all rovers, who use the blow pipe with poisoned arrows and who render their bodies impervious to steel by wearing a kind of stone found in certain canes. The shipmen, however, arm themselves with weapons of hardened wood, with which they easily slay the rovers, who carry no armour (Yule, *Cathay*. I, 91).

Sanganians and Malabarese.

41. In 1290 Marco Polo, the traveller, found the people of the western coast of India largely engaged in piracy. He says: " From this kingdom of Melibar [Malabar] and from another near it called Gujarat there go forth every year more than a hundred corsair vessels on cruise. These pirates take with them their wives and children and stay out the whole summer. Their method is to join in fleets of twenty or thirty of these pirate vessels together, and then they form what they call a sea-cordon, that is they drop off till there is an interval of five or six miles between ship and ship, so that they cover something like an hundred miles of sea and no merchant ship can escape them, for when any corsair sights a vessel a signal is made by fire (at night) or smoke (by day), and then the whole of them make for this and seize the merchants and plunder them. After they have plundered them they let them go saying, ' Go along with you and get more gain and that, mayhap, may fall to us also.' But now the merchants are aware of this and sail with such great ships

[2] The earliest European maritime codes, such as the *Laws of Oleron* are ascribed only to the time of Richard I; *i.e.*, 1189 to 1199.

that they don't fear the corsairs. Still mishaps do befall them at times" (Yule, *Marco Polo,* III, cap. xxv).

42. Of Gujarat Marco Polo says:—"The people are the most desperate pirates in existence, and one of their atrocities is this: when they have taken a merchant vessel they force the merchants to swallow a stuff called Tamarindi mixed in sea-water, which produces a violent purging. This is done in case the merchants, on seeing their danger, should have swallowed their most valuable stones and pearls. And in this way the pirates secure the whole" (*ibid,* cap. xxvi, p. 392). Pinto (Cap. x, p. 30) mentions a horrible potion of lime steeped in urine which was used by the piratical fishermen on the coast of Sumatra in 1539 for the same purpose. In 1674 the numismatist Jean Vaillant, being taken by Algerine corsairs on a voyage from Leghorn to Rome, managed to save some valuable medals from his captors by swallowing them, but with consequences nearly fatal to himself (Spon., *Voyage d'Italie,* I, 14).

43. The pirates of Gujarat and Malabar were protected by the local chiefs:—"With the king [of Tana's] connivance many corsairs launch from this port to plunder merchants. These corsairs have a covenant with the king [whose country produces no horses] that he shall get all the horses they capture and all other plunder shall remain with them" (Yule, *Marco Polo,* III, cap. vi, p. 395).

44. Sokotra was now a pirate haunt and market:—"A multitude of corsairs frequent this island. They come there and encamp and put up their plunder for sale, and this they do to good profit, for the Christians of the island purchase it, knowing well that it is Saracen or Pagan gear" (*ibid.,* p. 407). In 1507 the King of Portugal, hearing that Sokotra was inhabited by Christians subject to the Moors, ordered Tristan da Cunha and Affonso de Albuquerque to conquer that island, so that Portuguese ships might winter there and secure the navigation of the Red Sea against the Moors (Kerr, VI, 92).

45. Besides connivance in open piracy, the chiefs of the coast indulged in a practice not unlike that followed by William of Normandy when he seized the person of Harold thrown on his coast by stormy weather. "You must know" says Marco Polo, speaking of Malabar, "that if any ship enters this estuary and anchors there, having been bound for some other port, they seize her and plunder the cargo. For they say, 'you were bound for somewhere else and 'tis God who has sent you hither, so we have a right to all your goods,' and this naughty custom prevails all over the provinces of India" (*Marco Polo,* cap. xxiv). This being the custom of the country—Pinto (p. 274) mentions the same custom in Siam in 1545—it was natural that all wrecks should be claimed by the Princes of the coast, a claim which gave much trouble to the East India Company. In fact it was not until 1736-7 that the King of Bednur consented to relinquish it as far as the Company was concerned. Even then very few of the Indian chiefs would follow his example (Logan., *Malabar,* I, 170. See however para. 571 below). One Walter Vaughan, who in 1702-3 was a prisoner in Johore, refusing to apostatise, was angrily told by the King that he and his shipwrecked companions had been given him by God and he might choose between Islam and death (*Adventures of Five Englishmen from Pulo Condore,* p. 63).[3] These evil customs were by no means unknown in Europe, as is proved by the fact that the ill-usage of shipwrecked mariners is prohibited by the Laws of Oleron, and the rule observed in certain places that the Lords of the Coast and the

[3] In the *Lettres Edifiantes* (XVI, 137) it is stated (*c.* 1737) that in Cochin China it is not the custom for the king to seize the cargoes of wrecked vessels, but on the contrary, in no place in the world are shipwrecked people so well treated.

Sailors should each take one-third of the goods of a wreck, leaving only one-third for the owners, is proscribed by the Roll of Oleron (*c.* 1438) as a 'cursed and damnable custom', which directly incited Pilots to treacherous wrecking of ships (*Justice*, p. 245; Twiss, *Black Book of the Admiralty*, II, 465).

46. The Muhammadan, Ibn Batuta, who started on his travels in 1324–5 makes various references to piracy :—" The inhabitants of this place [Hinaur] are Moslems of the sect of Shafia, a peaceable and religious people. They carry on however a warfare for the faith by sea and for this they are noted......The inhabitants of Malabar generally pay tribute to the King of Hinaur, fearing as they do his bravery by sea" (Ibn. Batuta, pp. 165-6). Again, when any of the war vessels of the infidel Hindus pass by these [the Maldive] islands they take whatsoever they find without being resisted by any one (*ibid*, p. 177). He was himself captured by pirates :—" From this place [*i.e.*, Kowlam in Malabar] I set out to visit the Sultan Jamal Oddin of Hinaur......The infidel Hindus however came out against us in twelve war vessels,[4] between the last-mentioned place and Fakanum, and, giving us severe battle, at length overcame us and took our ship. They then stripped us of all. From me they took all the jewels given me by the King of Batala as well as the additional presents of the pious shaikhs, leaving me only one pair of trowsers, and thus we landed almost naked." According to the same writer it was not the custom of these pirates " to kill or drown anybody when the actual fighting is over. They take all the property of the passengers and then let them go whither they will with their vessels " (*ibid.*, p. 194).

47. This comparatively gentle behaviour of the Sanganian and Malabar pirates must, I think, be ascribed, at least in part, to a naturally merciful disposition. It is true that in sparing the lives of their victims they lessened the chance of resistance and showed a kind of business foresight, and it is true that such behavoiur involved no danger to themselves, for their victims could not warn their fellow traders of the presence of the pirates nor obtain any redress from the States to which the pirates belonged. On the other hand human nature is such that the habit of violence generally begets brutality, and yet we very seldom find these Indian pirates indulging in the callous brutality of the Arakanese or Malays or the wanton and unnecessary cruelty of the Chinese, Japanese and European pirates. The only free-booters who appear to have resembled them in character are the Desert Arabs, of whom we hear in 1772 :—" The Arabs who rob in the desert do not kill those who submit without resistance, in fact they leave them sufficient or even more than sufficient to continue their journey. To those who resist, if they conquer, they give no quarter " (Parsons, *Travels*, p. 103).

48. Ibn Batuta (A.D. 1342) is probably referring to Malabarese pirates when he says that a great ship, sailing from Kandahar (*i.e.*, Gandhar, north of Broach) to China, carried a guard of Abyssinians to protect it from pirates, though of course he may have also had in mind the dangers to which the ship would be exposed in the Malay Archipelago (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, i, 493 *n.*).

49. In 1346-7 John de Marignoli met at Quilon in Malabar a Mudaliar, whose son having been taken by pirates, had been sold to a Genoese merchant and by him caused to be baptised (Yule, *Cathay*, II, 381).

50. Abd-ur-Razzak tells us that in 1442 he met at Calicut certain people who had brought horses by sea from Ormuz and had been captured on the way by cruel pirates who had plundered them of all their wealth and barely spared their lives. Further, he says :—

4 Off Pigeon Island (Yule, *Cathay*, II, 425).

'From Calicut are vessels continually sailing for Mecca, which are for the most part laden with pepper. The inhabitants of Calicut are adventurous sailors. They are known by the name of Chini-bechegan (sons of the Chinese) and pirates do not dare to attack the vessels of Calicut" (Major, *India in the 15th century*). This possibly explains why Faria (I, 315; II, 14) speaks of Cutiale as the Chinese Captain or China Cutiale and (I, 365) says that the town of Diu was founded by the Sultan of Cambay in commemoration of a victory over a Chinese (*i.e.*, Malabar) fleet.

51. Towards the end of the 15th century the coast of Kathiawar was largely inhabited by piratical communities. In 1472-3 Sultan Mahmud Bigarha of Gujarat conquered Jagat (*i.e.*, Dwarka) then under Raja Bhim (whose subjects plundered all travellers, *Mirat Sikandari*, p. 62) and also the island of Beyt Sankhdara (three *kos* from the land), which was the stronghold of the Raja's piratical subjects, whose ill-usage of a holy Mullah had been reported to him. Bhim escaped from the island but was soon captured, and was put to death at Ahmadabad. In 1473 Mahmud equipped ships at Gogha, which he sent against the Malabari pirates (*Mirat Sikandari*, p. 60; Bayley, *Gujarat*, pp. 195-199). According to Elliott (VI, 467), Mahmud Shah I of Gujarat in 1482 fitted out a fleet against the pirates of Bulsar on the Kathiawar coast, on which he embarked gunners and musketeers from Cambay. Lord Egerton says (*Ind. and Or. Armour*, p. 152) that this is one of the first recorded uses of artillery in India.

52. The absolute impossibility of eradicating the tendency to piracy, except by the most radical measures, from the people of this locality is shown by the fact that, even when the country had come under the Maratha power, the two chief seats of piracy in the Surat district were along the right bank of the Tapti and southward between the mouth of the Tapti and Daman. In the former, the usual method was for captains to sell their cargoes to their friends or run their ships ashore and then plunder them, the Maratha officials of Olpad sharing in the plunder. To the south they threw cargo overboard near villages inhabited by their friends. Though little cotton was grown south of Surat, the villages between that town and Bulsar (40 miles) were full of cotton, commonly called "cotton of the sea". After the harvest was over, the villagers, especially those subject to the Nawab of Sachin, used to attack and plunder trading vessels (*Bomb. Gaz.*, II, 234).

Japanese.

53. In the 7th year of Hung-woo, founder of the Ming Dynasty, (A.D. 1361) the Japanese in concert with Fan-kuo-chien, the expelled ruler of Chehkiang, who with his adherents had turned pirates (Allen, in *China Review*, III, 59) commenced to make raids on the coast of China. These being conducted by the Japanese Government, were piratical only in the sense of being unprovoked and without declaration of war. The raiders sailed up the Yangtse, but on the approach of a squadron under Tsing-hai, they fled to the Loo-choo Islands, where most of their ships were taken and brought to Nankin (*RAS.*, *North China Branch Journal*, N.S., VIII, 1873. pp. 37-8). Remonstrances made in 1368 proving ineffectual, the coasts of Fokien and Chehkiang were placed in a condition of defence (*Chin. Repos.*, XIX, pp. 136-8). In 1374 a Japanese fleet raiding the coast was defeated by Wu-ching and driven to the Loo-choo Islands where it lost many of its ships (Macgowan, p. 469). In the same reign Japanese pirates seized the island of Tsungming (in the Province of Nankin), but their chief paid tribute to China (*Chin. and Jap. Repos.*, 1 Sept. 1865, p. 422). Commerce between Japan and China having been interrupted in this way, the Shogun

Yoshi-mitsu (1368-1394) succeeded in restoring intercourse by consenting that goods sent from Japan should be described as tribute and that he himself should receive investiture from the Emperor of China. In return, a number of commercial passports were issued (in 1404, see *China Review*, III, 60) to the Shogun, which he transferred to Ouchi, the feudal lord of Nagato, which had long been the chief port for this trade. As a matter of fact the tribute constituted only a small portion of the cargoes sent, the remainder being merchandise delivered to the depôts of the Japanese Government in China, where it was sold for copper cash (Brinkley, *Japan*, VI, 159).

54. In 1401 the Ruler of Japan arrested some thirty leaders of the pirates of Tui-ma and Tai-chi and sent them with his tribute to China, a custom which was repeated, whenever tribute was sent, for some time. (*Chin. Repos.*, XIX, *Hai-kwoh Tu Chi*, cap. X, pp. 136-8). On the first occasion the pirates, when handed over to the Chinese, were thrown alive into caldrons of boiling water (*China Review*, III, 60). In 1408 Japanese pirates again troubled China (Murdock, I, 598).

55. In 1418 the Japanese pirates were severely defeated at Wang-hai-wo (*Chin. Repos.*, XIX, 136-8), but in 1419 they again appeared on the Chinese coast, landing at Kiushau, 15 miles north of Shanghai, when they were again defeated by the Chinese general How-Tuan on land and most of their ships were burnt (*RAS.*, *North China Branch Journal*, N.S. VIII. 38). Still their piracy continued, and was the cause of constant complaints from the Chinese between 1428 and 1441 (Murdoch, I, 598), but possibly the latter were really due to the fact that the Japanese had ceased to pay tribute.

56. In the year 1419 the Japanese made a great piratical raid into Korea (Murdoch, I, 599).

57. Between 1459 and 1463, the Japanese, instigated by Chinese fugitives, made many raids into Taichau and Taiming. They came in the guise of traders. Sometimes they even pretended to be bringing tribute, but they were always well armed and on the watch for opportunities to make raids. If they could do nothing else, they took occasion to form connections with the most crafty, daring and lawless of the inhabitants of the coasts, which might be of use on future occasions (*Chin. Repos.*, XIX, 136-8).

58. In the 15th and 16th centuries such Japanese ships of war as were built in Japan flew the *Bahan* flag (Murdoch, I, 15-16). According to Mr. W. A. Woolley, on the sails of such ships were inscribed two characters, which the Chinese read as *Bahan-sen* i.e., *Bahan* or *pirate ships*, but the Japanese as *Hachiman*, the name of an Emperor of the 16th dynasty, who flourished about 1275 A.D. and whom the Japanese worshipped as the God of War (*Hist. Notes on Nagasaki, As. Soc. of Japan, Trans.*, IX, 146). These Japanese pirates cruised as far as the Straits of Malacca, and, because of their ferocity, Japanese ships were excluded from all access to Portuguese India (see para. 211 below). Anjiro (Yajiro), the first Japanese convert to Christianity and St. Xavier's pilot in his Japanese expedition (1549, see para. 135 below), is said to have been killed in a piratical attack on the Chinese coast (Murdoch, I, 15-16).

Malays.

59. In 1374 Muhammadanism was introduced into Java (Temminick, I, 295). In 1377 the Javanese conquered Palembang, and a little later they took possession of the southern portion of the Malay Peninsula. Hence Malacca was probably founded, not in 1252 according to the Malay annals (see para. 38 above), but between 1377 and 1499 (Blagden in *RAS. Straits Journal*, 1909, LIII, 141).

60. According to the *Journal des Indes Orientales* (6e annèe tom, III) towards the end of the 15th century, during the reign of the Sultan Mansur Shah, the coasts of Malacca were harassed by pirates from the Celebes, led by "Kraing Samerloek", son of Prince "Badoelen" (*Parl. Papers*, 1851, LVI, i, p. 64). According to Crawfurd (*Descript. Dict.*, Piracy), quoting from the Annals of Malacca, Sultan Mansur Shah commenced his reign in the year 1374. Chau-Ju-Kua says that the inhabitants of San-fo-tsi (*i.e.*, Palembang in Sumatra) made use of an iron chain to protect themselves from pirates in old times. In his own time (15th century) this chain was coiled up on shore and, as even crocodiles dared not pass over it, it was looked upon as holy and was worshipped. On the other hand, these people were pirates themselves and levied an *ad valorem* toll of one-third on all merchandise in return for a pass. If ships attempted to sail by without calling in to take a pass, they attacked them and killed their crews. The people of Linga also, he says, lived by piracy (Chau-Ju-Kua, pp. 62—3). The people of the island dependencies of Shopo (in central Java) were great pirates and made raids to take slaves, whilst the people of the Island of Tanjung-wulo preferred piracy to legitimate occupations and so were rarely visited by traders (*ibid.*, pp. 84—5).

II.

The Portuguese.

61. About the middle of the 15th century[5] the Portuguese began to push southwards along the west coast of Africa. In 1471 they discovered the coast of Guinea, and in 1481 the English began to fit out ships for the Guinea voyage. The French sailed in the same direction about the same time. It was evident therefore that, as soon as any one of the maritime nations of Europe should discover the new route to the Indies, the wealth and plunder which rewarded the discovery would excite the cupidity and emulation of its equally daring rivals (Kerr, VII, 211).

62. The most powerful rivals of the Portuguese at this time were neither the English nor the French, but the Spanish. The last were, like the Portuguese, adherents of the Papacy, and having their eyes already fixed upon the West Indies, Mexico and Peru, it was easy to arrive at terms of accommodation. In 1493 Pope Alexander VI issued a Bull which, by a meridian running 300 leagues (Kerr, II, 54) west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands, divided the southern hemisphere between the Spanish and the Portuguese, giving them the right to conquer and convert to the Christian faith the peoples of any lands they might enter, which were not already subject to Christian sovereigns. Hence when Vasco da Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope in 1497 and opened the sea-route to India, the Portuguese came not merely as friendly traders, but, more especially after the Papal Bull of 1502 constituted the King of Portugal "Lord of the Navigation, Conquest and Trade of Æthiopia, Arabia, Persia and India" (*Imp. Gaz. of India*, II, 447), as missionaries, and, when opposition was offered, as crusaders. In 1501 Cabral, passing free a ship belonging to Arabian merchants of Cambaya, declared that Portugal was at war only with the Moors of Mecca and the Zamorin who had wronged the Portuguese (Osorio, I, 120). They did not, it is true, bring any of that racial contempt which the

5 Faria (I, 21) says that when Garcia de Loaysa, a Knight of Malta, arrived at the Moluccas in 1525, he found that Portuguese had been there before the existence of those Islands was known in Portugal, and that in the Island of St. Matthew in 2° S. Latitude, Portuguese sailors had 87 years earlier left carved on trees their customary French Motto '*Talent de bien faire.*' This was the motto of Prince Henry the Navigator who died in 1460.

English, Dutch and French showed later for Asiatic peoples, and which, in their own eyes, excused, if it did not justify, a brutal assumption of superiority, but they brought with them a religious fanaticism and hatred for the Muhammadans which led them into acts of cruelty and outrage such as probably had never before been committed in the Far East. Coryat says that the only request which Akbar ever refused to grant to his mother was that a Bible might be hanged round an ass's neck and the ass beaten round Agra, because the Portuguese had tied a Koran, which they had taken in a Moor[6] ship, round the neck of a dog and driven the latter through the streets of Ormuz (Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 278). What kind of men were the Explorers whom the Portuguese had brought, may be judged from the fact that before Vasco da Gama left Lisbon in 1497, he received on board ten malefactors (Cabral had some 20 of the same in 1500, Kerr, II, 399 *n.*), who had been condemned to die, but had been pardoned on condition of going this voyage for the purpose of being left on shore where da Gama pleased, that they might examine the country and be enabled to give him an account of the inhabitants on his return (Osorio I, 50, Castaneda in Kerr; II, 313; see para. 219 below for English imitation). Apparently no idea was entertained of the unfavourable impression of the European character which the heathen might form from such strange colonists.

63. Conflict was certain to arise between the newcomers and the natives for many reasons. The former brought the unwelcome offer of a new religion, all the less likely to be received because there were already a number of Christian renegades in the land. In 1498 at Calicut, Paulo, brother of Vasco, arrested as a spy a man who pretended to be a Christian, and in 1504, when the Zamorin beseiged Don Duarte Pacheco in Cochin, Italian deserters[7] assisted him with his artillery (Kerr, II, 419). Did the newcomers call themselves traders, the commerce of the coast was already in the hands of native merchants, who wanted no interference, or of the Arabs, who resented the approach of rivals. Did they come frankly as pirates, the seas were already provided with gentry of that profession who had no intention of sharing their plunder. They might show the authority of the Pope and the commissions of the King of Portugal, but Castaneda writes that in 1502 the Zamorin, addressing his chiefs, contrasted the Portuguese unfavourably with the Arabs. The latter, he said, had traded with Malabar for 600 years, had done no harm and had enriched his kingdom, whilst the Portuguese were thieves, robbers and pirates. They had attacked him without cause, taken and destroyed his ships, made his ambassadors prisoners, insisted on their ships being laden before those of the Moors and destroyed his city (Kerr, II, 447). Mr. J. J. A. Campos (p. 29) says :—" The suspicious and unfriendly manner in which the early European merchants were received by the Indian rulers impelled them in a large manner to constitute themselves into a military power. The Portuguese originally came only for purposes of trade and evangelization.[8] From the difficulties that were put in their way and from the consequent commercial disputes, arose the necessity of defence by arms, and from this grew up the idea of conquests." The reader may judge for himself whether this is a full explanation of the conduct of the Portuguese.

64. In 1498 da Gama took, off Melinda (in Africa), a Moor Sambucco [Ar. *sanbuk*, a small sea-going boat], in which was great store of gold and silver (Castanheda in Kerr, II, 336). The news of this outrage arrived in India about the same time as did da Gama and

[6] The term "Moor" is used here and elsewhere to si nify a Muhammadan inhabitant of India (See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Moor)—ED.

[7] Two Milanese lapidaries, John Maria and Pedro Antonio, who had come out to India with Vasco da Gama. They taught the Indians to make big guns. News of their death reached Cannanore in 4th March 1506. (Verthema in Kerr, II, 454, 479 ; VII, 123, 130.)

[8] "I do not pretend to persuade the World our only design was to preach, on condition it be believed it was not only to trade" (Faria, I, 23).

being represented as unprovoked, must have caused the Moors to await him with hostility (*ibid.*, 369). In the second Portuguese voyage in 1500 the commander Pedro Alvares Cabral attacked all Moorish vessels which he met with on the coast of Malabar, and in particular a "Moor" ship bound from Cochin to Cambay, on which was an exceedingly fine elephant, which the Zamorin coveted and requested Cabral to take for him (Kerr, II, 411). In 1502 Vasco da Gama, in revenge for the massacre of some Portuguese at Calicut, having captured a Moorish vessel, the Meri belonging to Cairo, "full of many Moors of quality, who went pilgrims to Cairo," (Faria, I, 65) manned by Arabians and Egyptians (Osorio, I, 131), plundered it, took out all the children and then burned the ship with some three hundred Moors, of whom thirty were women, on board. The children he handed over to the Friars to be brought up as Christians (Castanheda in Kerr's voyages, II, 435).[9] In the same year he chased into the river of Onore three pirate vessels belonging to Timoja, a Kanarese pirate, and then, having captured some vessels bringing rice from Coromandel, cut off the hands, noses and ears of the crews, and finally burned them alive together with a Brahman sent by the Zamorin to deceive him. A friar, who had come with the same object, was also mutilated, but was sent back alive with an insulting letter and the hands, noses and ears of da Gama's victims. (Danvers, *Portuguese in India*, I, 85).

65. From 1502, *i.e.*, from the time of Vasco da Gama's second visit to India, the Portuguese, in virtue of the sovereign rights which they claimed, obliged all vessels to produce a manifest of their goods (Day, *Land of the Perumals*, p. 92). In virtue of the same rights they claimed a sort of right of arbitrament and general protection. Thus in this year Vincent de Sodre, having been left to cruise off Cannanore, the King of which had accepted the Portuguese alliance, received a complaint that a Moor, Cojemamemarcar (*i.e.*, Khwaja Muhammad Marakkar) of Cairo, who had come to Cannanore with three ships, had allowed his men to indulge in robbery and violence, had insisted that all the Moor ships present, eight in number, should be laden before any others, and finally was about to sail without satisfying his obligations. Sodre immediately sent for the Moor and forced him to pay his dues. Leaving Sodre's presence, the Moor indulged in violent abuse of the King and boasted that he was afraid of nobody. This was reported to Sodre, and when the Moor came to him with his receipts, Sodre reproached the Cannanore officials with disloyalty to their master in not having exacted payment for such insults, tied the Moor up and had him beaten on the back and stomach "which was very fat," and then filled his mouth with dirt, to which he added a piece of bacon (in spite of the offer of a large sum of money to spare him this last indignity), and then sent him away with his hands tied behind him. He "later did much injury to avenge himself" (Correa, p. 335). This appears to be the origin of the feud waged between the Marakkars and the Portuguese for over a hundred years. Possibly it shows that the Marakkars settled in Malabar were part of a Cairo family, but it does not explain the origin of the name.[10] Logan (I, 334 *n.*) says it means 'Doer of the Law' and the *Malabar Gazetteer* says it was given as a family name by the Zamorin, but it is more probable that it is the Marathi word Markar, meaning 'Demon', used by the people of the Konkan colloquially for seamen, who on this coast were chiefly Muhammadans. In 1503 Albuquerque found at Coulao (*i.e.*, Coulam) the brother of Cherinamarcar who had gone there to reside (*Comment. of Albuquerque*, I, 11).

9 Logan (I. 309) says that on this ship was the richest merchant in Calicut, the brother of Coja Cassim, sea factor to the Zamorin.

10 Qadir Husain Khan (*South Indian Musulmans*, p. 22) says that the Marakhyars of Tinnevelly are descendants of Arab and Persian traders and that the name is taken to mean '*boatmen*' from the Arabic *markab* or Tamil *marrakpalam*.

Verthema says that in 1508 one Mamal-marikar 'a man of great riches and wisdom' was sent by the King of Cannanore to make peace with the Portuguese (Kerr, VII, 135).

66. In 1503 Vincente Sodre went with a fleet towards Cambay to capture the rich Moor ships which traded from India to the Red Sea. There he took five ships, the booty of which, in cash alone, amounted to 200,000 pardaos. Most of the Moors were killed in fight and the ships were burnt (Kerr, II, 455). In 1504 Duarte Pacheco arrested at Cannanore Belinamacar, one of the chief Moors, who, with others, was preparing to quit the city (Castanheda, in Kerr, II, 474). The exploits of Duarte (*i.e.*, Edward) Pacheco produced such an effect upon the Egyptians that the Soldan (Sultan) threatened to destroy the Holy Sepulchre, unless the Portuguese desisted from their conquests in India (Faria, *Hist. of Portugal*, p. 319).

Malabarese.

67. In 1498 when Vasco da Gama was at Anjediva, two vessels belonging to Timoja (daCunha, *BBRAS. Journal*, XI, 297) entered the port making every sign of friendship, but, being warned that they were pirates, he opened fire as soon as they were within range, whereupon they fled in confusion (Walckenaar, *Histoire des Voyages*, I, 171). Faria says that Timoja's ships were linked together and so covered with branches as to look like a floating island (Faria, I, 51).

68. In 1498 the pirate craft of Goa are described by Castanheda as small brigantines filled with men, ornamented with flags and streamers, the crew beating drums and sounding trumpets. Such were the pirate boats sent by the Zamorin in that year to attack da Gama's fleet. Some pirate boats taken at Goa in 1500 had small guns and cannon, javelins, long swords, large wooden bucklers covered with hides, long light bows and long broad-pointed arrows (Gama's *Three Voyages*, *Hak. Soc.*, S. 1, 42, p. 252; *Bom. Gaz.*, XIII, 472 *n.*).

69. The Timoja, driven into Onore River by Vasco da Gama in 1502, was "Timmaya of Honavar, a great sea-robber, who paid part of his plunder to this King of Gersappa (18 miles east of Onore) who ruled the country." Correa (*Three Voyages*, 309, 335) calls him a foreign Moor, but probably he was a Hindu (*Bom. Gaz.*, XV, ii, 102). In 1505, according to Osorio (I, 237) or 1507 according to Faria (I, 92), after Francisco de Almeyda had attacked Onore and burnt many vessels, some of which belonged to Timoja,[11] the latter persuaded the Portuguese to accept the King of Onore as their vassal. In 1508 Timoja warned the Portuguese of the approach of the Egyptian fleet under Mir Husain. In 1510 it was his advice which decided Albuquerque to attack Goa instead of Ormuz. He assisted in its capture and was appointed Governor of the native inhabitants (Faria, I, 162-66). In recognition of his services the King of Portugal sent him a letter of thanks (Osorio, II, 23) and Albuquerque honoured with his presence his marriage to the daughter of the King of Gersappa (Faria, I, 177). In 1511, together with Melrao, son of the King of Onore, he was defeated by the troops of the Zamorin and Hidalcao (Adil Shah) and took refuge at Bisnagar, where he died (*Comment. of Albuquerque*, III, 188).

70. In September 1607 Francisco de Almeyda attacked Cutiale, Admiral of the Zamorin, at Panane, defeated him and burned the town (Osorio, I, 291).

71. The Portuguese experienced great difficulty in dealing with the swift sailing boats of the Malabar pirates. When Vasco da Gama came to India in 1524 he was, on his voyage

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[11] Faria (I, 162) ascribes Timoja's friendship for the Portuguese to the fact that he had been ill-treated by his kindred and neighbours and dispossessed of his fortune. This would be accounted for if, originally a Hindu, he had embraced Muhammadanism.

to Cochin, harassed by their attacks and, to check them, caused a Genoese boat-builder, named Vyne, to build him swift boats, which he manned with rowers who approached the pirates with their arms concealed. These men received not only pay and rations, but also all the goods found above deck on the pirate vessels which they captured. By their aid the pirates were for a time kept in check (Jayne, *Vasco da Gama*, p. 127).

72. The Moor vessel attacked by Cabral in 1500 (see para. 64 above) belonged to two Moor merchants of Calicut named Mamale and Cherina Mercar (or Marakkar). On ascertaining that she was an honest trader and not a pirate as he had been informed, Cabral forbore to plunder her and offered full apologies to the owners (de Barros, I, 1), but the general disrespect which the Portuguese paid to their own passes, the insult to Khwaja Muhammad (see para. 65 above) and in 1507 the murder of young Mamale by Gonzalo Vaz (see para. 89 below), all combined to inflame the anger of the Marakkar family to fever heat. Henceforward we find them in constant alliance with the Zamorin against the Portuguese, and probably Cutiale, who became the Zamorin's Admiral in 1507 (Faria, in Kerr, VII, 101), was one of the Marakkars. Still we find that in August 1510 Mamale (*i.e.*, Muhammad Ali) attended the King of Cannanore in a friendly interview with Albuquerque (*Commentaries*, II, 204). The Marakkars immediately began to make war upon the Portuguese, which of course, the Portuguese described as piracy.

73. In 1511, when Albuquerque was about to go to Malacca, the King of Cochin attempted to dissuade him owing to the influence of Cherina and Mamale-mercar, "two Moorish merchants, men full of all kinds of evil and worthless designs." They pretended that rebellion would break out in his absence, but really feared that he would take the ships which they had sent to Malacca and that, if Malacca itself were taken, their trade with that town would be ruined, "for they were the richest merchants in the whole of Malabar" (*Comment. of Albuquerque*, III, 56).

74. In 1523 the partial evacuation of Ceylon by the Portuguese led Mayadune[12], brother and rival of their ally the King of Kotta, to ask aid from the Zamorin to effect their total expulsion. At first he sent an officer named Galeacem, but the latter was defeated by the Portuguese (Courtenay, p. 104).

75. In 1524 the Portuguese hanged at Cannanore the pirate Bala Hassan, a relative of the Raja, who had delivered him up on the demand of the Portuguese. This greatly incensed the Moors, and his relatives quitted the town and turned pirates (Faria, I, 282; Longan, I, 327).

76. In the same year the Muhammadans of Cochin gave much trouble to the Portuguese, notably Ahmad Markar, his brother Kunji Ali Markar and their maternal uncle Muhammad Ali Markar, all of whom, quitting Cochin, went to reside at Calicut (Zainuddin, p. 120). Henry Menezes (Logan, I, 327) and Lope Vaz da Sampayo (Faria, I, 284) accordingly stormed Pantalayini Kollam (*i.e.*, Panane) in 1525, assisted by a fleet under Arel, Chief of Porka (Purakkat). A little later, at the siege of Coulete (Faria, I, 284), Arel showed so little enthusiasm in the attack that he appeared to be only an onlooker, so Menezes ordered one of his men to fire at him, which he did, breaking his leg. Arel was so enraged that he joined the Zamorin and took a fleet to sea to seek revenge (Faria, I, 292), but was defeated in 1525 by George Albuquerque and, in his absence on the 15th October 1528, his town was taken and plundered, the Portuguese obtaining immense booty. After this lesson the Chiefs

12 Faria (I, 401) calls him Madune Pandar, King of Ceitavaca, and brother of the King of Cota.

of Porka remained in general (see para. 87 below) loyal to the Portuguese[13] and did good service against the Dutch when the latter attacked the fort of Ernacollum in 1662 (Faria, I, 317-8; Logan, I, 341).

77. Meanwhile, in 1524, Hierom de Sousa defeated one of the Zamorin's fleets, consisting of 40 ships and commanded by "a valiant Moor" named Cutiale, whilst it was carrying provisions to Calicut, and soon after Don George Telo (Velo) captured four ships out of a fleet of 38 laden with spices, which were being convoyed by the same Moor commander, and drove the rest ashore (Faria, I, 281-2).

78. In 1525, as I have said, Menezes destroyed Pantalayini Kullam, the original settlement of the Marakkars, who removed first to Tikhodi and thence later to Kottakal. It was about this time that the Marakkars, incensed by the cruelty of Velo after his victory in 1524 (see para. 106 below), having surprised a Portuguese ship, massacred the crew at Valliyan Kallu or the White Rock, eight miles off Kottakal, which was therefore known to Europeans as Sacrifice Rock (Innes, *Malabar Gaz.*, p. 433. See para. 344 below).

79. In 1526 Lope Vaz blockaded a fleet under Cutiale at Cannanore and burned 70 *paraos*, whilst Manuel da Gama cleared the Coromandel coast of pirates (Faria, I, 297). In the same year the Zamorin sent a fresh force to Ceylon under Ali Ibrahim Markar, a noted leader whom Zainuddin (Lopes, 63) calls a brother of Kunhale, and whom de Barros (IV, vii, 22) calls 'a great pirate and bold knight'; but this attempt failed like that of Galeacem.

80. In 1527 Paté Markar, commanding the Zamorin's forces, reduced the King of Kotta to great straits (Faria, I, 314).

81. In 1528 Lope Vaz again met the Chinese captain Cutiale with a fleet of 70 *paraos*, defeated and took him prisoner (Faria, I, 315).

82. In 1530 James Silveira defeated and killed a rich merchant of Mangalore, who with 16 ships and 450 men had been harassing the Portuguese trade. In the same year off Mount Deli, he took six ships from Paté Markar (Faria, I, 342-3).

83. In 1531 the Portuguese seized some ships belonging to subjects of the Zamorin, amongst whom were Ali Ibrahim and his nephew Kutti Ibrahim Markar, on their way to Gujarat (Zainuddin, p. 126).

84. Apparently this seizure of their vessels brought to the front another of the Marakkars, for about 1532 one Cundle (*i.e.*, Kunhale or Kunji Ali) Marcar, "a bold pirate," is reported as harassing Portuguese trade near Cape Comorin. On one occasion having surprised 21 Portuguese asleep, he caused their heads "to be bruised to pieces" for daring to sleep whilst he was at sea. At Negapatam, having taken 40 Portuguese, he shot eight of them, in spite of the efforts of his relative Khwaja Marcar to save their lives. After a time he was driven from his fort at Canamara and all his vessels taken by Antonio da Silva with a force from Cochin, and he fled to Calicut disguised as a beggar (Faria, I, 358-9). In 1533 Kunji Ali Markar (brother-in-law of Ahmad Markar) was sent with a present to the Zamorin from Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat (Zainuddin, p. 134).

85. According to Courtenay (pp. 104-5), Kunhale had been educated by the Portuguese but had escaped and rejoined his family. When in 1536 Mayadune again asked assistance from the Zamorin, he and his brother Paichi or Paté Markar were appointed to lead the forces sent, but as Mayadune was reconciled to his brother, the expedition returned

[13] The accounts of the King of Porka are not very consistent. Faria indeed (III, 300) says, under date 1619 :—"The King of Porca, always ill affected to the Portuguese, this year embraced our friendship with great demonstrations of sincerity and affection.

to Calicut. Faria (I, 400) says that in this year Cutiale, Admiral of Calicut, took a galley from James Reymoso, but as has been already stated (see para. 81 above), Cutiale had been taken prisoner by the Portuguese in 1528.[14] Possibly Faria means Kunhale.

86. In 1537, because a ship had sailed to Jedda without their pass, the Portuguese attacked Puranur and killed a number of people, amongst whom was Kutti Ibrahim Markar, nephew of Ali Ibrahim Markar. The latter, with his brother-in-law Ahmad Markar (also called Paichi or Paté [Pati] Markar) and his brother Kunji Ali Markar, took command of a fleet of 22 grabs sailing towards Ceylon, where the reconciliation between the King of Kotta and Mayadune had been broken. On the 20th (? 29th) February 1538 the Marakkars were surprised at Bentalah or Beadala, near Ramiseram, by Martin Alphonsus de Mello (or Sousa) and completely defeated. The three chiefs escaped by swimming and Ali Ibrahim returning towards Malabar died on the way (Zainuddin, 141, 144; Faria, I, 412; Pieris, *Ceylon and the Portuguese*, p. 48), but Ahmad (or Paté) Markar and Kunji Ali Markar made their way to Ceylon and joined Mayadune, who was in 1539 besieged in his capital by Don Miguel Ferreira. The latter threatened to destroy the town and carry Mayadune in chains to Goa unless he surrendered the two young chiefs.[15] Mayadune was at his wit's end, and arranged to do by cunning what he could not effect openly without dishonour. He informed Paichi Marca and Kunhale Marca of the demand and advised them to escape by night into the forest, where they should remain until Ferreira had left the country. Accordingly they made their way that night with seventy Moorish followers into the forest, where they were set upon by a large number of Pachas, the cruellest caste among the Chingalas, who are accustomed to cut off the noses and lips of the enemies whom they slay. By these they were shot down to a man and their heads cut off and sent to Ferreira. Peace was immediately made, the delighted King of Kotta distributing money among all the men in the fleet and presenting to the Captain pieces of jewellery and lending 30,000 cruzadoes for the expenses of the fleet (Faria, II, 9; de Couto, Dec. V, i). The Zamorin was so cast down by this disaster that he sent China Cutiale as his ambassadar to Goa and made peace with the Portuguese (Faria, II, 14; de Couto, V, v, vii), but the Marakkar family only nursed its hatred for that nation and bided its time for revenge (see Ribeiro, Ceilao, 13-20; *RAS. Ceylon Journ.*, XX, 57-107; Courtenay I, 28-47).

87. In 1540 Christopher da Gama was sent against the King of Porka (Purakkat) to demand reparation for various acts of piracy. This being refused, da Gama laid waste the country and forced the King to submit to his demands (Faria, II, 17). In 1542 the Queen of Batecala (Bhatkal) on the Kanarese coast, having refused tribute to the Portuguese and given shelter and encouragement to the pirates, Martin Alfonso stormed and plundered Batecala and laid waste the country (Faria, II, 71-74).

French.

88. In 1506 the French corsair, Pierre de Mondragon, took a Portuguese ship commanded by Job Queimado in the Mozambique Channel. It was however much easier and less risky to pillage the Spanish and Portuguese nearer home. In November 1508 he took a fine ship in the Bay of Cadiz, and, a little later, a rich carrack from Calicut (La Roncière, III. 137). King Emmanuel demanded satisfaction from the King of France, and this not being forthcoming, he sent Duarte Pacheco in 1509 with four ships to arrest him. He came across Mondragon oft Cape Finisterre. The pirate, though he had only 2 vessels, willingly

14 Faria (II, 14) says that in 1539 China Cutiale was sent by the Zamorin as his ambassador to Goa.

15 Don Miguel had previously defeated and captured Pate Marcar's fleet at Putulam (Faria, II, 9).

accepted combat and was defeated and taken prisoner after a desperate resistance. He was brought in chains to the King, but as the booty he had taken was all recovered and as he gave his word never to repeat his offence, he was set at liberty and returned to France (Osorio, I, 357). This courtesy, very unlike their behaviour to the Moors, the Portuguese extended to English pirates also. In 1521, Vasco Fernandez Caesar took after a severe fight in the Mediterranean four English vessels which were towing a Portuguese ship which they had taken. The English protested that they had taken it with them only to protect it from the Barbary pirates (!), and so were allowed to go free (Osorio, II, 356).

Portuguese.

89. In 1506 the Portuguese fleet under Tristian d'Acunho and Alfonso Albuquerque was sent to establish the Portuguese on the coast of Africa and to obtain command of the navigation of the Red Sea (Bruce, I, 13; Kerr, VI, 92). Almost immediately the Portuguese issued orders that native vessels must carry passes signed by Portuguese officers—a demand which the English imitated many years later as soon as they settled at Surat (see para. 324 below). The historian Khafi Khan (Elliott, VII, 344) says "On the sea they [the Portuguese] are not like the English and do not attack other ships, except those which have not received their passes according to rule, or the ships of Arabia or Muscat, with which two countries they have a long-standing enmity and attack each other whenever an opportunity occurs" (Campos, p. 160). As a matter of fact (see para. 118 below), like the Barbary pirates, the Portuguese did not always respect their own passes when the ships carrying them were rich enough to excite their cupidity. In 1507 Gonzalo Vaz, meeting a rich vessel carrying a pass from Lorenzo de Brito, Commandant of Cannanore, declared it to be a forgery and plundered the ship. To prevent any complaints he sewed up the crew in a sail and threw them into the sea. The stitching coming loose, some of the corpses were washed ashore and one of them being recognised as that of the son (or son-in-law or nephew) of Mamale, a rich Malabar merchant, the hideous crime was discovered (Osorio, I, 261-3; Logan, I, 314). Faria, (I, 110) says that Vaz was broken for this crime, but the punishment was so inadequate that many evils resulted to the Portuguese (Kerr, VI, 98). Osorio (I, 261-3) says that Mamale at once wrote to the Arabians at Calicut, and, at their instigation, the Zamorin sent Mayimamma Marakkar for assistance to the Sultan of Egypt. In response to this appeal, a fleet of 12 ships with a large force of Mamelukes was sent from Suez to Cambay under Amir Husain governor of Jeddah. Colonel Miles (p. 140) says that this fleet was a combined force of Turks and Venetians,[16] the latter strongly objecting to the Portuguese discovery of a new trade route to India. At first in alliance with the Gujaratis, under the command of Malik Ayyaz, Governor of Diu, a Russian renegade (Dames in *RAS. Journ.*, June 1921), Amir Husain had some success, defeating the Portuguese off Chaul in April 1507 and killing Don Lorenzo son of the Viceroy (Faria in Kerr, VI, 112-3). The Zamorin's envoy Mayimamma was also killed in the fight (Logan, I, 317) and in February 1509 Amir Husain was totally defeated off Diu by the Viceroy Francisco de Almeyda. He himself escaped and returned to Mocha, but this disaster deprived the Moors of the command of the Red Sea (Barbosa, p. 21). Husain was killed at Jeddah in 1517 (Zainuddin, 96-7) and Sultan Salim having annexed Egypt, the command of the Turkish fleet was given to the Reis Sulaiman "a Turk of base parentage but a powerful and bold pyrate, born in Mitylene" (Faria, I, 212). On his way to Diu, Don Francisco plundered Dabul, and in February 1510 Don Francisco Albuquerque took Goa and destroyed all the ships and galleys of the "Rumes" (Barbosa, pp. 72-76).

[16] Possibly in reference to the Expedition of Sulaiman Pasha in 1537 (see para. 120 below).

Japanese and Chinese.

90. In 1510 the Japanese settlers in Korea revolted against the Government but were quickly suppressed. Thereafter very few Japanese were allowed to stay in Korea and those only under close restrictions (Murdoch, II, 307).

91. Barbosa (p. 206, *c.* 1514) says: "There are great robbers and corsairs amongst these islands and ports of China." He probably refers to both Chinese and Japanese.

92. In 1513 native Chinese pirates, under Lin Tsih, blockaded the mouths of the Woo-sung and Yangtse rivers and came to Shanghai, whence Lin was driven by a storm. The Imperial fleet pursued and surrounded him, but not daring to attack, allowed him to escape (*R.A.S., North China Journ.*, N.S. VIII, 38-39). In 1522 a quarrel amongst some Japanese, owing to the unjust decision of a local Chinese official, resulted in a riot in which the town was plundered and the Governor was killed. The Japanese being ordered to depart, their Chinese correspondents repudiated their debts. Thereupon, in reprisal, the Japanese turned pirates in conjunction with Wang-chih, Suhai, and other discontented Chinese (*China Review*, III, 60).

Portuguese.

93. In 1511 Alfonso de Albuquerque, sailing to Malacca, attacked off Pedir, between Acheen and Pasay, a large junk belonging to Geinal (or Zeinal), the lawful heir of Pasay. Zeinal made so gallant a defence that Albuquerque offered him his favour and protection if he would surrender, which offer he accepted. The same year the Portuguese conquered Malacca and made themselves masters of the Moluccas (Marsden, 322; Faria, in Kerr, VI, 140; Crawfurd, II. 488). Faria (I, 99) notes that when the Portuguese arrived, the natives of Sumatra and the Moluccas were well disciplined and better supplied with artillery than the Portuguese. The representatives of the Dynasty which had ruled Malacca withdrew to Rhio and for three hundred years indulged in piracy (Buckley, p. 21). Zeinal who in despair of the Portuguese success against Malacca had revolted, confessed his fault and was again received into favour by Albuquerque (Osorio, II, 80).

94. On his return from Malacca in 1512, Albuquerque narrowly missed taking at the Maldives "Mafameda Macari (Muhammad Marakkar), a merchant of Cairo." He was the leader of that party in Malabar which favoured the bringing in of the Rumes or Turks to Calicut to fight the Portuguese (*see para.* 65 *above*). After the capture of Goa he feared that the Zamorin would surrender him to the Portuguese and so fled to Egypt (*Comment. of Albuquerque*, III, 203).

Malays.

95. In 1508 when the Portuguese Commander Don Lopez Sequiero came to Malacca he was warmly welcomed by the captains of some Chinese vessels in the harbour, but they warned him to be on his guard against the King. Being over-confident, he took no precautions, and many of his men were trapped and killed without his being able either to assist or revenge them (Osorio, I, 369). On the conquest of Malacca by Albuquerque in 1511, the royal family retired to Pahang and Johor, and later some of them to the Island of Bintang (*i.e.* Rhio. *See para.* 93 *above*). The followers of the chiefs thus dispossessed were naturally inclined to piracy (Wilkinson, *Papers on Malay Subjects*, I, 36).

96. In 1511 or 1512, Ferdinand Perez, having intercepted some boats carrying provisions to a rebel in Malacca, ordered the captains and headmen to be brought on board. They came very quietly, but as soon as they had got on deck, they drew their weapons and attacked the Portuguese, wounding Perez himself before they were overpowered (Faria, in Kerr, VI, 153). This pretended submission, when they knew that they could not escape, was a favourite Malay ruse right on to the 19th century and will be repeatedly mentioned.

When the Spaniards commenced the conquest of the Philippines in 1565, they found the inhabitants of the Island of Mindoro already engaged in piracy, and the inhabitants of the Sulu Islands soon followed their example. The first attempt of the Spaniards to subdue these islanders took place in 1589. A number of expeditions followed with varying success up to the year 1851 (Crawfurd, *Desc. Dict.*, *s.v.* Piracy).

97. The history of piracy in the Malayan Archipelago is somewhat difficult to follow, as there exists, so far as I know, no systematic account of its rise and progress, and the same pirates appear at different times under different tribal names, so that it is not always easy to distinguish between the different piratical races which sometimes acted together and at other times separately or even in hostility to each other. According to Sir Stamford Raffles, the inhabitants of the Archipelago are all of Tartar origin and were established in their present abodes in prehistoric times. Excluding the Mindanaoans, they may be divided into three communities, *i.e.*, the Malays of Sumatra, the Javans and the Bugis. The first and third were seafaring people, the second an agricultural people with a strong aversion to the sea and an absolute abhorrence of going beyond the limits of the Archipelago. Unfortunately many Javans were trapped or forced to serve as sailors by the Europeans, the Dutch especially going so far as to kidnap men for this purpose. Under these circumstances the so-called Malay crews were mostly recruited from the lowest classes, criminal or desperate men.[17] Serving under Europeans who did not understand their dialects and were ignorant of their customs, they readily resorted to mutiny and murder, and thus gave the Malay sailors their unenviable reputation. On the other hand, the real Malay sailors serving in Arab or Chinese vessels were never known to mutiny, for they always served under petty officers of their own nationality who knew their languages and customs and, further, they served voluntarily, as the Arabs and Chinese had no power to force them on board and could retain them only by good treatment. Whilst accepting Raffles' division of races, it may be as well to mention the names under which the pirates of the Archipelago are generally referred to. Excluding such outlanders as the Chinese, Japanese and Arab pirates, who operated in these seas singly or in conjunction with the natives, the chief piratical races appear to have been (1) the Illanuns, who came originally from Mindanao in the Philippines and spread over the whole Archipelago, (2) the Sulu Islanders, belonging, I believe, to the same stock as the Illanuns (see *Chin. Repos.*, IV, 520), (3) the Dyaks of Borneo, divided into the Hill and Sea Dyaks but all of them head-hunters, (4) the Bugis, who were outlaws from Celebes, (5) the Malays of Malacca and Sumatra, who also operated throughout the whole Archipelago and, lastly, (6) a floating population with no fixed abode, known sometimes as Bajaus (J. C. Beecham, *The Argus Pheasant*),[18] but appearing under many other denominations. Beside the professional pirates, just as we find to have been the case in early times in European seas, all fishermen and coast-dwellers indulged in occasional piracy, and *bona-fide* traders were not averse to accepting the gifts of Fortune when they appeared in the shape of rich booty weakly guarded. In the Malay seas the most cruel part of the business lay in the seizure of prisoners to be sold as slaves, which was accompanied by wholesale murder of the old and weak, and intolerable suffering inflicted upon the captives. I know of no parallel for the state of chaos which existed for more than three centuries in the Malay Archipelago except that of the Mediterranean during the period when its waters were swept by the Cilician pirates. It is difficult to understand how humanity could continue to exist under such conditions and almost inexplicable how the

[17] From the Logs of some of the English Company's ships it may be seen that now and then deficiencies in their crews were supplied by criminals who had been reduced to slavery by their own laws.

[18] Bajaus were wandering maritime Malays, of gipsy manners, the term (variously modified) being synonymous for pirates. (Crawfurd, *Desc. Dict.*)

whole population of so large an area of the world's surface should have relapsed for it could not have always existed, into such a condition of mutual hostility.

98. Mr. J. Hunt, writing about 1812 and contrasting the condition in 1810 of the ports of Borneo, Achin, Johor, Malacca, Bantam, Ternate, etc., with the descriptions given of the same places by the early Portuguese visitors, ascribes the lamentable change entirely to Portuguese and Dutch interference with trade. These ports, he says, " have suffered the same vicissitudes as Tyre, Sidon or Alexandria, and, like Carthage, for ages the emporium of the wealth and commerce of the world, which now exhibits on its site a piratical race of descendants in the modern Tunisians and their neighbours the Algerines, the commercial ports of Borneo have become a nest of banditti and the original inhabitants of both from similar causes, the decay of commerce, have degenerated to the modern pirates of the present day " (*Mal. Misc.*, 1820, VIII, 8).

99. Mere interference with trade would, most probably, have resulted only in the impoverishment of the inhabitants of the Archipelago. Something more was needed to turn these high-spirited races into the most desperate pirates that have ever existed. An English naval officer writes :—" Lastly I must mention the effect of European domination in the Archipelago. The first voyagers from the West found the natives rich and powerful, with strong established governments and a thriving trade with all parts of the world. The rapacious European has reduced them to their present condition. Their governments have been broken up, the old States decomposed by treachery, by bribery and intrigues ; their possessions wrested from them under flimsy pretences ; their trade restricted ; their vices encouraged ; their virtues repressed and their energies paralysed or rendered desperate till there is every reason to fear the gradual extinction of the Malay races. This is the historical record of the rule of Europeans from their earliest landing to the present moment [1848]. The same spirit which combines the atrocity of the Spaniard with the meanness of the Jew pedlar, has actuated them throughout, receiving only such modifications as time or necessity has compelled them to adopt " (Mundy, *Borneo and Celebes*, I, 70). Of course such practices as the head-hunting of the Dyak tribes cannot be blamed to the Europeans, but otherwise Captain Mundy's impeachment is practically proved by the readiness which has been shown by all classes of the population when brought under firm but kindly control, to live peaceably and resume legitimate trade.

Portuguese.

100. In 1517 the Portuguese established themselves at Point de Galle and Colombo in Ceylon and concluded a treaty with the King of Candy, but having seized two ships from Bengal, they were expelled from the commercial stations which they were attempting to establish in the island (Bruce, I, 17). In the same year Don Joao de Silveira was sent to Bengal by the Portuguese. On his way to Chittagong he took two vessels belonging to Gromalle, a relative of the Governor of that place, which were bound from Bengal to Cambay. He sent the two ships to Cochin, but kept the pilot and his nephew, who were from Bengal, with him. On his arrival, these two men represented him as a corsair and difficulties arose in the way of trade. At last, being short of food, Silveira found himself forced to take a boat laden with rice, which act gave the Governor an excuse for hostilities. After vainly blockading the port, Silveira was in 1518 forced to withdraw to Arakan. In spite of this contretemps, it became the custom to despatch a Portuguese ship annually with merchandise to Chittagong (Faria, I, 220 ; Campos, p. 27).

101. In 1516 Albuquerque, Captain General of Malacca, sent a junk flying Portuguese colours under Rafael Perestrello to the Canton River, where she was well received. In 1517 eight vessels under Fernando Perez de Andrade anchored at Shang-chuan (St. John's Island near Macao) and though suspected to be pirates, were allowed to trade. A part of

the squadron returned to Malacca; the rest, accompanied by some Loochow junks, sailed up the coast and established factories at Ningpo in Chekiang and Tsuan chou (Chincheo) in Fokien. But in 1518 a fresh squadron arrived under Perez's brother Simon, who forcibly and without any sort of permission established himself at Shang-chuan, erected a fort, and began a career of violence, robbery and piracy. Meanwhile, a Portuguese envoy, Thomas Perez, had been favourably received at Pekin and was on the point of securing a commercial treaty, but now the Chinese required him to give a promise for the evacuation of Malacca, which they asserted was tributary to China. Unable to do this, he refused. One member of the Mission was executed and the rest sent prisoners to Canton where Perez died in Jail![19] In 1521 Simon was driven from Shang-chuan, in spite of the heavy guns of the Portuguese, which guns the Chinese called 'Franks'. The Portuguese did not however quit the coast, but infested it as pirates, with their head-quarters at Tsuan-chou and Ningpo. Meanwhile, Alfonso de Mello Coutinho arriving (in 1522) with six vessels and ignorant of these events, his watering parties were attacked and driven with heavy loss to their ships, whereupon he left the coast. Many of the prisoners died of hunger, but 23 were put to a cruel death as spies and pirates (Ljungstedt, p. 7). The Portuguese at Ningpo and Tsuan-chou continued to act lawlessly (Pinto, 315-16, says that the dishonesty of the Chinese merchants excited individual Portuguese to violent reprisals), until in 1545 the Portuguese colony at Ningpo was destroyed by a rising of the Chinese inhabitants, who killed "2,000 Christians, of whom 800 were Chinese," and burned 35 ships and two junks. In 1549 a similar fate befell the Portuguese colony at Tsuan-chou.

102. In 1537, the Portuguese, who had acted more diplomatically at Canton, had three settlements near that town, *viz.*, Shangchuan, Langpeh-kao (Lampacao) and Macao (? Ama-kau or harbour of Ama); Macao they obtained possession of by a trick, having landed under pretence of drying goods which they had brought as tribute and which had got wet. (Brinkley, *Japan*, X, 170-174; Abbé Raynal, I, 100-108). The Portuguese account of the way in which they obtained Macao is as follows:—At first the Portuguese were forbidden to trade, but when a Chinese pirate To-kang-si-loo seized Macao, blockaded the Chinese coast and besieged Canton, the Chinese were glad of their assistance. The Portuguese drove him to Macao, where he killed himself, and received Macao as a reward for their services (*see para.* 139 *below*). Monsieur Sonnerat (*Voyage to the East Indies*, II, 187) says that the pirates had seized Ladrone or Rogues' Island and interfered with the navigation of the Canton River. Dalrymple (*Memoir*, p. 1) says that this was the southern island on the east side of the entrance to the Canton River and was so named by the Portuguese because they found it occupied by pirates on their arrival. However it must be one of the group which includes the present British settlement of Hongkong. Eitel (*History of Hongkong*, p. 130) indeed says that, according to tradition, ever since the downfall of the Sung Dynasty (A.D. 1279) and all through the reign of the Mongol Yuen Dynasty (1280—1333) Hongkong was a haunt of pirates. The Bay of Shaukiwan (close to the Ly-ee-mon Pass) and the Bay of Aberdeen (close to the Lamma Channel) were haunted by piratical craft which levied blackmail. They pretended to be fishing boats, but had men stationed on the hill-tops to warn them of the approach of merchant vessels. "It was the piratical pre-disposition of the fishermen residing in the neighbourhood of Hongkong that had caused the early Portuguese navigators to give these islands [at the mouth of the Canton River] the general name of Ladrones." They must not be confused with the Marianne or Ladrone Islands in the Pacific.

103. In 1522 Don Andres Enriquez, in command of the fort at Pedir in Sumatra, being hard pressed by the King of Achin, sent for help to the Portuguese at Chittagong.

[19] Henri Cordier, on the authority of Abel Rémusat, says that Perez was not killed, but settled in the country and married a Chinese lady, whom he converted to Christianity. (*T'oung Pao*, 1911, p. 18[illegible].)

Dominic Seixias was sent to his assistance in a ship which was stopped (?) by thirty Portuguese who had turned pirates under a man named Diego (or James) Gago, and who apparently offered their assistance. When Seixias arrived at Tenasserim and had gone ashore, the pirates under Brito (Gago having died) seized the ship and went off, leaving Seixias[20] and fourteen other Portuguese ashore, where they were seized by the natives and made slaves (Faria, I, 273).

104. In 1524 one of the ships in the fleet of Vasco da Gama was commanded by Mosem Gaspar Homem (or Gaspar Mossem) who de Barros says was a Majorcan. Simply because he was a foreigner (Faria, I, 280) or because he was "a man of narrow understanding" and did not know how to manage his men (Correa, p. 382), the seamen led by the Master and Pilot mutinied, killed him and turned pirates under one Nunho de Aguilar Next year they were captured by Antony de Macedo and brought to Goa, where Aguilar was beheaded and the rest impaled or banished, according to the degree of their guilt (Faria, I. 285).

105. In 1523, during the Governorship of Don Duarte de Menezes, licenses were freely given to Privateers. Don Francisco Pereira Pestana gave such a license to Antonio Faleiro, who had at one time been a merchant and at another a soldier, to make prizes off Guardafui. Near Diu he took a ship carrying a Portuguese pass, robbed her of goods worth £15,000 and sold the crew as slaves. Most of his company, originally twenty in number, and consisting of outlaws and such, whom he had promised "that their beards should be made of gold," were lost in the course of his adventures, and he himself, being taken prisoner at Diu in 1538, turned Muhammadan to escape death (Whiteway, pp. 48-52).

106. In 1524 Cutiale, already mentioned (*see para.* 72 *above*) as commanding the fleet of the Zamorin, whilst convoying 38 ships laden with spices, lost four of them in a fight with George Velo near Cochin (*see para.* 77 *above*). "These four were brought in barbarous triumph to Goa, having many of the enemies hung upon the shrouds. The Canarin rowers [employed by the Portuguese] carried thirty heads in token of victory and 12 prisoners alive, who were given to the boys to be stoned to death" (Faria, in Kerr, VI, 101).

Indian Pirates in the Mediterranean.

107. Whilst Europeans were beginning to operate as pirates in Eastern waters it is curious to find mention of Indian pirates in European seas. Jerome Osorio (II, 290) tells us that "Two pirates, inhabitants of India, with a couple of large ships, had for four years infested the Straits of Gibraltar and the neighbouring coasts of Africa." These two men, who were brothers, were killed in fight in 1519 by the sons of the Governor of Ceuta. Indians (or at any rate Muhammadan Indians) were not at this time averse to foreign travel for, about 1616, Thomas Coryat met at Multan an Indian (whose religion he does not mention) who, in his youth had been captured by Florentines when sailing from Constantinople to Alexandria, and taken to Leghorn, where he had learned Italian (Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 271).

Malays.

108. In 1519 Emmanuel Pacheco, cruising between Passam and Achin and sending a boat with five men ashore for water at the former place, it was attacked by three Javanese *lanchas*[21] (low-decked but very long vessels)[22] commanded by one Zudamecio, a Javan of distinguished courage. As soon as ever he came up, the Portuguese determined to die

20 Possibly this is the Seixias sent by the King of Martaban in 1544 as an envoy to the King of Burma (Faria, III, 348) or the Dominic Seixias appointed one of the three generals of the Siamese army in 1546 (Faria, III, 355).

21 Faria (I, 229) says "three ships of Pacem, each with 150 men."

22 For a historical note on *lanchas*, see *Travels of Peter Mundy* (Hak. Soc.), III, i 172 [Ed.]

rather than be captured and made slaves. One of their number, a barber, who was a man of very great strength, held on to Zudamecio's boat, whilst his companions boarded it, then followed them and the gallant five killed or drove into the sea Zudamecio and all his men, who are said to have been 150 in number (Osorio, II, 303).

109. In 1521 the great Portuguese navigator Magellan was killed in a fight with the inhabitants of Zebu Island, one of the Philippines. His successor, Juan Serrano, rashly accepted the islanders' invitation to a feast and was murdered with 24 of his companions (Zuniga, *Philippines*, I, 49; Prince, *New England Chronology*). Oviedo (*Historia General*, XXV, vii. ii, p. 201) says that Magellan was killed at Coro in Venezuela (La Roncière, III, 267).[23]

110. Some time between 1526 and 1529 the King of Achin treacherously killed Simon de Sousa and other Portuguese bound for Malacca. Under pretence of restoring de Sousa's galley he entrapped other Portuguese, including Emmanuel Pacheco, in a galley well provided with men and cannon, and killed them all (Faria, I, 381. *See para.* 115 *below*).

Chinese.

111. Chinese pirates in the Canton River have already been mentioned (*see para.* 101 *above*). In 1522 the Chinese pirate She Tsung-li plundered the shipping at Shanghai, but was captured and decapitated (Rev. C. Schmidt, *R.A.S. North China Branch, Journal*, N. S. VIII, 39).

Turks.

112. In 1525 Sultan Sulaiman appointed the corsair Salman (Sulaiman) Reis a Capudan and commander, and sent him with 20 galleys to the Indian Ocean. He proceeded along the coasts of Aden and Yemen and plundered the lands of the rebels (?) and of such as were not well affected to the Porte, until the Shaikhs and Arabs submitted and promised to remit their taxes (Haji Khalifah, p. 20). It is said that Sulaiman Reis quarrelled with and was killed by one Hayraddin (Haidar, who succeeded Sulaiman as Governor of Jedda, Dames, p. 12), another corsair who had been sent to him with reinforcements. Hayraddin in turn was killed by Sulaiman's nephew Mustapha who fled for refuge to the King of Cambay with a few ships, the rest of the fleet returning to Suez (Faria, I, 301).

Arakanese.

113. In 1526 Ruy Vaz de Pereira, commanding the annual Portuguese ship to Bengal, found at Chittagong a galleot belonging to Khwaja Shihabu'ddin (Coge Sabadim), a rich Persian merchant (resident at Chittagong), "built after the Portuguese fashion in order to plunder merchant ships and ascribe the crime to the Portuguese". This he took, with all its cargo, and carried away. In 1527-8 Martin Alphonso de Mello was wrecked on the coast of Chittagong. His men were taken prisoners and carried to Codovascan (Khuda Bakhsh Khan) of Chakaria (in the Chittagong District), a vassal of the King of Bengal, and were employed by him to fight his enemies. An attempt to escape was punished by the murder, before his eyes, of his nephew, Gonzales Vaz de Mello, chosen by the Brahmans, who were jealous of the Portuguese and had sworn to sacrifice to their gods the handsomest man of that nation who should fall into their hands. Meanwhile, Shihabu'ddin had referred the matter of his galleot to Nunho da Cunha, then Governor in Goa, and offered to pay a ransom of 3,000 cruzados for de Mello on condition that the galleot should be restored to him. The offer was accepted; de Mello was released and sent to Goa, and Shihabuddin now became a great friend of the Portuguese (Campos, pp. 30-33). The murder of the handsome young Portuguese reminds one of the story in Herodotus (VII, 180) how, when Xerxes

[23] One of Magellan's Captains, Sebastian del Cano (or John Sebastian Cano, Faria, I, 252), commander of the *Victoria*, returned to Lisbon on the 7th September 1522, being the first sea-captain to circumnavigate the globe (Zuniga, *Philippine Islands*, pp. 49-52).

was about to invade Greece in B.C. 480, his advanced force took a Greek ship of Troezen off Skiathos, the captain of which by name Leon was a man of extraordinary beauty. They "cut his throat at the prow of the ship, making a good omen for themselves of the first of the Hellenes whom they captured who was pre-eminent for beauty." So also Sidonius Apollinaris (VIII, 6-13), a writer of the 5th century, says that the Saxon pirates, before returning homewards after one of their forays, invariably, as a religious rite or sacrifice, crucified or drowned a tenth part of their captives.

Spanish.

114. In 1526 the Spanish Captain, Alfonso de los Rios, defeated the Portuguese Captain, Ferdinando de Baldaya, off Tidore. The Portuguese commander was killed in the fight. Some of his men who were taken prisoners escaped, but being recaptured, were hanged or beheaded at Tidore as traitors (!) to the King of Spain (Faria I, 309 : Kerr, II, 87). Thus the division of the Southern Hemisphere between Spain and Portugal actually led to collisions between the two countries in the East, both of them claiming the Moluccas.

Portuguese.

115. In 1527 Don George Menezes, Governor of the Moluccas, suspecting that he had killed a favourite Chinese sow, caused the uncle (? brother) of the King of Ternate (? Tidore), a Muhammadan, to have his face smeared with hog's lard (Faria, I, 324 : Crawfurd, II, 496). In the same year Francisco de Mello off Achin Head, attacked a ship from Mecca supposed to be richly laden. Not daring to board her, the Portuguese fired at her until she sank, and, being disappointed of their prey, massacred the crew and passengers, said to have been 300 Achinese and 40 Arabs, as they struggled in the water. This cruel act produced an implacable feud between the Achinese and Portuguese and caused the destruction of a great number of people of both nations (*see para.* 110 *above*). In 1529 the Achinese managed to entrap a Portuguese ship commanded by Manuel Pacheco and killed all the crew, but a conspiracy which they set on foot to drive the Portuguese from Malacca was betrayed and came to nothing (Marsden, pp. 339-43). Pinto (p. 33) says that the King of Achin had in his service one Cutiale Markar, a Muhammadan of Malabar, with 600 Gujaratis.

116. Strabo (III, v, 11) tells us that a Phœnician captain, on a voyage to the Cassiterides, finding that he was followed by a Roman vessel, rather than allow the Roman captain to discover the proper-route, ran his own vessel upon a shoal, so that the Roman was also wrecked and lost with all on board. The Phœnician, however, escaped on a fragment of his vessel and returned safely to Carthage, where he was indemnified for his lost cargo. The Portuguese were as anxious as the Phœnicians to monopolize their trading routes, but adopted a safer method. They provided their rivals with pilots. When the *Marie-de-bon-secours*, Captain Jean Breulhy de Funay, was sent from Rouen in 1527 and arrived at Diu, she sent ashore her Captain-pilot Estevao Diaz de Brigas.[24] He was immediately imprisoned by the ruler of that port, who according to Pinto (p. 25) was Sultan Bandur (*i.e.*, Bahadur) of Cambay, and on the 25th May 1528 the ship was seized and confiscated. What became of the crew who refused to turn Muhammadans[25] is not known, but the ship was later on incorporated in the Portuguese navy and Don Estevao became a favourite of the "grand chien Bahadur." Presumably "chien" was some angry Frenchman's perversion of the Muhammadan title "Khan" (Faria, in Kerr's *Voyages*, VI, 231 : La Roncière, III, 268).

24 Faria (I, 367) says that de Brigas, having fled from Portugal to escape the punishment due to his crimes, was given the command of a French ship.

25 Probably this is the Farangi ship mentioned by Bayley (*Gujarat*, 3[illegible]). It came into Diu in 1528. The Governor Kiwam-ul-Mulk imprisoned the crew, who, by order of Sultan Bahadur Shah were forcibly converted to Muhammadanism. *The Mirat Sikandari* (p. [illegible]) says they all accepted conversion in preference to death. Faria (I, 367) says that they refused Islam and were put to death to the number of 40.

Sanganians.

117. In February 1528 a Gujarat fleet of 80 vessels under a valiant Moor named Alexiath (Ali Shah) appeared at the mouth of Chaul river and did much damage to the territory of Ahmadnagar and to Portuguese trade. The Viceroy Sampayo sent a fleet of 40 ships, which took or destroyed all of them in Bombay Harbour (*Bom. Gaz.*, **XIII, 451**; de Cunha, *Chaul and Bassein*, p. 39). In 1529 Hector de Silveira sailed up the river at Bassein, defeated Alexiath and plundered and burned the city (Faria, I, 321).

Portuguese.

118. In 1531 Nuno d'Acunha, "Governor of the Portuguese interests in India," made his first attempt to take Diu, but being unsuccessful he retired, leaving Antonio de Saldanha, one of his captains, for the express purpose of piracy. Saldanha pillaged the coasts of Saurashtra or Kathiawar without mercy, burning Gogo and Patam (Pattan Somnath), twelve leagues from Diu and carried off their riches (Tod, *Travels*, p. 259). It was Nunho da Cunha who in 1531 gave a license to Damiao Bernaldes to trade to Bengal. As soon as he had rounded Cape Comorin he turned corsair and plundered a rich Moor ship of £9 000 in money at the Nicobars. Nuno requested Shihabu'ddin (*see para.* **113** *above*) to seize him and his crew, but he made his escape, only to be captured by the Portuguese at Negapatam. He was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment but died in confinement (Campos, pp. 31, 159, 160; Whiteway, p. 52). James Silveyra, cruising near Aden in 1532-3, "discovered a very rich ship of Gidda [Jeddah] which spying him lay by and her Captain coming aboard, shewed him a letter from a Portuguese, who was prisoner in that city [Aden] which the Moor thought to be a secure pass, being given him as such. Silveyra opened and found in it these words: 'I beseech such of the King of Portugal's Captains as shall meet this ship to make prize of her, for she belongs to a very wicked Moor.' Silveyra perceiving how the Moor was imposed upon, took no notice of the deceit but discharged him, choosing rather to lose the riches of that ship than bring into question the sincerity of the Portuguese." (Faria, I, 356). In 1535 Diego Rebello prevented two Arab ships from trading at Chittagong (Campos, p. 57).

119. In 1535 the pirate Francis de Sa captured a junk coming from the Straits of Sunda to Chincheo (Ljungstedt, *Port. Sett.*, p 5).

Turks.

120. In 1537 when war broke out between Venice and the Turks, the Sultan ordered Sulaiman Pasha, Governor of Cairo, a eunuch of Greek descent (Dames, p. 15), "of stature short, his face ugly and belly so big, he was more like a beast than a man, his age eighty years (he could not rise without the help of four men. His purse purchased him the command," Faria, I, 433), to assist Burhan Beg (? Alauddin Lodi), who had taken refuge with Bahadur Shah of Gujarat (treacherously trapped and killed by a Portuguese captain on the 14th February 1537, Bayley, pp. 6, 389 [26]) to restore his father Iskandar (? Ibrahim) driven from Delhi by Humayun (von Hammer, II, 12-3). At Alexandria he found a Venetian trading fleet and compelled a number of the men to accompany him when he sailed for India from Suez on the 22nd June 1538. At Diu he found one Khwaja Zaffer (Jafar or Zafar), a renegade from Otranto (Kerr, VI, 267. His mother addressed her letters to him, 'Coje Zofar, my son at the Gates of Hell,' Faria, II, 102) in command of the King of Diu's troops, and with his assistance took the Portuguese castle commanded by John Francisco Paduano. In defiance of the terms of capitulation he made the whole of the garrison galley slaves (Kerr, VI, 248, 271). Dames (p 19) says that he failed to take the Portuguese castle and suddenly retired in November.

[26] Faria (I, 404-8) asserts that Bahadur Shah's death was really due to his own treachery and more or less an accident, but Nunho da Cunha found it necessary to send explanatory letters to "the Princes of the Decan, Narsinga, Ormuz and the coast of Arabia" in order to justify the Portuguese.

121. Hamilton (I, 137) mentions a Turkish attack on Diu about 1540, but says that the Turkish commander was beheaded on his return to Aden for having failed to take the town. This evidently refers to Sulaiman Pasha, who reached Jedda on the 13th March 1539, and finding himself in disgrace, committed suicide (Dames, 20). Pinto (II, 4) says that in 1540 the Portuguese after a stiff fight near the entrance of the Red Sea, took a Turkish vessel commanded by a renegade, the son of one Paul Andrez, a native of Majorca, who, as he refused to recant, was bound hand and foot and thrown into the sea with a stone tied round his neck. Another of Sulaiman Pasha's captains, named Heredin Muhammad, left his fleet and, with a single galley, made his way to Tenasserim, where he entered the service of the King of Siam and became his Admiral. Probably it was this officer who made an unsuccessful attack on the Portuguese vessels at Chittagong in 1538 (Campos, p. 42). In September 1544, whilst his ships were dispersed in search of four Portuguese vessels, which with 100 men had been cruising successfully on the coast and had taken three great ships and which he had driven into a well sheltered bay, the Portuguese attacked and destroyed them in detail and killed Heredin himself (Faria, II, 91 ; Pinto, *Voyages*, pp. 193-6).

122. In 1546 the Turks made an unsuccessful attack on Muscat (Danvers, *Persian Records*, pp. 10-11). Somewhere about this time there died at Suez the old Barbary corsair Sinan, better known as Il Giudeo (the Jew) of Smyrna. Driven from Goletta in 1535 by Charles V, he took refuge at Tunis with Barbarossa and is said to have saved the lives of 10,000 Christian prisoners whom Barbarossa intended to massacre. Later, being sent by the Sultan to the Red Sea to harass the Portuguese, he established himself at Suez and there died of joy at the sight of his son, who, having been taken prisoner in his childhood and brought up as a Christian, had after a long time been allowed to visit him (*Cornhill Magazine*, Vol. 46, Sept. 1882, *Review* of Padre Alberto Guglielmotti's *La Guerra dei Pirati e la Marina Pontifica*).

Sanganians, Portuguese and Chinese.

123. Hitherto the piratical acts committed by the Portuguese, which have been mentioned, were mostly committed by men who held regular commissions and who, no doubt, would have justified themselves by the pretence of necessity, the right of reprisal or acts legitimately performed upon the bodies and goods of infidels. But about this time we have evidence that private Portuguese took the matter of reprisal into their own hands, and from reprisal passed rapidly to piracy. Ferdinand Mendez Pinto has left us a long account of the piratical condition of the China seas, infested at once by native pirates and by Sanganians and Portuguese. Perhaps the most illuminating part of this account is the detailed story of how one Antonio da Faria took vengeance for his own wrongs. This man, whom Purchas (*Pilgrims*, ed. 1625, II, 2 ; III, 256) quaintly describes as "by sea-fortune a king, beggar, lord, holy, holy theefe," was a trader in the Malayan seas, whose ship was taken off Lugor in Siam by a Gujarati (? born in Siam) pirate Khwaja Acem (? Hussain) about 1539-40, Pinto and a few others of the crew escaping with their bare lives (*ibid.*, 253). Khwaja Acem had good reason to hate the Portuguese, for his father and two brothers had been killed by Hector da Silveira, when the latter took their ship on a voyage from Jedda to Dabul (Faria, I. 299 ; Pinto, p. 43). Receiving news of the loss of his ship, Faria found himself a ruined man and was ashamed to meet his creditors at Malacca until he had, in one way or another, made good his losses. With the help of some friends he armed a small junk, got together a crew of 55 men, of whom only a part were Portuguese, and in May 1540 set out in quest of Khwaja Acem. For nearly two years we hear of him roaming the China seas, at one time fighting with pirates and at others in alliance with them. Amongst his opponents were Similau, Quiay Taijano, and Premata Gundel. Two others, the Necauda Nicaulem and Hinimilau, had once been Christians. The last mentioned used to boast that God owed Heaven to him for ridding the earth of so many Portuguese.

Originally a Gentile (? a Chinese), he had been much respected by the Portuguese, but as soon as he turned Christian he was neglected, and disappointed and angry, turned Muhammadan, the Muhammadans always making much of their converts (Pinto, p. 61). Whilst Faria set free the Christian prisoners whom he rescued from the pirates, he enriched himself and his crew with the booty he took from pirate and other ships which he captured, and forced the traders of Hainan to salute him as 'King of the Sea' and to purchase passes from him (Pinto, p. 63). When shipwrecked, he consoled himself and his comrades with the reflection that "God would not permit so much evil but for a greater good, nor would have taken from them 500,000 crusadoes but to give them 600,000. God doth not punish with both hands, his mercy curing the wounds which his justice maketh." The shipwrecked crew coming upon a small vessel ashore, charged the owners with the name of Jesus as their battle shout, and carried off the ship with the Captain's little son on board. They tried to console him with kindly words, but he told them that they could speak well of God but little used his law. At last they met a Chinese pirate, Quiay Panian, long friend of the Portuguese with some Portuguese amongst his crew, by whose red caps—always worn by Portuguese sailors,[27] —they recognised him as an ally. With his assistance they found and surprised Khwaja Acem. The Christians attacked shouting 'Santiago.' The Muhammadans, crying their profession of faith, resisted with equal courage until Khwaja Acem fell by the hand of Faria himself, and Faria's quest was completed. In consequence of this victory and his other exploits, Faria was received at Liampoo (*i.e.*, Ningpo) with public rejoicings, which concluded with the celebration of the Mass and the preaching of a sermon by Fra Estevano Nogueyra in which the latter said :—" I will not stop but will rather say more, for I speak nothing but what is as true as the Gospel. In regard whereof let me alone, I pray you, for I have made a vow to God never to desist from commending this noble captain as he more than deserves at my hands for saving me 7,000 ducats' venture that Mem Taborda had of mine in his junk and which was taken from him by that dog Coja Acem, for which let the soul of so cursed a rogue and devil be tormented in hell for ever and ever : whereunto say all with me Amen " (Pinto, XXII, 85). So far, Faria's conduct may have had some justification, but what followed shows how character degenerates when a man takes revenge into his own hands. Learning from a pirate named Similau that immense riches were stored in the tombs of the Chinese kings in the island of Calempluy[28] (? Kai-fong in Honan), he impiously determined to plunder them, and set out in May 1542 to raid the island with a priest and 56 Portuguese, 48 Patani (in Malacca) mariners and 42 slaves. Similau, conscience-stricken, deserted him on the way, but Faria, with two vessels, persisted and landed on the island. The alarm was quickly given and Faria was compelled to retreat with but a small portion of the hoped-for booty. Moreover, he carried with him the solemn curses of the guardian priests. On the 5th August 1542, the raiders met with a great storm and Faria's own ship went down with all hands, Pinto and the crew of his consort being informed of his fate only by a loud cry of 'Mercy, Lord God', which reached them through the howling of the winds and the crashing of the waves. (*See also* Faria, II, 31-53).

124. In 1542 the Portuguese first came to Japan, some of their sailors who had deserted from the authorities in Siam being wrecked upon the islands. The discovery quickly led to an irregular trade by lawless adventurers like Pinto and Faria (Kaempfer, II, 50). Pinto claims that he was one of the three Portuguese (Diego Zeimoto, Christiano Boralho and Pinto[29]) who were the discoverers of Japan. He says that, having been stranded at Lampacao and wishing to get to Malacca, he and his two companions took service with a Chinese pirate Samipocheca. Their ship, disabled in a fight with another pirate, was driven

[27] I believe sailors of all European nations wore *red* caps about this time.

[28] R. Hildreth (*Japan as it was and is*, p. 18) says that the island of Calempluy is near Pekin.

[29] Antony de Mota, Francis Zeymoto and Antony Peixoto (Faria, II, 69).

by a storm to Tanegashima, where they were welcomed by the Prince, to whose people they taught the art of making arquebuses. From Tanegashima this art spread to the rest of Japan. Pinto returned with Samipocheca to Ningpo (Pinto, 170-174; Murdoch, II, 34) and arrived at Malacca at the end of 1544 (Pinto, 189).

125. In 1542 Martin Alphonso, on his way to Goa, met with James Suarez de Melo, called the Gallego, who fleeing from a sentence of death, had gone to India in 1538 with two ships and 120 men and had turned pirate about Mozambique. He granted him pardon and the Gallego went off towards Tenasserim (Faria, II, 64; III, 357).

126. In the same year (1542) Hierom de Figueredo was sent with 80 men in three ships by the Portuguese to find the Island del Oro ("said to be in the Sea of the River Colander, in five degrees of South Latitude, 150 leagues from the Point of Sumatra").[30] He laid aside this enterprise to seize some ships from Mecca and took very rich booty, but refusing to give his men their shares they marooned him on the sands of Galle in Ceylon, where they left him, with his hands and feet tied, to his fate (Faria, II, 29).

127. In 1545 four small vessels with 100 Portuguese on board cruised with much success on the coast of Tenasserim. The King of Siam sent a strong force against them under the Turk, Heredin Muhammad, but the fleet of the latter, having scattered in the search, was destroyed in detail and Heredin killed by the Portuguese (Faria, II, 91; *see para.* 121 *above*).

128. In 1547 when Malacca was hard pressed by the King of Achin, St. Xavier prophesied the speedy arrival of succour. This came in the form of the ships of James Suarez the Gallego and his son Balthasar, who drove off the Achinese (Faria, II, 124). Suarez was already with 180 of his men in the service of the King of Pegu (Faria, II, 135). It is said that in 1549 he was worth four millions in jewels and other articles of value, had an annual pension of 200,000 ducats with the title of the King's Brother, was Governor of all his dominions and General of his army and had 1,000 Portuguese under him (Faria, III, 357). It was he and not Diego Suarez, who carried off a bride in the midst of her wedding guests and was killed by the indignant people in this year (*ibid.*, 359). With Suarez was a Greek Engineer (Pinto, pp. 279-93).

129. In 1546 or 1547 Gogo was once more burnt by the Portuguese. The inhabitants were put to the sword without mercy and the cattle hamstrung. Many other towns with their shipping were similarly destroyed (Faria, II, 114; Tod, 259).

130. According to Zainuddin (p. 156) about 1555 to 1559 the Portuguese began a more rigorous inspection of passes.[31] If these, which were delivered to the ship captains on sailing, happened to be lost, the Portuguese cruisers seized ship and cargo and killed all the crew "in the most cruel manner, cutting their throats and throwing them into the sea: binding them with ropes and tying them up in nets or in some other ligatures of the kind and then casting them overboard." (After 1562 they attempted the forcible conversion of the Muhammadans at Goa.) When Gulbadan Begam, aunt of Akbar, wished in 1575 to make a pilgrimage to Mecca, she was forced to purchase a pass by ceding the village of Bulsar to the Portuguese. On her safe return in 1582 she sent troops to recover the village, but they were repulsed and in reprisal the Portuguese seized a Mughal ship. In revenge a party of Portuguese under Duarte Pereyra de Lacerda, landing for sport in what

[30] James Pacheco, sent with two ships on the same search in 1518, was lost with most of his men. Faria, I, 226.

[31] Amongst the articles of the Peace made in 1534 between Nunho da Cunha and the King of Cambay were two: "That all ships bound for the Red Sea from that kingdom should set out from Baçaim [Bassein] and return thither to pay the duties. That none should go to other places without leave from the Portuguese." (Faria, I, 361.)

they thought was friendly country, were made prisoners and on refusing to become Muhammadans, were beheaded. This event was followed by open war between the Mughals and the Portuguese (Vincent Smith, *Akbar*, 134, 203). Zainuddin (pp. 172-3) says the war was caused by the piratical seizure in 1577 by the Portuguese of a number of grabs sailing from Gujarat to Jeddah, with much treasure, some of these belonging to the Badshah Jalaluddin.

131. In 1581 Ferdinand de Miranda, having taken a rich ship of Balala at Surat, refused the booty to his fleet, whereupon fourteen of his ships left him and proceeded to Daman, putting the town into a great fright as they had set up *black colours* (*vanderas negras, Asia Portuguesa*, 1675, III, i. cap. ii., p. 11). The mutineers "landed and marched in warlike manner into the city, committing extravagant enormities." On the arrival of Miranda they attempted to kill him, but he managed to appease them by offering the equivalent of each man's share. "It was not above ten crowns a man, which they valued above their honour and duty." Miranda then destroyed a nest of robbers at Castalete near Diu (Faria, III, 9). The incident at Daman is interesting as the first mention that I have found anywhere of the Black Flag as the sign of Mutiny. Later on Faria (III, 171) says that in 1612 or 1613 Nunho da Cunha fought off Surat some English vessels. "At length the English stood away, having put up *black colours* in token their captain was killed." No English captain was killed in the fight off Surat on the 29th November 1612 between the English under Captain Best and the Portuguese, but Faria possibly refers to the death of Captain Benjamin Joseph in fight with the Portuguese off the Comoro Islands on the 16th August 1616 (Faria, III, 251). The passage shows, however, that, if not in 1581, still before the publication of Faria's *Asia* in 1666-75, the *Black Flag* at sea denoted Mutiny as well as Mourning, nor could any other flag be so suitable for crews which had mutinied and, after making sure of the decease of their captains, had turned pirates. Possibly this was the origin of the Black Flag as the symbol of Piracy.

Japanese.

132. In 1539 a Japanese ambassador came to Ningpo to negotiate a commercial treaty, but was so badly treated by the Chinese Customs officials that the Japanese attacked the Chinese, who drove them back to their ships. It was, however, stipulated that three Japanese ships should be allowed to come annually (*Chin. and Jap. Repos.*, 1st September 1865, p. 422; *Chin. Repos.*, XI, 598).

133. In 1543 the Japanese, under a leader named Hsiang Hien, landed in force at Paou-shan, ten miles north of Shanghai, defeated several Chinese commanders in succession and plundered and burned Shanghai. Chinese accounts say that the Japanese employed a large number of black slaves (*see para.* 252 *below*), whom they were accustomed to buy at a high price, and also some white devils. The latter were probably Portuguese (Schmidt, *RAS North China Journ., N.S.*, VIII, 39).

134. In 1546 a Japanese merchant, trading with money and goods belonging to his Government, was tricked out of them by the Chinese and was unable to obtain any redress from the authorities, as trade with the Japanese was, in 1547, prohibited by Chu Hwan (or Chihuan), the Governor of Fokien and Chekiang. He, in reprisal, raided the coast of that province and carried off a rich booty. Though ready enough to cheat the foreigner, the Chinese traders were not willing to be debarred from trading with him. Chu Hwan had reported to Government that China suffered more from the treachery of her own subjects than from the piracy of the Japanese. His consequent unpopularity caused him to fall into disfavour at Court. In order to avoid disgrace he committed suicide. His edicts fell into disuse, trade was resumed and disorder again reigned on the coast. The dishonesty of the Chinese merchants and officials compelled the Japanese to make piratical reprisals, in which they were abetted by such Chinese malcontents as Wang-chih, Su-hai (see

para. 92 *above*), Chin-tung and Mayeh. Large piratical squadrons were formed, the crews using Japanese dress, flags and signals (*Chin. Repos.*, XIX, 138-40). According to Mr. George Philip (*Early Portuguese* in *China Review*, XIX, 50), the pirates who had raided Kiangnang and Chehkiang first appeared in Changchow district in 1550. Their bands contained only 30 per cent. of Japanese, and their chief rendezvous was the island of Gawseu at the entrance of Amoy harbour.

135. In 1549 St. Xavier set sail for Japan in a Chinese junk belonging to one Neceda, the most noted pirate in those seas, his ship being known as the "Thief's Junk." The possibility of this expedition appears to have been suggested by the fact that a Japanese gentleman named Angeroo[32] (*see para.* 58 *above*), having been expelled from his country for an accidental homicide in 1541, had come to Malacca to see the holy man, of whom he had heard many extraordinary things. He was instructed, converted and baptised, accompanied his teacher to Japan and was there left as the head of the new Church in Japan, but the jealousy of the priests drove him into a second exile. (Charlevoix, *Histoire....du Japon,* I, 187-191).

Turks.

136. Piri Reis or Pirbec ("an old pirate," Faria, II, 163), Kapudan of Egypt, was a nephew of Kemal Reis,[32] a celebrated Mediterranean corsair in the reign of Bajazet. In 1550 (or 1551, see Dames, p. 20, or 1552, see Danvers, *Persian Records*, pp. 10-11) he took Muscat from the Portuguese and made slaves of the Portuguese garrison. Next he attacked Ormuz, but having received a heavy bribe withdrew to Basra. Thence, fearing a Portuguese attack, he fled with three galleys and his treasure. One galley was wrecked at Bahrein, but two arrived safely at Suez. He went to Cairo, where he was arrested and executed by order of the Sultan. The treasure was sent to Constantinople and, its return having been refused to envoys from Ormuz, was placed in the Treasury. Piri Reis compiled a Maritime Atlas of the Aegean and Red Sea (Haji Khalifeh, p. 71 ; Von Hammer, II, 119 ; Danvers, I, 497). Piri Reis was succeeded as Kapudan by a famous corsair, Murad Beg, who was very badly beaten off Ormuz in August 1553 by the Portuguese under Diego da Noronha, losing his best ships and captains, but himself escaping to Basra (Haji Khalifeh, p. 72). He was beheaded for his defeat and Sidi Ali bin Husain, who had served under Khairu'ddin Barbarossa and was known as Katibi Rumi, was sent overland to replace him. Sailing from Basra, Sidi Ali was also badly beaten by the Portuguese under Fernandez de Menezes on the 25th August 1554, and then driven by storms to Daman, but not receiving protection from the native authorities, proceeded to Surat. Here the Portuguese demanded his surrender. The Gujaratis refused this, but destroyed his ships. After some delay in Gujarat, during which he compiled his great work the *Muhit* or *Ocean* (a guide to the navigation of the eastern seas), he made his way overland through India and Central Asia—a three years' journey—to Turkey (Haji Khalifeh, p. 73). Hearing of the defeat of Sidi Ali, the Sultan sent the ex-Janissary Jafar to take command. He arrived in 1554 only in time to hear of the destruction of the Turkish fleet, so, having taken four merchant ships carrying rich cargoes, he returned to Suez (Faria, II, 167-9, 173, 175).

English and French.

137. The earliest English voyages to Guinea of any importance were those of Captain Thomas Wyndham in 1551 and 1553, John Lok in 1554, William Towerson in 1555, 1556, and 1558, William Rutter in 1562, Robert Baker in 1563 and David Carlet in 1564. In 1566

[32] Hildreth (*Japan as it was and is*) calls him "Anjino."

[33] Camali or Kamal Reis was captured at Santa Maura in 1502 by the Papal Commissary Bishop Pesaro and the Venetians. (*Cornhill Magazine*, Sept. 1882.)

George Fenner made a voyage to the Cape Verde Islands. All of these adventures found French Captains already on the scene. Both English and French were ready to plunder the Portuguese and occasionally fell foul of each other. (Kerr, VII, 201, *et seq.*)

Chinese and Japanese.

138. From 1552[34] to 1556 Japanese pirates ravaged the coasts of China. On landing, they traversed the country in bands of fifty or sixty, dressed in red and wearing yellow caps. These bands were divided into squads of ten, of whom three only were Japanese, the other seven being Chinese who were forced to join them. They were almost always victorious and against almost any odds, but on the rare occasions on which they were defeated their bands were exterminated. In 1555 the pirates were forced to raise the siege of Nankin by the Langpin or Wolf soldiers of Oua-chi, Princess of Tien-tcheou (de Mailla, X, 325). They were also defeated by a Chinese pirate Mau-hai-fung in Chusan and again in Lih-piau, and in the same year the Chinese authorities managed to introduce dissensions amongst the pirates of their own nationality. Su-hai, as evidence of his submission, made Chin-tung and Mayeh prisoners. but when he presented himself to the Chinese general, he was himself arrested and beheaded. Wang-chih, who had been ready to submit, now changed his mind and resumed his relations with the Japanese (*Chin. Repos.*, XIX, 138-40). In 1557 Wang-chih was captured. His followers fled southward and plundered in Fokien and Kwangtung Provinces until the year 1563, when they were suppressed (*China Review*, III, 60). In 1561 the Japanese had been joined by a Chinese pirate named Seang Wen-Kwa with twelve ships, but in the same year they were defeated with a loss of 3,000 men. (*China Review*, XIX, 51).

139. According to Dalrymple (*Memoir*, p. 1) it was in 1557 (*see para.* 102 *above*) that the Chinese gave Macao to the Portuguese in return for their assistance against a pirate Ching-si-law who was besieging Canton. The Portuguese raised the siege and drove Chang-si-law to Macao, where they fought and killed him. Ljungstedt (*Port. Sett.*, p. 12) however is of opinion that Macao was given to the Portuguese on account of their pretended humility and on the bare promise of assistance against the pirates, and that the story of Chang-si-law is really that of the pirate Chin-chi-lung, who flourished about a hundred years later, antedated in order to flatter Portuguese pride. Pinto (p. 513) says that the Mandarins of Canton handed over Macao to the Portuguese at the request of the country merchants.[35]

140. In 1563 bad government having caused many Chinese to become outlaws, piracy again flourished on the Chinese coast, the Japanese allying themselves with the Chinese pirates[36] and rebels. Nevertheless they were defeated this year and again in 1564 with very heavy loss by Tsi-ki-kouang, Lieutenant General of Fokien (de Mailla, X, 325).

141. In 1564 the Chinese Admiral Yu-ta-yew met the pirate Lin-tau-kyen (who had seized the island of Pong-hu), defeated him after a desperate conflict and pursued him to Formosa, but returned to China without making sure of his death. Liu-tau-kyen is said to have cut the throats of all the inhabitants of the island whom he could catch and to have used their blood to caulk his leaky ships. He then set out to attack the province of Kwantung, but perished miserably (Duhalde, I, 90; de Mailla, Formosa, 14-15). In 1570 the Japanese pirates raided the Chinese coast, but were driven off without having done much damage (*China Review*, XIX, 51).

[34] According to Boulger (*Hist. of China.* II, 146), the Japanese raid in 1555 was due to the failure of a Chinese merchant to deliver goods for which he had been paid by the Japanese.

[35] Faria (III, 311) says simply that the island was inhabited by robbers who harassed the mainland and that the Portuguese were allowed to settle at Macao in 1557 as a recompense for clearing them out.

[36] Boulger (II, 147) says the Japanese allied themselves with a band of Chinese pirates under one Hoangchi (? Wang-chih. *See para.* 138 *above*).

142. During the reign of the Ming Emperor Kiat-Sing (1522-1567), the Japanese, in concert with Chinese pirates, raided the Chinese coasts, having their headquarters at Ki-long-chan in the north of Formosa and ill-treating the people of that island so much that they deserted the west coast and retired into the mountains. The king of the Loo-choo Islands, which from the time of Chang-tai-keou had had a great trade with China and, as they lay conveniently between the two countries, had become the base for commerce between them, was accustomed to return to China numbers of people whom the Japanese pirates had carried off and left in his territory. At last the Japanese Emperor Tai-cosama, preparatory to an attack on China, determined to annex the islands. About 1610 a Japanese nobleman from Satsuma raised a fleet and 3,000 men, and invaded and pillaged them. He carried off the King, but two years later allowed him to return in all honour (*Lettres Edifiantes*, XXIII, 204-207).

Malabarese.

143. In 1563 Hierom Diaz de Menezes on his way to Goa was attacked by three Malabar *paraos* (prows) and escaped capture only owing to the fact that he had forty old soldiers on board beside his crew. Sixty Malabars lay dead on his own deck when their fleet gave up the fight. The Viceroy complained to the Zamorin of this outrage but was told "that they were some rebels and whoever met them might punish them." (*See para.* 158 *below*.) He therefore sent Dominick de Mesquita, "a man of valour and no nice conscience as was requisite for such an action," to cruise on the coast of Kharepatam, where, taking ships by twos and threes and killing all the crews to the number of 2,000 men, Mesquita "filled the whole coast with mourning." In 1564 the Zamorin sent ambassadors to the Viceroy to complain, but they were told "that it was perhaps some Portuguese who was in rebellion and that they might punish him. If taken he would do the same." Before the ambassadors departed, Mesquita arrived at Goa and was immediately arrested, but when they had gone he was released and rewarded (Faria, II, 219-20). Faria (II, 222) says that a "woman of a bold spirit and of good repute among her people," her husband being one of those killed in Mesquita's raids, so excited the people of Cannanore to revenge, that it took the Portuguese some years to subdue the coast.

Arabians, Sanganians, and Malabarese.

144. Cæsar Frederick, writing in 1565, says that the coasts between Goa, Ormuz and Mocha were so infested with corsairs and pirates that only ships which were very well appointed or under Portuguese convoy were safe from attack, and that all Moor ships which did not carry Portuguese passes were liable to capture (Kerr, VII, 149-152). Linschoten (1576-81) says (p. 21) that the Moors trading from Malabar to the Red Sea so resented this imposition that they secretly incited the pirates ot the Malabar coast to attack the Portuguese shipping. These pirates, he says (p. 22), had havens at Chale, Calicut, Cunhale and Panane, from which they so terrorised the coast that the Portuguese were compelled to patrol the sea during the whole summer season. Even under such protection (?) hardly any but coast trade from port to port managed to exist. In the time of Cæsar Frederick it was necessary during the season of the pearl-fishing in the Gulf of Manaar for the Portuguese to send galleys or foists to protect the fishermen (Kerr, VII, 167).

Malabarese.

145. In 1566 the people of Funan (*i.e.*, Ponnani, Logan, I, 334) and Fundreeah (*i.e.*, Pantalayani Kullam) in 12 grabs attacked a Portuguese carrack laden with rice and sugar in sight of Ponnani. In 1568 a fleet of 17 grabs belonging to the same place (the noted robber Kuttee-Pokur was in this fleet) attacked, off Shaleeat, a large carrack with 1,000 Portuguese on board, all of whom with their ship were blown up in the fight. Some time

later, in the direction of Kacel, they took 22 vessels belonging to the Portuguese and their allies, laden with rice and carrying three small elephants. In 1569 Kuttee-Pokur sailed with six grabs into the river near Mungiloor (Mangalore), fired part of the fortifications and took a small galleot without suffering any loss. On his return he fell in with a fleet of nearly 50 Portuguese galleots and he and every one of his men were killed (Zainu'ddin, pp. 172-3). In the same year (1569) the Malabar coast was infested with pirates, of whom one only,[37] Canatale, is named by Faria. (II, 242, 268.) Don George de Menezes pursued some into the river of Kharepatam and himself boarded a galley on which there were 180 Moors, who fought until all but two were killed—a father and his son. Rather than surrender, the father killed his son and, stabbing himself, leaped overboard (Faria, II, 296).

146. In 1570, whilst the Portuguese were besieging Chaul, a fleet of 21 sail under Catiproca Markar[38] was sent out by the Zamorin and passed unnoticed through the Portuguese fleet. Catiproca landed a reinforcement of 1,000 musketeers, but failing in an attempt with fireships on the Portuguese fleet, stole out of the harbour by night and, at the suggestion of the Queen of Mangalore, made an attempt to surprise and scale the Portuguese fort there. The Commandant's servants aroused by the noise which the Malabars made in raising the ladder, threw out a heavy chest of silver which broke it. The storming party thereupon fled, carrying the chest with them to their ships. Whilst passing Cannanore, Catiproca met with a fleet under Don James de Menezes and was utterly routed. He himself was killed, his nephew Cutiale taken prisoner and the chest of silver recovered (Faria, II, 313-4).

Malays.

147. From 1567 to 1585 Mansur Shah reigned in Acheen. He was an inveterate enemy of the Portuguese and made a series of unsuccessful attacks upon Malacca in 1568, 1569, 1572, 1573, 1574, 1575 and 1582 (Begbie, p. 46).

Malabarese.

148. In 1570 ten galleys of Malabar pirates pillaged the town of Thana, a little to the north of Bombay, and stole the great bell of the Cathedral while the people were celebrating the Feast of Expectaçao (Edwardes, p. 79). This appears to have been one of the exploits of the Elder Kunhale, for Faria says (III, 76) that he took many Portuguese ships and, amongst other exploits, plundered "Thana in the Island of Salsete near Bacaim," taking the opportunity of doing it when "those who should defend it were at the Devotions of the Holy Week". So much trouble was caused by these freebooters that every year the Portuguese used to send out on cruise two fleets known respectively as the Fleet of the North and the Fleet of the South. Gemelli Careri tells us that the Malabar pirates were now a mixed crew of Moors, Gentiles (*i.e.*, Hindus), Jews and Christians and that the Arabs soon followed their example (Churchill's *Voyages*, IV, 213).

149. Between 1571 and 1573 Kunhale the Elder (son or nephew of Paté Markar) then a resident of Kurichchi, obtained the Zamorin's permission to build a fort at Patupattanam, 77 leagues from Goa and 33 from Cochin, which was afterwards known as Kunhale's fort or Marcaire Coste (*i.e.*, Marakkar Kotta) at the mouth of the Kotta River (Pyrard, II, 510, App. C).

150. In 1577 the Portuguese, under Don Paulo de Lima Pereira, attacked Dabul. The besieged called in the assistance of two Malabar pirates, Curtale and Mandaviraj, with five galleys, but this fleet with five of their own vessels was defeated by the Portuguese, only one ship escaping (Faria, II, 363). Danvers (II, 59) gives the date as 1579.

[37] Unless the Moor Murimiya, who was killed in fight with the Portuguese, was also a pirate (Faria, II, 242).

[38] Is this Kutti Pokur (*see para.* 145 *above*)

Japanese and Chinese.

151. In 1572 the Japanese attempted to renew friendly relations with Korea and were allowed to land at Fusan, on condition that any Japanese who landed elsewhere should be treated as pirates (Murdoch, II, 307).

152. In 1571 the Spanish had taken possession of Manila and founded the colony of that name (Zuniga, I, 114; Burney, I, 292). In 1574, during the Governorship of Guido de Labazorris, they narrowly escaped losing it to a Chinese pirate named Limahon. This man was a native of the province of Cuytan, where he commanded a band of robbers. Being driven out by the Governor, he betook himself to sea and collected a fleet of some forty ships. Attacking another pirate named Ventoquian, he defeated him and added fifty-five of his ships to his own. This exploit attracted the renewed attention of the authorities, and the Governor of Cuytan collected a force of 130 ships and 40,000 men with which to crush him. Unable to stand against so large a force, Limahon set sail for the Philippines (*Ambassades Mêmorables*, p. 171). Surprising the Spaniards, he quickly drove their small garrison into the fort of Manila and would have taken it, had it not been relieved by Captain Juan de Salzedo from Vigan, who had seen his fleet passing and guessed its objective. Limahon had with him a force of 2,000 soldiers under his Japanese Lieutenant Sioco (Zuniga, I, 136). Sioco was killed in the attack on the fort, and this so discouraged the pirates that Limahon was forced to re-embark and take refuge in the river Pangashima. Omoncon, the Chinese Admiral, now arrived with his ships and, with his assistance, the Spaniards burned Limahon's fleet, but Limahon managed to escape to a desert island. Some accounts say that he died there of fever, others that he escaped to Formosa. Anyhow he was no more heard of (de Morga, *Philippine Islands*, p. 21 n., *Ambassades Mêmorables;* Mendoza, *Hist. of China*, 1, lxxi). The attack on Manila was repulsed on the 30th November, which is the Feast of Saint Andrew. The Spaniards therefore ascribed their escape to that Saint and celebrated that day as a festival, at any rate as late as the year 1838 (*Chinese Repos.*, VII, 290-291).

153. In 1575 the pirate Taocay, an enemy of Limahon and friend of Ventoquian, ravaged the coast of Chincheo (Mendoza, II, 97) and the Japanese occupied Chusan. In 1579 they took the Pescadores Islands in the Formosa Channel, Tien-pak in Quantung and some places in Fokien, and made many raids during the next twelve years. They are said to have indulged greatly in drunkenness and debauchery. Their custom was, when they had sacked a place, to set it on fire and to retire under the cover of the smoke and confusion. Their military discipline was of the strictest. All booty was scrupulously surrendered to the chief, who distributed it according to the merit of the fighting forces. Prisoners taken in battle were treated with great severity, but the people living in the neighbourhood of the strongholds occupied by the Japanese were so kindly treated that they readily furnished the information which the pirates required for their raids (Osborn, *Cruise in Japanese Waters; Chin. Repos.*, XIX. 135-206).

154. Sir Humphrey Gilbert (*North-West Passage*, 1576, Hakluyt, VII, 195) says:—"The great and dangerous piracy in these [*i.e.*, the China] seas no man can be ignorant of that listeth to read the Japonish and East Indian historie." It was, in fact, the state of things above described which, in part, accounted for the various efforts made to discover an alternative and safer route to China.

Malabarese.

155. In 1580 Portugal came under the same crown as Spain, an event which greatly weakened the prestige of the Portuguese in India and at the same time exposed their trade and settlements to the hostility of the Dutch and English.

156. In 1581 Matthias de Albuquerque destroyed some pirate galleys in the river Kharepatam near Goa and, pursuing their crews ashore, burned all the coastal villages

(Faria, III, 2, mentions Coulete and Capocate) which gave them shelter (Danvers, II, 26). In the same year Gonzalo Vaz de Camoens with four ships followed a rich Gujarati vessel to the Negrais. Two of his ships were taken by Malabar pirates, but with the other two he captured a rich ship of Achin, laden with ammunition and such an amount of valuable booty that when brought on board his own ships the latter would have sunk, had he not forced his men to throw a quantity of it overboard (Faria, II, 369).

157. In 1583 six Portuguese were taken prisoners in an unsuccessful attack on Kunhale's fort by Don Giles James Mascarenhas, and one of these was taken to Kunhale, a man of extraordinary strength, "who at one stroke cut him in two" (Faria, III, 13 ; Pyrard, II. 511 ; Danvers, II, 51. 112-116).

158. In 1584 the Portuguese concluded a peace with the Zamorin, the nominal sovereign of the Malabar pirate chiefs and communities, and received permission to erect a fort at Panana, ten miles from Calicut, in order to keep them in check, for the Zamorin hypocritically pretended (*see para.* 143 *above*) that "they were sea-rovers and were subject neither to him nor to any one else." For this reason when requested to punish the people of Sanguisceo, twelve miles from Goa, he refused, and told the Viceroy, Don Francisco Mascarenhas, that he might do so himself. As far as I can make out, these were the subjects of the Hindu Naik of Sangameshwar, who had a fort at Jaygad at the mouth of the Sangameshwar River.[39] An expedition against them in 1583 under the Viceroy's nephew Don Juliano (Don Giles Yanez de Mascarenhas, Faria, III, 18) was defeated in consequence of the indiscipline of the young Portuguese gentlemen volunteers, and Don Juliano was killed. A second expedition in 1584 or 1585 under the Viceroy's cousin Don Jeronimo, assisted by the troops of the King of Bijapur was successful, and the pirate stronghold was destroyed. The Naik was restored to his throne on promise of amendment (Faria, III, 18, 21 ; Linschoten, I, 92, 143 ; *Bomb. Gaz.*, X, 341 ; XV, ii, 119).

159. About 1586 Kunhale sent many pirate vessels to sea and took many Portuguese prisoners. Some of these, it is said, were saved from starvation in prison by the fact that a mouse having made a hole through the wall of their dungeon into a room in which rice was stored, sufficient rice fell through every night for them to live on. One of the prisoners, Emmanuel de Olivera, was beheaded for refusing to turn Muhammadan (Faria, III, 38).

160. In 1589 a Portuguese vessel meeting with some pirates of Cangane on the Malabar coast "pursued them with scoffs, scorning to take up arms against them, and they turning upon the galley, entered it and put all the men to the sword" (Faria, III, 62). In the same year two Portuguese galleys were attacked in the River Kharepatam by the famous Moor Costamuza (Cousty Moussey, Pyrard, I, 352), nephew and Admiral of Kunhale, and escaped only by the unexpected retirement of the enemy. Costamuza, in command of a squadron variously estimated at 14 or 22 galleys, soon became absolute on the coast, and took several Portuguese ships including a rich vessel from China, the crew of which they killed, but which they could not plunder as she caught fire. This disaster ruined many of the merchants of Goa. Owing to bad weather, the pirates were unable to regain Calicut and so went to Ceylon, where they concluded an alliance with the King of Jaffnapatam, who agreed to assist them with land forces against the Portuguese and provided them with a refuge in the Straits of Manaar, from which they could intercept ships trading with Bengal, Pegu and the Moluccas. Andreas Hurtado Mendoza was sent with a fleet to attack them. On his way he took two rich ships from Mecca, and in October surprised and destroyed the pirate fleet at the mouth of the River Cardiva in Ceylon (Pet. Jaurici, *Thesaurus*, I, 489 ; Faria, III, 65 ; Ribeiro, *Ceylon*, p. 79 ; Danvers, II, 85).

[39] Faria (II, 324) mentions the destruction of the Naik of Sanguicer's town in 1571 by Don George de Meneses.

161. In 1593 the annual ship coming from Java, with only 14 Portuguese among the crew, was beset almost in sight of Goa by 14 Malabar vessels. After a defence lasting three days and three nights, all the Portuguese were killed, but one of the crew, a Java islander, set the ship on fire, so that the enemy got little benefit from her (Faria, III, 73 : *see para.* 160 *above*).

Chinese.

162. Geronimo Roman, writing in 1584, says that, at that time, the Chinese Government had an arsenal on the island of Lintao near Macao, to which was attached a fleet, but that the latter, though consisting of a large number of boats, was armed only with small iron guns, and that when even as many as a hundred of these war boats managed to surround a single corsair, they did not dare to come to close quarters without first resorting to some such device as that of blinding the enemy by throwing powdered lime into the air from windward (Mendoza, I, lxxix ; *see paras.* 343, 358 *below*).

Turks and Arabians.

163. In 1586 two ships bound from Chaul to the Red Sea, with goods belonging to Portuguese merchants, were taken by two Turkish galleys which had been built at Suez and now began to do much damage in the Red Sea. These galleys defeated a small Portuguese fleet under Ruy Gonsalvez de Camara and took Paté and Brava on the coast of Melinda in Africa. Gonsalvez's lieutenant, Pedro Homen Pereira, was also defeated in an attack upon a pirate stronghold at Nicolu on the Arabian coast, after a fight in which a gallant Dutch trumpeter lost his life in a desperate attempt to save the Portuguese ensign, which its bearer had thrown down in order to make his escape (Linschoten, I, 92). Colonel Miles (p. 178) says that in 1580 or 1581 (Faria, II, 370, says 1581) some galleys were equipped at Aden (by the Wali of Aden Dames, p. 26) under command of a freebooter, Meer Ali Beg. He left Aden in August 1580 or 1581 and plundered Muscat, the Portuguese fleeing to Matara, a league distant, where they were kindly treated. Then, supported by all the Arab traders, he betook himself to piracy on the African coast and took many places from the Portuguese. On the 5th March 1589 he was taken prisoner at Mombassa by Thomé de Souza Coutinho, who stormed his fort, killed over 70 Turks and took many prisoners, besides liberating many Christians. Coutinho sent him to Lisbon, where he died after having become a Christian (Faria, III, 31, 59-61).

Portuguese and Japanese.

164. In 1570 the Portuguese had discovered the harbour of Nagasaki and had been allowed to make use of it for the purposes of trade (*As. Soc. of Japan, Trans.*, IX, 129). They took advantage of this privilege to introduce priests who began to proselytize and to interfere with the civil authority, which created so much disturbance that, on the 25th July 1587, the Japanese ordered all the Portuguese religious to leave the country, though they permitted trade to continue (Murdoch, II, 243). This arrangement, however, was not sufficient. The Japanese converts behaved with such insolence towards the Government that they provoked a series of massacres between 1590 and 1593 and again in 1596 (Kaempfer, II, 52, 54), and a general hostility towards their Portuguese patrons. In 1597 a Portuguese ship was purposely wrecked by the Japanese pilot in the harbour of Hurado (Firando or Hirado), in the Province of Toza. As in India, Japanese custom gave all wrecks to the king and the cargo was therefore confiscated and no redress was obtainable (de Morga, p. 84).

Japanese.

165. In 1588 Korea offered to renew friendly relations with Japan, provided that the latter would deliver up the Korean runaways who acted as guides to the Japanese pirates. In 1589 Sa Wha-dong, the leader of these runaways, and three Japanese pirates were surrendered at Seoul and immediately executed (Murdoch, II, 307).

166. In 1599-1600 six ships manned by Japanese corsairs from Satsuma went out to plunder Chinese and other ships trading to Manilla (de Morga, 148).

Malabarese.

167. On the Malabar Coast, between Ceylon and Goa, the Portuguese trade was harassed at this time by the Nairs. Of these Nairs, Fitch, who was in Cochin from the 22nd March to November 1589, says :—" The Nairs, which be under the King of Samorin, which be Malabars, have always wars with the Portugals The King has always peace with them but his people go to the sea to robbe and steale. Their chief captaine is called Cogi Alli [Khwaja Ali], he hath three castles under him. When the Portugals complaine to the King, he sayeth he doth not send them out ; but he consenteth that they go. They range all the coast from Ceylon to Goa, and go by foure or five parowes [prows] or boats together, and have in them fifty or three score men and boord presently [*i.e.*, immediately]. They do much harme on that coast and take every yere many foists [light galleys] and boats of the Portugals. Many of these people be Moores. This King's countrey beginneth twelve leagues from Cochin and reacheth neere unto Goa." (Fitch in Hakluyt, V, 502 ; *Bomb. Gaz.*, XV, ii, 119 ; Ryley's Fitch, p. 187 ; Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 65.)

168. In 1595 Muḥammad Kunhale Markar succeeded his uncle Paté Markar and finished the fort of Padepatam, which he strongly fortified. In the pride of his power he assumed the title of ' King and Lord of the Indian Seas ' and began to plunder the Malabars as well as the Portuguese. In defiance of the Zamorin, who hitherto had shared his booty, he cut off the tail of one of his elephants and indecently mutilated one of his Nairs. The Zamorin accordingly agreed with the Portuguese to effect his destruction. In 1597 Luis de Silva ravaged the Island of the Sanganes (*i.e.*, coast of Kathiawar) for harbouring the pirates and, near Chaul, without the loss of a single man, took a galleot with a crew of 200 men commanded by Kunhale's nephew (Faria, III, 97). In 1598 the Portuguese and the Zamorin blockaded Padepatam by sea and land. In the first assault, though Kunhale lost many men of note, the Portuguese alone lost three hundred men and were forced to retire. This was, next to the defeat of Ruy Gonsales de Camara at Ormuz, the greatest disgrace that had ever befallen the Portuguese arms in Asia (Faria, III, 30, 105). So pleased was Kunhale with this success, that he assumed the title of ' Defender of the Muhammadan Faith and Conqueror (or Expeller) of the Portuguese.' But in March 1600 Hurtado and the Zamorin forced him to surrender on the mere promise of his life. " He accordingly marched out, having a *black* veil [40] on his head and carrying his sword downward, which he surrendered to the Zamorin, who immediately handed it to Hurtado." He was about 50 years of age, of low stature but (*see para.* 157 *above*) strong and well made. He and his nephew Cinale (Chinale and Cotiale, Pyrard, II, 523) with 40 prisoners of note were well treated so long as they were on board the fleet, but when they arrived at Goa, some of them were torn in pieces by the rabble, and Kunhale and his nephew were publicly beheaded, " so that the Government and the mob went hand in hand to commit murder and a flagrant breach of faith." Before his death he was asked if he would become a Christian, but being informed that conversion would not save his life, he preferred to die a Muhammadan (de Couto, XIV, 63 ; *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, 61 ; Faria, III, 76-7 ; 97-116 ; Danvers, II, 112). The murder of Kunhale by the Portuguese was never forgiven by his Moplah countrymen. " More than fifty years later a rock off the shore, perhaps that called in English times

[40] In 673 A.D. Wamba, King of Spain, having taken Nismes and captured Paul, the commander of the city, he and his chiefs were brought into the city, the others carried on camels, but " Paul in the midst of them bare-footed, with a crown of *black* leather on his head, instead of that of gold he had aspired to; all their beards long and their heads shaved " (Faria, *Hist. of Portugal*, p. 104). When Orsini and Pieri were condemned for attempting to murder Napoleon III in 1858, they were led out to execution *as parricides* with black veils about their heads.

'Sacrifice Rock' (*see para.* 78 *above*) was still known as Kunhale's Rock and the Kotta River long continued to be the principal nest of the corsairs, "who, friendly to the Dutch and English, continued to work havoc upon the waning commerce of Goa" (Pyrard, II, 527). Pyrard tells us (I, 351) that in a house which he visited in 1608 (probably in Kottakal) there were pictures of Kunhale's exploits, and the *Malabar Gazetteer* says that these exploits and those of others of his family are the subject of many popular ballads. Pyrard says that Kunhale left a son named Marcara (? Marakkar) who was greatly respected by the people of Malabar. He declares that, whatever may have been asserted by the Zamorin, the Malabarese pirates had a perfect understanding with him, paying him tribute,[41] and being supplied by him when necessary with loans which they repaid with interest. They were chiefly Muhammadans, but welcomed any one who cared to join them, whilst they forced nobody. They ordinarily had fleets of 80 to 100 galleys (the latter they called *pados*) and with them they harassed the trade between Diu and the south. Before they embarked they chose a chief, for the term of the voyage only, and made vows to give a certain proportion of their booty to the poor and to the priests (*see para.* 35 *above*). At sea they preyed not only on the Portuguese but on everybody, including their own countrymen and even their own relatives, considering it unlucky to pass by anything thrown in their way by Fortune.[42] Before fighting they took betel, and upon it swore fidelity to each other. When they took Indian prisoners they merely plundered them, letting them go with their ships and heavy cargo. Though on land they traded peaceably with the Portuguese, at sea they were their mortal enemies, and if victorious they killed or ransomed their prisoners. When overpowered, they ran their vessels alongside the enemy and tried to sink her with themselves. On the other side, the Portuguese offered rewards for each man captured and sent their prisoners to the galleys[43] for life without any hope of redemption.

169. In the Nair territory, says Pyrard (I, 338, 344), there were four chief pyratical ports, *viz.*, Moutingue between Cannanore and Calicut (where the King resided with his two chief pirates, Moussey Caca and Mestar Cogniali, and a third, the commander of his galleys, called Cousty Hamede, the most feared of all the corsairs of the coast), Chombale towards Cannanore, Badak towards Calicut, and finally, Cangelotte near Barcelore. The pirates had to pay customs and other duties to the Nair King as well as the presents due to the Zamorin.

170. Monsieur Henri Defeynes de Monfart, who was in Malabar about 1608-9, says that the people of that country "are exceeding black but yet not curled, flat-nosed or great lipt as the negroes be, nevertheless with as good faces as any in all Europe. They are Mahometans and valiant, although they are somewhat of a savage inclination and would never come to composition with the Portugals but delight themselves to be at variance with all their neighbours . . . Meanwhile I was there they took 160 caravels from the Portugals. And when they take any prisoner who by chance hath his garments cut or jag'd, they say he did teare them of purpose, knowing they should once be theirs, and knock him on the head with staves" (Somers, *Colln. of Tracts*, III, 337) On his return to Europe de Monfart was imprisoned for four years at Lisbon, the Viceroy of Goa having sent warning that he was "an undertaking man, who had exactly viewed all those countries [*i.e.*, India to China] and could do much hurt to the King [of Spain] their master, by the acquaintances and

[41] According to the *Malabar Gazetteer* (p. 433), the Marakkars had transferred their allegiance from the Zamorin to the Raja of Kadattanad after the murder of Kunhale.

[42] European pirates made the same excuse for attacking their own country men See Captain George Roberts, *Four Voyages*, 1722, p. 55-56.

[43] C. Dellon (*Inquisition at Goa*, p. 149) says that as the Portuguese had no galleys in their Marine, prisoners condemned to the galleys were shut up in a prison at Lisbon known as The Galley. I presume therefore that a form of imprisonment is here referred to.

intelligence I had of them, if ever I could come among the French, English or Hollanders " (*Ibid.*, 342-3). William Finch says that in 1608 the Malabars took or sunk 60 Portuguese vessels, captured an Ormuz ship and 3 frigates. Soon after they took 16 out of a fleet of 25 vessels from Cochin and had 50 frigates and galleots out on cruise. In January 1609 they took 30 rich frigates bound for Diu. " They are good soldiers and carry in each frigate 100 soldiers and in their galleots 200 " (Foster, *Early Travels*, p. 129).

Portuguese and Spanish.

171. In 1598 a kind of filibustering expedition, consisting of Spaniards and Portuguese assisted by the Japanese residents, restored to his throne the rightful king of Cambodia, but in 1599 a Malay Mussulman, Ocune Lacasamana, supported by the Cambodia mandarins and the King's stepmother, excited a counter-revolution and killed the Portuguese leaders, Captains Blas Ruys de Hernan Gonzales and Diego Belloso, together with a number of their compatriots, Spaniards and Japanese. De Morga remarks:—" Neither did Blas Ruys de Hernan Gonzales and Diego Belloso deserve to enjoy the fruits of the labour of their expeditions and victories, since they were changed into a disastrous and cruel death when it appeared that they held them most secure and assured to them, for their designs and pretensions were not so adjusted to the obligations of conscience as they ought to have been " (de Morga, 92-93).

172. The imports of silver from Mexico to the Philippines for trade with China caused the Chinese to suppose that it was procured from mines in the Philippines themselves. The Spanish being suspicious of a Chinese attack on this account, in 1603 made an indiscriminate massacre of the Chinese in the islands (Brinkley, X, 178).

173. In 1613 the Portuguese seized four of the Imperial (Mughal) ships, one of which was the *Remewe*, said to be carrying " three millions of treasure and two women bought for the Great Mogul," and in the cargo of which the mother of Jahangir held a large interest. This act of piracy led to war (Orme, *Hist. Frag.*, p. 346 : Smith, *Hist. of India*, p. 380 ; *see paras.* 210, 215 *below*).

Malays.

174 In 1599 the Spaniards having given up their settlement at Caldera in Mindanao, the Jolo men and the people of Bunahayen armed a number of vessels " to make an expedition against the coasts of Pintado to plunder and make captives." They were joined by the people of Tampacan and mustered 50 vessels with more than 3,000 men. They plundered Panay and other islands, carrying off much booty and 800 Christian captives. In 1600 they attacked the Spanish settlement at Arevalo, but were repulsed with great loss though the Spanish Commander, Captain Juan Garcia, fell in the fight, a victim to his own reckless courage (de Morga, 141). This is the first instance I have come across of the Malays raiding for slaves.

175. In 1602 the Spaniards sent an expedition from Manila to Jolo to check the piracy of the inhabitants and that of the Mindanaoans, but it returned unsuccessful in 1603. The Mindanaoans indeed raided more freely, attacking Luzon itself and capturing a number of prisoners, among whom were many Spaniards. Some of these they allowed to go on parole to Manila to obtain their ransoms. At last the Viceroy managed to collect a fleet, which put them to flight, the pirate boats " lightening themselves by throwing into the sea goods and captives, so as to run more swiftly " (de Morga, p. 213)

Chinese

176 In the year 1606 the Chinese pirate Liang-punhau, who belonged to the Tankia or Thanhu (*i.e.*, the Boating) Race and was in alliance with the Japanese, was defeated and killed by the Governor-General Chin-Sui, one hundred vessels being sunk in the fight and 1,600 pirates killed or drowned. For this success ' the Emperor ordered a thanksgiving,

himself sacrificing at the high altars and in the temples, proclaimed a victory throughout the Empire and received the congratulations of his Court" (*Chin. Repos.*, XIX, 148).

Portuguese and Arakanese.

177. Since the advent of the Portuguese, many European adventurers had entered the service of the native princes. As a rule, such men as entered the service of the chiefs on the west coast of India never acquired much influence with their employers, but on the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal these adventurers were a very different class of men. Such men were constantly to be found in the service of the Princes of Cambodia, Siam, Burma and Arakan. It is with those serving in Arakan that we are particularly concerned, for from them and their followers originated a mixed force of free-booters, who harassed the lower provinces of Bengal for more than a hundred and fifty years. The country at the mouths of the Ganges from the Hugli to Arakan, at the end of the sixteenth century, though nominally subject to the Mughal, was held by local chiefs who were practically independent. The best known of these were (1) Kedar Rai of Sripur who recovered Sandwip from the Mughals, twice defeated the King of Arakan and was finally defeated and killed by the officers of Raja Man Singh, the Mughal Governor from 1589 to 1606; (2) Ramchandra Rai, whose headquarters were at Bakla or Chandradwipa in the south-east of the Bakarganj District, "a Gentile of an excellent disposition, who is particularly fond of shooting with a gun" (Fitch, in Kerr, VII, 472, etc.), who with his son Kirtinarayan expelled the Farangis from the mouths of the Megna and whose alliance was courted by the Nawab of Dacca (Campos, p. 81, describes him as a friend of the Portuguese); and (3) Pratapaditya of Jessore, the "hero of the Sunderbunds," who established a kind of naval station in Chandikan or Saugor, and was eventually defeated and captured by Raja Man Singh (Mukherji, *Indian Shipping and the Imp. Gaz.*). Mr. O'Malley (24 *Parganas, Gaz.*, p. 27) writes:—"A halo of legend attaches to Pratapaditya, who is regarded by Bengali Hindus as a national hero." His father Bikramaditya settled in Jessore at Iswaripur, but Pratapaditya removed his headquarters to Dhumghat and "extended the limits of his kingdom by conquest, till all the surrounding country acknowledged his rule. He declared himself independent of the Mughal Emperors, and such was his power and prowess that he defeated, one after the other, the Imperial generals sent against him." At last, however, he was surprised by the officers of Raja Man Singh and made prisoner. To escape from further disgrace he poisoned himself. Pratapaditya is the "King of Chandecan" mentioned by Jesuit writers.

178. As the King of Arakan was the natural enemy of the Mughals, it is probable that, at any rate, the first and third of the above-mentioned chiefs entertained some kind of relation with him and were acquainted with his use of Portuguese mercenaries. In fact Kedar Rai had some of the latter in his own service, for when, about 1602, he made himself master of the island of Sandwip, he placed it in the charge of a Portuguese named Domingo Carvalho. The latter, finding himself not strong enough to hold the island with his own forces, obtained assistance from his fellow countryman, Emanuel da Mattos, who was in the service of the King of Arakan. Apparently he gave him part of the island which da Mattos placed under his deputy, a Moor named Fateh Khan. In this condition affairs remained until 1606 or 1607 when da Mattos died. N. B. Campos (p. 67) says that Carvalho and da Mattos retook Sandwip in 1602 from the Mughals, who had taken it from Kedar Rai. The latter when driven from Sandwip took refuge at Sripur and was treacherously murdered by Pratapaditya about 1605 (*ibid.*, pp. 73, 82).

179. About 1600 Salvador Ribeira da Sousa, a Portuguese, and Filippo de Brito e Nicote (born at Lisbon but of French origin) obtained command of the army of the King of Pegu. When da Sousa had made his fortune he retired to Portugal, leaving Nicote in command at Siriam. On da Mattos' death Nicote thought it a good opportunity to seize Dianga in Arakan, with the help of the Portuguese living there. Early in 1607 (Faria, III, 154), before he could make his attempt, the King discovered the plot and anticipated him by killing all the Portuguese in the place upon whom he could lay hands. Fateh Khan also, seeing that the Portuguese in Sandwip could no longer expect assistance from their countrymen in Arakan, massacred his late allies and, feeling himself absolutely secure, assumed the magnificent title of 'Fateh Khan, by the grace of God, Lord of Sandwip, shedder of Christian blood and Destroyer of the Portuguese nation' (Faria, III, 155). His triumph was short-lived. The few Portuguese who had escaped from the massacre at Dianga, some 80 men with ten small ships, having no other resource, turned pirates. It was absolutely necessary to exterminate them before they could gather force. Fateh Khan therefore attacked them off the Island of Dakhin Shahbagpur with 40 ships, on board of which there were 600 Moors, but the Portuguese were desperate men and skilful sailors, and Fateh Khan was defeated and killed. The fugitives now chose as their chief, first Estevao Palmeyro, who refused the command on the ground of their piratical behaviour (Faria, III, 156; Campos, p. 83), and then one Sebastiao Gonzalez Tibao, a man of obscure origin, born near Lisbon (Faria, III, 154). With the assistance of the King of Bacala (? Ram Chandra Rai) in 1609, he made himself master of Sandwip, and formed an army of 1,000 Portuguese and 2,000 well armed natives, 200 horse, and a fleet of 80 vessels. With these he made himself so formidable that the Mughal Governor of Bengal was forced to fix his headquarters at Dacca for the better protection of his province. On the other hand, he quickly composed his quarrel with the King of Araken, and is said to have married his sister (*see* Campos, p. 85). In 1610, in alliance with his brother-in-law, he invaded Bengal, but the King having been defeated on land, Gonzales treacherously seized his fleet and ravaged the coast of Arakan. Having now made himself enemies on all sides, he thought it expedient to place himself under the protection of the Portuguese Viceroy. This having been promised, in 1615 he, with a Portuguese fleet under Don Francis de Meneses Roxo, invaded Arakan but was defeated, Roxo himself being killed in the fight, and in 1616 the King made himself master of Sandwip, reducing Gonzales to the miserable condition from which he had sprung. "So," says Faria (II, 228), "his sovereignty passed like a shadow; his pride was humbled and his villainies punished" (Campos, p. 155). Meanwhile, in 1613, Nicote had been forced to surrender Siriam to the King of Ava, he and his fellow Portuguese being taken prisoners and impaled

180. From this time onwards, the pirates of Sandwip, whether Arakanese (generally known as Maghs) or Portuguese, were nominally subjects of the King of Arakan. For another fifty years they continued to terrorize Bengal (*Imp. Gaz.*, Beveridge, *Bakarganj; Chittagong Gaz.*, Danvers, II, 142-7, 160-2, 179-81). So much were they feared by the Muhammadans that Shihabuddin Talish asserts that one hundred of the Mughal vessels would flee at the sight of four Portuguese and that no Governor before Shaista Khan would undertake the task of their suppression (*Chittagong Gaz.*) By Portuguese boats is here probably meant pirate boats commanded by Portuguese captains, with Arakanese or half caste crews. Bernier tells us that "in small and other light galleys they plundered the whole coast of Bengal and carried away whole towns, assemblies, markets, feasts and weddings of the poor Gentiles and others of that country, making women slaves, great and small, with

strange cruelty and burning all that they could not carry away." Hence many islands, once well-peopled, were now deserted. The old people were sold by the pirates to their relatives, the younger they kept as rowers, forcing them to become Christians, or sold them as slaves to the Portuguese of Goa, Ceylon, St. Thomé or Hugli, "bragging that they made more Christians in one year than all the Missionaries in India in ten." This behaviour so excited the wrath of Jahangir that he began to persecute the Jesuits and pulled down their churches in Agra and Lahore. The Christians, who had been tolerated at Hugli because of their professed readiness to assist the Government against the pirates, were more than suspected of connivance in their outrages. At last, in 1632, a Mughal fleet and army under Kasim Khan captured the town, killing a large number of Portuguese and carrying such as remained alive into captivity, when they were forcibly converted to Muhammadanism (Pinkerton's *Voyages*, VIII, 123-6). After the capture of Hugli (September 1632) about 3,000 Christians (100 Portuguese men with 60 or 70 women, the rest country born or slaves) escaped down the river to Saugor, where the King of Arakan permitted them to build a fort, and promised them protection against the Mughals (Campos, p. 137). On the 25th April 1633 a Portuguese frigate from Pipli attacked the first English frigate that came to Bengal at Harishpur and nearly destroyed the crew. The English claimed the surrender of the frigate from the Muhammadan Governor, who however only confiscated it for the Government. In the same year the Portuguese ransomed the crew of the English ship *Swan*, which had been surprised and taken by the Arakanese (Campos, p. 98 : Hunter, *India*, I, 37).

181. In 1636 the Portuguese were ousted from their settlement at Hijili by the Mughals (Campos, p. 95). In 1638 the Magh Chief of Chittagong revolted from the King of Arakan and placed himself under the Mughals (Cotton, *Chittagong*, p. 2). In revenge, the King of Arakan showed further favour to the Portuguese adventurers, paid them high salaries and settled them in Dianga. With their help he built large vessels and ravaged the country of the Mughals as far as Dacca (Campos, p. 158).

182. Shihabuddin Talish (writing about 1665) says that the Arakanese and Portuguese pirates brought their prisoners for sale to Tamluk (in Midnapur) and to Balasor. They were not allowed to land, but a messenger was sent on board. If his offers were satisfactory, the money was taken and the prisoners were handed over. Pipli was a similar slave market (Campos, p. 97 : *see para.* 311 *below*).

III.

The Adventurers.

183. Hitherto the trade of the southern hemisphere, save where some feathers had been plucked by pirates and privateers in the southern Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, had been monopolized by the Portuguese and Spaniards. It was now to be challenged openly by the Dutch, English and French. All three nations formed syndicates, which had the approval of Government, to send ships to the East, and which gradually assumed the form of National Companies. The merchants who composed the syndicates called themselves, in England, 'Merchant Adventurers' and they gave the men whom they employed what might be called regular commissions. The ships were well found, manned and armed, for it was necessary for them not only to defend themselves against attacks by the Barbary pirates and interference by the Spaniards and Portuguese, but also to deal with any hostility which might be shown by the natives of the countries with which they sought to trade. Such hostility was certainly to be expected, not merely from the native pirates who were reported to infest the Eastern Seas (*see para.* 154 *above*), but from the inhabitants of the coasts, whose feelings towards all Christians had been greatly embittered by the outrages committed by the Spaniards and Portuguese

184. From the above it is evident that the captains of these armed vessels trading to the East must, necessarily, have been allowed by their employers a freedom of action which would be incomprehensible in modern times Nor had they much in the ideas of their own countrymen that we should think valuable to guide their judgment as to what was wrong and what was right in their relations with the natives of the East In the first place, the latter were Muhammadans or Pagans, and as such they considered them to be the natural enemies of Christians This was not merely the opinion of ignorant men, for Sir Edward Coke (*Institutes*, pub. 1628) was of opinion that pagans were to be treated as perpetual and irreclaimable enemies of Christians (Southey, s.D. 1696). In the second place, the Asiatics were of a different race and colour, and were therefore to be considered not only as inferiors but, on quasi-Biblical grounds, also as the natural prey of the white races. William Finch says that in his time (1608) "some Europeans think it lawful to make prize of the goods and ships of the Ethnicks [*i.e.*, the heathen]" (Foster. *Early Travels*, p. 147). When Darby Mullins, an Irishman, who had served with Kidd and Culliford, was executed with Kidd on the 23rd May 1701, he said that he had joined the pirates "not knowing but that it was very lawful (as he said he was told) to plunder ships and goods, etc., belonging to the enemies of Christianity" (*Brit. Mus.*, 515-1-2/193) [44] In the third place, the Law of the Sea, as then interpreted, classed all men as enemies whose nations were not formally allied to one's own. When in 1593 Sir Richard Hawkins was captured by the Spanish and threatened with the punishment of a pirate, he protested that, though according to Spanish law a Spaniard could not take up arms against a national enemy without his King's Commission, an Englishman, according to English law, could do so (*Observations*, Purchas, XVII, 190-1). If then an Englishman met with one of his 'irreclaimable enemies,' it could hardly be expected that he would have much scruple about plundering him. Accordingly, as it was above all essential that his voyage should pay—and pay handsomely—for itself, when a merchant-captain was unable to obtain a good market, he had little or no hesitation in filling his ship with unbought goods from the holds of any Moorish, Indian, Chinese or Malay vessels which had not paid for passes from his own countrymen, more especially if they had made the unpardonable mistake of purchasing passes from any of his enemies (*see para.* 233 *below*). Similarly he enjoyed and exercised to the full the right of reprisal for any injury or insult which he might have suffered. Such was the simple creed of the Dutch, English and French captains of the time. The Asiatics, as well as the Portuguese and Spaniards, called them pirates, but if they thought it necessary to describe themselves by any particular name, it was that of Adventurers, and this we may accept, remembering that, after all, it means practically the same thing as pirates [45] Their ships they described as private men-of-war. The Adventurer had this in common with the pirate, namely that the object of his enterprise was gain, that he had practically no scruples and did not hestitate to employ torture in order to obtain any information he might require. He differed from the pirate in that he held a regular commission and did not attack his own countrymen, so he could not, properly, be classed amongst the "enemies of the human race."

185. As what most distinguishes piracy from other forms of violence is generally believed to be the cruelty and callousness of the pirates, it is, I think, important that, before judging the pirates themselves, one should take into consideration the nature of the times

[44] "The navigation of that age assumed all mankind to be their natural prey, and regarded commerce and piracy as alternative pursuits, equally entitled to respect." Satow, *Japan and Siam*, p. 140

[45] The word *pirate* is derived from the Greek *peirates*, meaning one who *attempts* or *attacks*.

in which they lived. The cruelty which prevailed throughout the world at the end of the sixteenth century, and for many years later, is almost beyond belief. Torture was the handmaid of the law and every one in authority considered that he had a right to make use of it, whether as a punishment or as a deterrent, particularly in dealing with foreigners. As a proof of what I say, a striking and horrible instance exists in a story related by one Edmund Scot, Agent of the English East India Company at Bantam (*Discourse of Java,* Purchas, II, 466, about 1604). Scot coolly tells of his treatment of a man[46] suspected of having set fire to the English Factory :—" Some things he confessed to him [*i.e.*, the Javan Admiral] concerning our matter but not much, but he would tell us nothing. Wherefore, because of his sullenness and that it was he that fired us, I caused him to be burned under the nails of his thumbs, fingers and toes with sharp hot irons, and the nails to be torn off, and because he never blinshed at that, we thought that his arms and legs had been numbed by tying, wherefore we burned him in the hands, arms, shoulders and neck. But all was one with him. Then we burned him quite through the hands and with rasphes (?) of iron tore out the flesh and sinews. After that I caused cold screws of iron to be screwed into the bones of his arms and suddenly to be snatched out. After that all the bones of his fingers and toes to be broken with pincers. Yet for all this he never shed tear. No, nor once turned his head aside nor stirred hand nor foot, but when we demanded any question he would put his tongue between his teeth and strike his chin upon his knees to bite it off (*see para.* 291 *below*). When all the extremity we could use was but in vain, I caused him to be put in irons again, where the Amits or Ants, which do greatly abound there, got into his wounds and tormented him worse than we had done, as we might well see by his gesture." Even the Javans, who hated the Chinese, were horrified and begged that the man might be shot, that being in their eyes the most shameful form of death. Scot consented, but took care that the shooting should be done in the slowest and most painful manner. When things like this could be done by ordinary respectable men, one is forced to suspend judgement upon the actions of outlaws, of people driven to desperation by injustice and of men of semi-savage races, from whom the pirates were recruited.

French and Portuguese.

186. It is probable that some of the early voyages of the Adventurers may have been lost sight of altogether. Of others very little is known, *e.g.*, that of the Norman ship from Dieppe which, in 1527, was the first French vessel, unless that of Mondragon anticipated it in 1506 (*see para.* 88 *above*), to touch at Madagascar (Froidevaux, *France à Madagascar*, p. 7) and that of Captain Rosados whose vessel was lost on the coast of Sumatra about 1529 (Pinto, p. 25).[47] It was, I suppose, one of Rosados' men who was put to death by the Raja of Achin for his inability to find the Island of Gold (*see para.* 126 *above*) which he said he had visited (Jayne, p. 202). On the other hand, La Roncière (III, 200) gives a detailed account of the voyage of Captain Jean Parmentier of Dieppe, who, after touching at Madagascar in July 1529, arrived at Sumatra the same year (Middleton's *Voyages*, Hak. Soc. S. I., XIX, p. VI). He and his brother Raoul left Dieppe for the Moluccas on the 28th March 1529, taking with them an interpreter who, though a Frenchman, understood Malay, and so had probably been in those quarters before. On the 11th May they crossed the Line, celebrating *for the first time on record* the ceremony of the *Baptême de la Ligne* by making *chevaliers* of some fifty sailors. In later years the occasion became one for much unpleasant practical joking. They reached Sumatra on the 31st October, their arrival having been predicted two months earlier by a man who had seen their ship in the sky (? a mirage).

[46] It is not clear whether the man was a Chinaman or a Javan, but probably the former.

[47] The voyage of Captain de Funay to Dui has been mentioned in para. 116 above.

Parmentier took hostages before commencing to trade, and, after a treacherous attack, during which some of the hostages escaped, upon his men ashore, put the rest of the hostages to death and then sailed away. He and his brother dying soon after, his successor in command returned to Sumatra, effected a reconciliation, secured a cargo and came safely back to France.

187. In 1533 Francis I of France issued Letters of Marque against the Portuguese, declaring that the sea was free to men of all nations. It is reported that, in contemptuous defiance of the Papal Bulls, he remarked :—" Je voudrais bien voir la clause du testament d'Adam qui m'exclut du partage du monde " (La Roncière, III, 300).

188. The Portuguese and Spaniards, finding that they could no longer trick the French by the loan of treacherous pilots (*see para.* 116 *above*), next tried to intimidate the French sailors by gross cruelty. Having taken a ship, the *Petit Lion* of Dieppe, off the Azores, after dropping the officers from the yard arms into the sea and then beating them, they garotted them in a particularly cruel manner. Finally, throwing the officers' bodies into the hold, they drove the crew below and sank the ship by gunfire. In 1537 French corsairs patrolled the sea from Cape St Vincent to the Antilles and, in reprisal for this and similar brutal behaviour, when they took any Portuguese or Spanish prisoners, they cut off their noses, saying in derision " Éternuez l'or " (La Roncière III, 291, 294)

189. The English records make but few references to French ships in the East at this time. In fact, Crawford (II, 516) says that the French first appeared in the Malay Archipelago under General Augustin de Beaulieu in 1621, ignoring the various instances already mentioned. It is, I suppose, in reference to Beaulieu's visit that Tavernier (III, 22) tells how, on a visit to Batavia, the French ships were treacherously set on fire and destroyed by the Dutch, whilst the crews were being entertained ashore by the Dutch Governor. In 1602 the *Corbin* and the *Croissant* from St. Malo visited St. Augustine in Madagascar. Beaulieu also touched at the same place in 1620 (Froidevaux, p. 8).

English.

190. English enterprise in this direction began with Sir Francis Drake, who was, according to Andrew Lang (*Hist. of Scotland*, II, 339), " the most notorious of the sea-thieves who preyed upon the commerce of the world " It is sometimes good to see ourselves as others see us, but one wonders whether Lang would have described Drake in this way, had Drake had the supreme good fortune to have been a Scotchman. Drake, leaving England in November 1577, raided the Pacific shore of South America, then failing to find a passage by the north of America he determined to come home across the Pacific, though he had lost all his little fleet except his own ship, the *Pelican* (or *Golden Hind*) This determination was, no doubt, due to the fact that on board a Spanish galleon carrying a new Governor to the Philippines, which he had captured near Guatalco, he had found, besides a rich booty in goods and jewels, a chart of the Indian or Malayan Archipelago By the aid of this he sailed a direct course from St. Francisco to the Moluccas, docked and scraped his ship at Celebes, sailed into the Indian Seas along the coast of Java, very narrowly escaping shipwreck in the Straits of Sunda, and thence by the Cape of Good Hope and Sierra Leone safely back to Plymouth with all his Spanish booty There was at this time no war between England and Spain. Drake's conduct had therefore been technically, piratical, and the Spanish Ambassador, anticipating Lang, described him as the " Master Thief of the Unknown World. Elizabeth, however, did not base her judgment on the opinions of her enemies. She accepted the rich presents which Drake offered in homage, and most of her courtiers followed the royal example though Burleigh and Sussex refused to accept any precious gifts from a man whose fortune had been made by plunder (Froude, *English Seamen of the 16th century*, p. 138 ; Kerr, X, 49).

Mahâsâla—It is mentioned in the *Padma P.*, (Srishti Kh. ch. 11), and *Matsya P.* (ch. 22), as a tîrtha or a place of pilgrimage on the Godâvarî. Sâla is mentioned as a tributary of the Godâvarî (*Brahma P.*, ch. 106, *vs.* 20-22). It is the Maisolus of the Greeks. As Ptolemy places the mouth of the river Maisolus in the district called Maisolia, it may be identified with that portion of the Godâvarî which lies between the Pranahita or rather Wain-Gangâ and the ocean. See **Maisolia**. In the *Mahâvagga* (V, 13, 12 in *SBE.*, XVII, 38) Mahâsâla is described as a border country on the east of South India.

Mahâsâra—Masâr, a village six miles to the west of Arrah in the district of Shahabad visited by Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century.

Mahâsthâna—Mahâsthâna-gada in the district of Bagurâ in Bengal (*Devî-Bhâgavata*, VII, ch. 38). It contained the celebrated temple of Mahâdeva called Ugramâdhava at the time of Vallâla Sena, king of Gauda (Ânanda Bhatta's *Vallâla-charitam*, ch. VI). It is seven miles to the north of Bogra (town). See **Ballâlapurî**. Its ancient name was Sîla Dhâpa (Sîla Dhâtugarbha) and contained four Buddhist stupas, but the name was changed into Silâ-Dvîpa after the revival of Hinduism (*List of Ancient Monuments of Bengal*; *JASB.*, 1875, p. 183).

Mahatî—The river Mahi, a branch of the river Chambal in Malwa (*Vâyu P.*, I, ch. 45, *v.* 97).

Mahatnu—The river Argesan in Afghanistan which joins the Gomal river or Gomatî (*Rig Veda*, X, 75). Same as **Mehatnu.**

Mahâvana—Same as **Braja.** See **Gokula** (*Chaitanya-charitâmrita*, II, ch. 18).

Mahâvana-Vihâra—1. Pinjkotai, near Sunigram in Buner, about twenty-six miles south of Manglaur or Mangalore, the old capital of Udyâna (Dr. Stein's *Archæological Tour with the Indian Field Force* in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1899). It was visited by Hiuen Tsiang. 2. Mahâvana-Kûtâgâra was situated in the suburb of Vaisâlî; it was also called Mahâvana-vihâra (Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 343).

Mahendra—The whole range of hills extending from Orissa to the district of Madura was known by the name of Mahendra-parvata. It included the Eastern Ghats and the range extending from the Northern Circars to Gondwana, part of which near Ganjam is still called Mahendra Malei or the hills of Mahendra (*Raghuvamsa*, IV, *vs.* 39, 40). It joins the Malaya mountain (*Harshacharita*, ch. VII). Parasurâma retired to this mountain after he was defeated by Râmachandra. The *Râmâyana* (Kishk., ch. 67; Lankâ, ch. 4) and the *Chaitanya-charitâmrita* apply the name specially to the Eastern Ghats, and the hermitage of Parasurâma is placed by the *Chaitanya-charitâmrita* at the southern extremity of the range in the district of Madura. The *Raghuvamsa* (VI, *v.* 54) places it in Kalinga, so also the *Uttara-Naishadha-Charita* (Canto XII, *v.* 24). The name is principally applied to the range of hills separating Ganjam from the valley of the Mahânadî.

Mahesmati-Mandala—Mandala in Central India. It was also called Mahesamandala or Mahesmatî (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. XVII, p. 54). Its capital was Mâhishmatî (*JRAS.*, 1910, p. 425).

Mahesvara—Mahes or Chuli Mahesvara on the bank of the Nerbuda (*Matsya P.*, ch. 189; *Sthavirâvalîcharita*, XII); same as **Mâhishmatî.**

Mâheya—The country which lies between the rivers Mahi and Nerbuda. The Mâheyas lived on the bank of the Nerbuda (*Vâyu P.*, II, 45).

Mâhî—1. The river Mâhî in Malwa (*Mârkandeya P.*, ch. 57). Near its mouth Andhaka, a daitya, was killed by Siva in a cavern (*Siva P.*, I, chs. 38, 43). 2. The river Mâhî, a tributary of the Gandak (*Sutta-nipâta*, I, 2: *Dhaniyasutta*; Trenckner's *Milinda Pañha*,

p. 114, *SBE.*, XXXV, p. 171), it rises in the Himalaya, and flows into the Great Gandak about half a mile above its junction with the Ganges, but practically into the Ganges near Sonpur [*Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. XI (1877), p. 358; *JRAS.*, 1907, p. 45].

Mahisha—1. According to Bhaṭṭa Swâmî, the commentator of the *Arthaśâstra* (Bk. II, Koshâdhyaksha), Mahisha was the country of Mâhishmatî (*Harivaṃśa*, I, ch. 14). 2. Same as **Mâhishaka.**

Mâhishaka—According to Dr. Bhandarkar, Mâhishaka was the name of the country on the Nerbuda, of which Mâhishmatî was the capital. (*Early History of the Dekkan*, sec. iii; *Padma P.*, Âdi Kh., ch. 6; *Mbh.*, Bhîshma P., ch. 9). Griffith identifies it with Mysore (see his *Râmâyaṇa*, Kishk., ch. 41). The *Padma P.* [Svarga (Âdi), ch. 3] mentions Mâhishaka as the country of Southern India, and therefore it is the same as Mahishamaṇḍala which has been identified by Mr. Rice with the Southern Mysore country (Mahishamaṇḍala; see also Wilson's *Vishnu P.*, vol. II, p. 178 note). But this identification is incorrect. See Dr. Fleet's *Mahishamaṇḍala and Mahishmatî* in *JRAS.*, 1910, p. 440.

Mahishamaṇḍala—Same as **Mâhisha** and **Mâhishmatî** (see Fleet, *JRAS.*, 1910, p. 429). Mahâdeva was sent as a missionary to this place by Aśoka (*Mahâvaṃśa*, ch. XII; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 136). According to the *Dîpavaṃśa*, Aśoka sent missionaries to Gandhâra, Mahisha, Aparântaka, Mahârashtra, Yona, Hemavata, Suvarṇabhûmi and Laṅkâdîpa (*JASB.*, 1838, p. 932). According to Mr. Rice, Mahishamaṇḍala was the Southern Mysore country, of which Mysore was the principal town (*JRAS.*, 1911, pp. 810, 814), but Dr. Fleet disagrees with this identification. According to the latter, it was also called Mahâmaṇḍala or Mahêsha-râshṭra, where the people called Mâhesha lived (*ibid.*, p. 833).

Mâhishmatî—Maheśvara or Mahesh, on the right bank of the Nerbuda, forty miles to the south of Indore. It was the capital of Haihaya or Anûpadeśa, the kingdom of the myriad-handed Kârtya-vîryârjuna of the Purâṇas, who was killed by Paraśurâma, son of Jamadagni and Reṇukâ and disciple of Subrahmaṇya (*JASB.*, 1838, p. 495; *Bhâgavata P.*, IX, ch. 15). It was founded by Mahishmân according to the *Harivaṃśa* (I, ch. 30), and by Mahisha according to the *Padma P.* (Uttara, ch. 75). It is also called Chuli Maheśvara (Garrett's *Classical Dictionary*). It has been correctly identified by Mr. Pargiter (*Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, p. 333 note) with Mândhâtâ on the Nerbuda (*JRAS.*, 1910, pp. 445-6): see **Oṃkâranâtha**. It is the Mâhissati of the Buddhists. The country, of which Mâhishmatî (Mâhissati) was the capital, was called during the Buddhist period Avanti-Dakshinâpatha (D. R. Bhandarkar's *Ancient History of India*, pp. 45, 54). Maṇḍana Miśra, afterwards called Viśvarûpa Âchârya, who was born at Râjgir resided here, and it was at this place that he was defeated in controversy by Śaṅkarâchârya (Mâdhavâchârya's *Śaṅkaradigvijaya*, ch. 8). The *Anargharâghava* (Act VII, 115) says that Mâhishmatî was the capital of Chedi at the time of the Kalachuris. According to the *Mahâ-Govinda Suttanta* (*Dîgha Nikâya*, XIX, 36) Mahissati or Mâhishmatî was the capital of Avanti (Malwa).

Mâhissati—See **Mâhishmatî..**

Mahitâ—Same as **Mahî** (*Mbh.*, Bhîshma, ch. 9).

Mahoba—The capital of Jejabhukti or Bundelkhand (see **Mahotsavanagara**). The *Prabodha Chandrodaya* was written during the reign of Kirtti Varman in the second half of the eleventh century A.D. (*Hemakosha*; *Râmâyaṇa*, Bk. I).

Mahodadhi—The Bay of Bengal (*Raghuvaṃśa*, IV, *v.* 34; *Vâyu P.*, Pûrva, ch. 47).

Mahodaya—Kanauj (*Hemakosha*; *Râmâyaṇa*, Bk. I, ch. 32).

Mahotsava-Nagara—Mahoba in Bundelkhand. The whole Bundelkhand was anciently called Mahoba from this town. It was the capital of the Chandel kingdom which is universally said to have been founded by Chandra Varman who was born in Samvat 225; he built 85 temples and erected the fort of Kâlañjar. The Chandel kingdom was bounded on the west by the Dhasan river, on the east by the Vindhya mountain, on the north by the Jamuna, and on the south by the source of the Kiyan or Kane river. It appears from the inscriptions that the Chandel kings from Nannuka Deva, the founder of the dynasty, to Kirat Singh, reigned from 800 A.D. to the middle of the sixteenth century. It was in the reign of Kîrtti Varma Deva, the twelfth king from Nannuka, who reigned from 1063 to 1097 A.D., that the *Prabodha Chandrodaya Nâṭaka* was composed by Kṛishṇa Miśra (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. XXI, p. 80). The town stands on the side of the Madan Sâgar lake, which was excavated in the twelfth century. The Kirat lake is of the eleventh century.

Mainâka-Giri—1. The Sewalik range (*Kûrma P.*, Uparibhâga, ch. 36; *Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 135), extending from the Ganges to the Bias. 2. The group of hills near the eastern sources of the Ganges in the north of the Almora district (Pargiter's *Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 57, p. 288). 3. A fabulous mountain situated in the sea, midway between India and Ceylon (*Râmâyaṇa*, Sundara K., ch. VII). 4. A mountain on the west of India in or near Guzerat (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 89).

Maisolia—The coast between the Kṛishṇâ and the Godâvarî (*Ptolemy*). It is the Masalia of the *Periplus*. See **Mahâsâla**.

Mâgadhî—See **Sumâgadhî** (*Râmâyaṇa*, I, ch. 32).

Majjhima-Desa—See **Madhyadesa** (*Mahâvagga*, V, 12, 13).

Mâkandi—See **Pañchâla**.

Makula-Parvata—Kaluhâ-pâhâḍ which is about 26 miles to the south of Buddha-Gaya and about sixteen miles to the north of Chatra in the district of Hazaribagh, is evidently a corruption of the name of the Makula Parvata (see Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*). Buddha is said to have passed his sixth *vassa* (or rainy season retirement) on the Makula mountain, which forms the western boundary of a secluded valley on the eastern bank of the Lilajan river, containing a temple of Durgâ called Kuleśvarî (Kula and Îśvarî). But the place abounds in Buddhist architectural remains and figures of Buddha. On a plateau just in front of the hill on which Kuleśvarî's temple is situated, and on the eastern side of the ravine which separates the plateau from the hill, there is a temple which contains a broken image of Buddha in the conventional form of meditation. There are also two impressions of Buddha's feet on the top of the highest peak of a hill on the northern side of the valley called the Âkâśalochana, and figures of Buddha carved in the central part of the hill with inscriptions which have become much obliterated by time and exposure. The large bricks found at this place also attest to the antiquity of the place. The letter "Ma" of *Makula* must have dropped down by lapse of time, and *kula* was corrupted into *Kaluhâ*. There can be no doubt that the Brahmins appropriated this sacred place of the Buddhists and set up the image of Durgâ at a subsequent period after the expulsion of Buddhism [see my article on the *Kaluhâ Hill in the District of Hazaribagh* in *JASB.*, vol. LXX (1901), p. 31], but as Dr. Stein does not approve the above identification (see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXX, p. 90), the Kaluha-pahaḍ may be, as is locally known, the Kolâchala mountain of the Purâṇas.

Mâlâ—A country situated to the east of Videha and north-west of Magadha, and on the north of the Ganges (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 29), including evidently the district of Chapra.

Malada—A portion of the district of Shahabad (*Râmâyaṇa*, Bâla, ch. 24). It was on the site of the ancient Malada and Karusha that Viśvâmitra's âśrama was situated; Viśvâmitra-âśrama has been identified with Buxar. It is mentioned among the eastern countries conquered by Bhîma (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 29).

Malakûṭa—The Chola kingdom of Tanjore; it is mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang and also in the Tanjore inscription (Dr. Burnell's *South Indian Palaeography*, p. 47, note 4; Sewell's *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 14).

Mâlava—1. Malwa (Brahmâṇḍa P., Pûrva, ch. 48); its capital was Dhârâ-nagara at the time of Râjâ Bhoja. Its former capital was Avantî or Ujjayinî (*Brahma. P.*, ch. 43). Before the seventh or eighth century, the country was called Avantî (see **Avantî**). Halâyudha flourished in the court of Muñja (974 to 1010 A.D.); Bâgbhaṭa, the author of the celebrated medical treatise called after his name, flourished in the court of Râjâ Bhoja (Tawney's *Prabandhachintamaṇi*, p. 198), and Mayura, the father-in-law of Bâṇabhaṭṭa, flourished in the court of the elder Bhoja (*Ind. Ant.*, I, pp. 113, 114). For the origin of the name (see *Skanda P.*, Maheśvara, Kedâra Kh., ch. 17). 2. The country of the Mâlavas or Mallas (the Mallis of Alexander's historians) the capital of which was Multan (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ P., ch. 32; McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 352; Cunningham's *Arch. S. Rep.*, V, p. 129; *Bṛihat-saṃhitâ*, ch. 14). The "Mâlavarâja" mentioned in the *Harshacharita* (ch. 4) was perhaps king of the Mallas of Multan (see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 70). See **Malla-deśa.**

Malaya-Giri—The southern parts of the Western Ghâṭs, south of the river Kâverî (Bhavabhûti's *Mahâvîra-charita*, Act V, *v.* 3), called the Travancore Hills, including the Cardamum Mountains, extending from Koimbatur gap to Cape Comorin. One of the summits bearing the name of Pothigei, the Bettigo of Ptolemy, was the abode of Ṛishi Agastya (McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, VII, ch. 1, sec. 66 in *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 361; *Chaitanya-charitâmṛita*, Madhya, ch. 9); it is also called Agasti-kûṭa mountain or Potiyam, being the southernmost peak of the Anamalai mountains where the river Tâmraparṇî has its source.

Malaya-Khaṇḍam—See **Mallâra.**

Malayâlam—Malabar (*Râjâvalî*, Pt. I). The Malayâlam country included also Cochin and Travancore, and it was anciently called Chera afterwards Kerala (see **Chera** and **Kerala**). According to some authorities, it was the ancient name of Travancore (Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, p. 234; Da Cunha's *Hist. of Chaul and Bassein*; Caldwell's *Drav. Comp. Gram.*, 3rd ed., p. 16). The entire Malayâlam country originally comprised Tuluva, Mushika, Kerala and Kuva. For the history of Malayâlam, see Mackenzie Manuscripts in *JASB.*, 1838, p. 132.

Mâlinî—1. Champanagar near Bhagalpur (*Hemakosha*; *Matsya P.*, ch. 48). 2. The river Mandâkinî. 3. The river Mâlinî flows between the countries called Pralamba on the west and Apartâla on the east, and falls into the river Ghagra about fifty miles above Ayodhyâ. It is the Erineses of Megasthenes. The hermitage of Kaṇva, the adoptive father of the celebrated Śakuntalâ, was situated on the bank of this river (Kâlidâsa's *Śakuntalâ*, Acts III, VI). Lassen says that its present name is Chukâ, the western tributary of the Saraju (*Ind. Alt.*, II, p. 524; *Râmâyaṇa*, Ayodhyâ K., ch. 68). See **Kaṇva-âśrama.**

Malla-Deśa—1. The district of Multan was the ancient Malla-deśa or **Mâlava** (*q.v.*), the people of which were called Mallis by Alexander's historians and are the Mâlavas of the *Mahâbhârata* (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ P., ch. 32). Its ancient capital was Multan (Cunningham's

Arch. S. Rep., V, p. 129). Lakshmaṇa's son Chandraketu was made king of Malla-deśa by his uncle Râmachandra (*Râmâyaṇa*, Uttara K., ch. 115). 2. The country in which the Pâraśnâth hills are situated (McCrindle's *Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 63, 139), that is, portions of the districts of Hazaribagh and Manbhum. The *Purâṇas* and the *Mahâbhârata* (Bhîshma, ch. 9) mention two countries by the name of Malla, one in the west and the other in the east. 3. At the time of Buddha, the Mallas lived at Pâvâ and Kuśinagara where he died. The ruins at Aniruddwa near Kasia (ancient Kusinagara) in the district of Gorakhpur have been identified with the palaces of the Malla nobles (see also *Mbh.*, Sabhâ , ch. 29).

Malla-Parvata—The Pâraśnâth hill in Chhota-Nagpur, the mount Maleus of the Greeks (McCrindle's *Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 63, 139). See **Samet-śikhara.**. Mount Maleus has perhaps been wrongly identified with the Mandâra hill in the district of Bhagalpur in the Bihar province (Bradley-Birt's *Story of an Indian Upland*, p. 24).

Mallâra—Travancore ; it is a contraction of Malabar (*Chaitanya-charitâmṛita*, Pt. II, ch. 9). Travancore is also called Malaya-khaṇḍam.

Mallarâshṭra—Same as *Mahârâshṭra* (Garett's *Class. Dic.; Mbh.*, Bhîshma, ch. 9).

Mallâri-Liṅga—Belâpur in the Raichur district, Nizam's territory, where Śiva killed Mallâsura (*Arch. S. Lists : Nizam's Territory*, p. 35). See, however, **Maṇichuḍâ.**

Mallikârjuna—See **Śrî-śaila** (Ânanda Giri's *Śaṅkaravijaya*, ch. 55, p. 180).

Mâlyavâna-Giri—1. The Anagundi hill on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrâ. According to the Hemakosha, it is the same as Prasravaṇa-giri ; but according to Bhavabhûti, Mâlyavâna-giri and Prasravaṇa-giri are two different hills (*Uttara Râmacharita*, Act I) : see **Prasravaṇa-giri.**. Its present name is Phaṭika (Shphaṭika) Śila, where Râmachandra resided for four months after his alliance with Sugrîva (*Râmâyaṇa*, Araṇya, ch. 51). According to Mr. Pargiter, Mâlyavâna and Prasravaṇa are the names of the same mountain or chain of hills, but he considers that Prasravaṇa is the name of the chain and Mâlyavâna is the peak (*The Geo. of Râma's Exile* in *JRAS.*, 1894, pp. 256, 257). 2. The Karakorum mountain between the Nîla and **Nishadha** (*q.v.*) mountains (*Mbh.*, Bhîshma, ch. 6).

Mânasa—1. Lake Mânas-sarovar, situated in the Kailâsa Mountain in Hûṇadeśa in Western Tibet (*JASB.*, XVII, p. 166 ; *Râmâyaṇa*, Bâla K., ch. 24). Its Hunnic name is Cho Mapan. It has been graphically described by Moorcroft in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XII, p. 375 ; see also *JASB.*, 1838, p. 316, and *Ibid.*, 1848, p. 127. According to Moorcroft's estimate, it is fifteen miles in length (east to west) by eleven miles in breadth (north to south). The circumambulation of the lake is performed in 4, 5 or 6 days according to the stay of the pilgrims in the eight Gumbas or guard-houses on the bank of the lake (*JASB.*, 1848, p. 165). On the south of the lake is the Gurla range. Sven Hedin says, " Even the first view from the hills caused us to burst into tears of joy at the wonderful magnificent landscape and its surpassing beauty. The oval lake lies like an enormous turquoise embedded between two of the finest and most famous mountain giants of the world, the Kailâs in the north and Gurla Mandatta in the south and between huge ranges, above which the mountains uplift their crowns of bright white eternal snow " (Sven Hedin's *Trans-Himalaya*, II, p. 112). There are three approaches from the United Provinces to the Holy lakes and Kailâs,—over the Lipu Lekh Pass, Untadhura Pass, and the Niti Pass, the first being the easiest of all (Sherring's *Western Tibet*, p. 149). 2. Uttara-Mânasa and Dakshiṇa-Mânasa are two places of pilgrimage in Gaya (*Chaitaṇya-Bhâgvata*, ch. 12).

Mânasa-Sarovara—Same as **Mânasa**.

Mândâgora—Mândâd, originally Mândâgada, situated in the Rajapuri creek near Kudem in the Bombay Presidency (McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, VII, ch. 1, sec. 7 ; but see W. H. Schoff's *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 201). Bhândârkar also identifies it with Mândâḍ (*Early Hist. of the Dekkan*, sec. viii). It has also been identified with Mandangar fort in the Ratnagiri district, Bombay (*Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. I, Pt. I, 541-546), and with Mândal in Kolaba district (*ibid.*, vol. I, Pt. II).

Mandâkînî—1. The Kâligaṅgâ or the Western Kâlî or Mandâgni, which rises in the mountains of Kedâra in Garwal (*Matsya P.*, ch. 121 ; *Asia. Res.*, vol. XI, p. 508). It is a tributary of the Alakânandâ. 2. Cunningham has identified it with the Mandâkin, small tributary of the Paisuni (Payasvinî) in Bundelkhand, which flows by the side of Mount Chitrakûṭa (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. XXI, p. 11 ; *Matsya P.*, ch. 114).

Maṇḍapa-pura—Mandu in Malwa (Lalitpur Inscription in *JASB.*, p. 67). The seat of government was transferred to this place from Dhâr by the Mahomedan conquerors of Malwa in the fifteenth century.

Maṇdâra-Giri—1. A hill situated in the Bâṅkâ sub-division of the district of Bhagalpur, two or three miles to the north of Baṃsî and thirty miles to the south of Bhagalpur. It is an isolated hill about seven hundred feet high with a groove all around the middle to indicate the impression of the coil of the serpent Vâsuki which served as a rope for churning the ocean with the hill as the churn-staff, the gods holding the tail of the serpent and the Asuras the head. The groove is evidently artificial and bears the mark of the chisel. Vishṇu incarnated as the tortoise (*Kûrma-avatâra*) and bore the weight of the mountain on his back when the ocean was being churned (*Kûrma P.*, I, ch. 1 ; *Vâmana P.*, ch. 90). There are two Buddhist temples on the top of the hill now worshipped by the Jainas. On a lower bluff on the western side of the peak was the original temple of Vishṇu called Madhusûdana (*Garuḍa P.*, I, ch. 81), now in ruins, on the western side of which is a dark low cave containing an image of Nṛisiṃha carved on the rock, and near it are situated a natural cavity in the rock containing a large quantity of pure limpid spring-water called the Âkâśa-Gaṅgâ and a colossal image of Vâmana Deva and a huge sculpture of Madhu Kaiṭabha Daitya (for a description of the figure, see *JASB.*, XX, p. 272). At the foot of the hill and on its eastern side are extensive ruins of temples and other buildings, and among them is a very old stone building called Nâth-thân, which was evidently a monastery of the Buddhist period now appropriated by the Hindus. There are also ruins of buildings on the hill, and there are steps carved on the rock for easy ascent almost to the top of the hill. These ruins are said to belong to the time of the Chola Râjâs, especially of Râjâ Chhatar Singh (Martin's *Eastern India*, vol. II ; Râshbihâri Bose's *Mandâra Hill* in *Ind. Ant.*, I, p. 46). There is a beautiful tank at the foot of the hill called Pâpahâriṇî where people come to bathe from a long distance on the last day of the month of Paush, when the image of Madhusûdana is brought to a temple at the foot of the hill from Baṃsî. This tank was caused to be excavated by Konadevî, the wife of Âdityasena who became the independent sovereign of Magadha in the seventh century after the Kanauj kingdom had been broken up on the death of Harshavardhana (*Corp. Inscrip. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 211). This shows that Aṅga was still under the domination of Magadha. The hill is sacred to Madhusûdana, but the image is now kept at Baṃsî, the Bâlisa of the *Mandâra-mâhâtmya*, where the temple was built in 1720 A.D. For the sanctity of the

hill, see *Varâha P.*, ch. 143; *Yoginî Tantra*, Pt. II, ch. 4; *Nṛisiṃha P.*, ch. 65. The *Varâha P.*, (ch. 143) says that Mandâra is situated on the south of the Ganges and on the Vindhya range. 2. A portion of the Himalaya mountain to the east of Sumeru in Garwal. The *Mahâbhârata* (Anuśâsana P., ch. 19, Vana P., ch. 162), however, does not recognise any other Mandâra except the Mandâra of the Himalaya range (see **Kûrmâchala**). In some Purâṇas, the Badarikâ-âśrama containing the temple of Nara and Nârâyaṇa is said to be situated on the Mandâra mountain, but in the *Mahâbhârata* (Vana, chs. 162, 164), Mandâra mountain is placed to the east and perhaps a part of Gandhamâdana and on the north of Badarikâśrama. Mahâdeva resided here after his marriage with Pârvatî (*Vâmana P.*, ch. 44).

Maṅgala—Called also Maṅgali or Maṅgalapura, the capital of Udyâna, identified by Wilford with Maṅgora or Manglora. It was on the left bank of the Swat river (*JASB.*, vol. VIII, p. 311). Cunningham thought it could be identified with Minglaur (*JRAS.*, 1896, p. 656).

Maṅgala-giri—See **Pânâ-Nṛisiṃha**, (Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, p. 139).

Maṅgalaprastha—Same as **Maṅgala-giri** (*Devî-Bhâgavata*, Pt. VIII, ch. 13).

Maṅgipattana—It has been identified by Dr. Burgess with Pratishṭhâna, the capital of Śâlivâhana (Burgess' *Antiquities of Bidar and Aurangabad*, p. 54). It is also called Muṅgi-Paiṭhân (see **Pratishṭhâna**).

Maṇîchuḍâ—A low range of hills, on the western extremity of which is situated the town of Jejuri, 30 miles east of Poona, where the two Asura brothers Malla and Mali molested the Brâhmins. They were killed by Khandoba (Khande Rao), an incarnation of Śiva (*Brahmâṇḍa P.*, Khetra K., Mallari-mâhat., as mentioned in Oppert's *On the Original Inhabitants of Bhâratavarsha or India*, p. 158, note). See **Mallari-liṅga**.

Mâṅikapura—Mâṇikalya in the Rawalpindi district of the Punjab, 14 miles to the south of Rawalpindi, is celebrated for the Buddhist topes, where Buddha in a former birth gave his body to feed seven starving tiger-cubs (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. XIV, p. 50; *Punjab Gazetteer*, Rawalpindi District, p. 41). Mâṇikalya is also called Mâṇikiala. The Buddhist story has been transformed into the legend of Rasalu. The inscriptions confirm the idea that the "body offering" or "Huta-murta" stupa was at this place. General Cunningham supposes that it owes its ancient name to Manigal, the father of Satrap Jihonia under Kujula Kara Kadphises. The principal tope was built by Kanishka in the first century A.D. (*JASB.*, XVIII, p. 20), and according to some, in the second century B.C. It is six miles from Takhtpuri, and said to contain about eighty houses built upon the ancient ruins (*JASB.*, XXII, 570). For the Indo-Sassanian coins discovered at Mâṇikalya, *see JASB.*, 1837, p. 288; *ibid.*, II, 1834, p. 436.

Maṇikarṇâ—Maṇikaran, a celebrated place of pilgrimage on the Pârvatî, a tributary of the Bias in the Kulu valley (*JASB.*, 1902, p. 36; *Bṛihat-Dharma P.*, I, ch. 6). See **Pârvati** and **Kuluta**. There are boiling springs within a Kuṇḍa or reservoir, 8 or 10 cubits in diameter, called Maṇikaran or Maṇikarṇikâ. The pilgrims get their rice and pulses boiled in this Kuṇḍa. It is a contraction of Maṇikarṇikâ.

Maṇikarṇika—1. Same as **Maṇikarṇâ**. 2. A celebrated ghâṭ in Benares.

Maṇimahesa—The temple of Mahâdeva Maṇimaheśa or Maṇamaheśa—an image of white stone with five faces, a celebrated place of pilgrimage, situated at Barmawar which was the ancient capital of Chamba (Champâ or Champâpurî of the ***Râjataraṅgiṇî***) in the Punjab on the bank of the Ravi near its source (Cunningham's *Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. XIV, p. 109;

Anc. Geo., p. 141). According to Thornton (see his *Gazetteer of the Countries adjacent to India* s.v. *Ravee* note), Maṇimaheśa or Muni-muhis is a lake in which the river **Boodhill** takes its rise ; it is according to Vigne the real Ravi.

Maṇimatipurî—Same as **Ilbalapura** (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 96).

Maṇipura—It was the capital of Kaliṅga, the kingdom of Babhruvâhana of the *Mahâbhârata* (Aśvamedha P., ch. 79). Lassen identifies it with Manphur-Bunder and places it to the south of Chikakole, but this identification has been disapproved by Dr. Oppert (*On the Weapons of the Ancient Hindus*, pp. 145, 148), who identifies it with Manalûru near Madura (see also Oppert's *On the Original Inhabitants of Bhâratavarsha or India*, p. 102). But the situation of the capital of Kaliṅga as described in the *Mbh.* (Âdi, ch. 215), and the *Raghuvaṁśa* (VI, *v.* 56) and also the name accord with those of Maṇikapattana, a seaport at the mouth of the Chilka lake. See **Kaliṅga-nagarî**. It has been identified by Mr. Rice with Ratanpur in the Central Provinces (*Mysore Inscriptions*, Intro., XXIX). But see **Ratnapura**.

Mañjulâ—See **Bañjulâ**.

Mañjupâtan—Two and half miles from Katmandu ; it was the capital of Nepal named after its founder Mañjuśrî (*Svayambhû P.*, ch. 3, p. 152 ; Smith's *Asoka*, p. 77). The present town of Pâtan or Lalita-pâtan was founded by Asoka on the site of Mañju-Pâtan as a memorial of his visit to Nepal (Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 162). See **Nepâla**. The great temple of Svayambhûnâtha stands about a mile to the west of Katmandu on a low, richly wooded detached hill, and consists of a hemisphere surmounted by a graduated cone (Hodgson's *Literature and Religion of the Buddhists*). Same as **Mañjupattana**.

Mañjupattana—Same as **Mañjupâṭan**.

Mânyakshetra—Malkhed, on a tributary of the river Bhîmâ in the Nizam's territory about 60 miles south-east of Sholapur. Amoghavarsha or Sarba, the son of Govinda III of the later Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty, made it his capital in the ninth century A.D. It was also called Mankir (Bhandarkar's *Hist. of the Dekkan*, sec. XI).

Mârapura—Another name for Pradyumna-nagara, the modern Pâṇḍuâ in the district of Hughli in Bengal. Pâṇḍu Śâkya, the son of Buddha's uncle Amitodana, became king of Kapilavastu after the death of Suddhodana, Buddha's father. He fled from Kapilavastu, retired beyond the Ganges and founded a town called, in Upham's *Mahâvaṃśa*, ch. VIII, Morapura which is evidently a dialectical variation or mislection for Mârapura, a synonym of Pradyumna-nagara (see also Turnour's *Mahâvaṃśâ*, ch. V). Pâṇḍu appears also to have been called Mahânâma (*Avadâna-kalpalatâ*, ch. 11 ; Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 293). See *JASB.*, 1910, p. 611.

Mârava—Marwar ; same as Marusthala (*Padma P.*, Uttara Kh., ch. 68).

Mârakaṇḍa-Samarkand—See **Śakadvîpa** (*Rawlinson's Five Great Monarchies*, vol. IV, p. 56).

Mârkaṇḍeya-Tîrtha—At the confluence of the Saraju and the Ganges where Mârkaṇḍa Ṛishi performed asceticism (*Padma P.*, Svarga, ch. 16). But the *Mahâbhârata* places the hermitage of the Ṛishi at the confluence of the Gomatî and the Ganges (Vana P., ch. 84). According to tradition Mârkaṇḍeya performed asceticism near "the southern ocean" at Tirrukkaḍavur in the Tanjore district, Madras, and obtained the boon of immortality from Śiva (*Brihat-Śiva P.*, Uttara, ch. 33 ; T. A. Gopinatha Rao's *Iconography*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 158).

Mârttaṇḍa—Bavan (Bhavana) or Martan or Matan, five miles to the north-east of Islamanad in Kasmir. It is the birth-place of Vishṇu Sûrya or the Sun (god). About one mile to the north-west of the temple lie the sacred springs of Mârttaṇḍa-tîrtha and among them are the celebrated springs called Vimalâ and Kamalâ. The temple of Mârttaṇḍa is said to have been built by the Pâṇḍavas, but General Cunningham considers that it was built in 370 A.D. In the *Râjataraṅgiṇî* it is called Siṃharotsikâ. For a description of the temple, see *Matan* in Thornton's *Gazetteer of Countries adjacent to India*.

Mârttikâvata—There were a town and a country of this name. The country was also called **Śâlva** (*q.v.*). The *Bṛihat-saṃhitâ* (ch. 16) places it in the north-western part of India. Its capital was Śâlvapura or Saubhanagara now called Alwar. According to Prof. Wilson, it was the country of the Bhojas by the side of the Parṇâśâ (Banas) river in Malwa (*Vishṇu P.*, pt. IV, ch. 13). It was situated near Kurukshetra (*Mbh.*, Maushala, ch. 7). Marta, Merta, or Mairta in Marwar, 36 miles north-west of Ajmir and on the north-west of the Aravali mountain, was evidently the ancient town of Mârttikâvata. It contains many temples (Tavernier's *Travels*, Ball's ed., vol. I, p. 88). The country of Mârttikâvata therefore comprised portions of the territories of Jodhpur, Jaipur, and Alwar, as indicated by the identifications of its two principal cities Mârttikâvata (modern Marta) and Śâlvapura (modern Alwar). See **Mṛittikâvatî**.

Maru—Rajputana: an abode of death, *i.e.*, a desert (Katyâyana's *Vârttika*; Kunte's *Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization*, p. 378). Same as **Marusthalî** and **Marudhanva**.

Marubhûmi—Same as **Marusthalî** (*Vishṇu P.*, IV, 24; Wilson's translation, p. 474).

Marudvṛidha—1. The Chandrabhâgâ, the united stream of the Jhelum and the Chinab (Ragozin's *Vedic India*, p. 451 and the *Ṛig-Veda*, X, 75). 2. The Marubardhana, a tributary of the Chinab, which joins the latter river near Kishtawar (Thornton's *Gazetteer*, s.v. *Chenaut*).

Marudhanva—1. Marwar (*Bhavishya P.*, Pratisarga P., pt. III, ch. 2). 2. The ancient, name of Rajputana (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 201). It lay on the route between Hastinâpura and Dvârakâ (*Ibid.*, Aśvamedha, ch. 53).

Marusthala—Same as **Marava** and **Marusthalî** (*Padma P.*, Uttara Kh., ch. 68).

Marusthalî—The great desert east of Sindh (*Bhavishya P.*, Pratisarga P., pt. III). Marwar is a corruption of Marusthalî or Marusthan (Tod's *Râjasthân*—Annals of Marwar, ch. 1). It is called Maru in the *Prabandhachintâmaṇi* (Tawney's trans., p. 172). It denotes the whole of Rajputana; see **Maru** and **Marudhanva**.

Maśakâvatî—Mazaga or Massanagar, twenty-four miles from Bajor, on the river Swat in the Eusofzoi country. It has been identified by Rennell with Massaga of Alexander's historians and the Mashanagar of Baber. It held out for four days against the attack of Alexander (McCrindle's *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 180 note). According to Arrian, Massaka was the capital of the country of the Assakenoi (*Ibid.*). For the route of Alexander, see *JASB.*, 1842, p. 552—*Note on the passes into Hindoostan* by H. T. Prinsep.

Masura-Vihâra—Identified by Mr. Stein with Gumbatoi in Buner, about twenty miles to the south-west of Manglora, the ancient capital of Udyâna.

Mâtaṅga—A country to the south-east of Kâmarûpa in Assam, celebrated for its diamond mines (*Yuktikalpataru*, p. 96).

Mâtaṅga-Âśrama—Same as **Gandha-hasti Stûpa** (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 84).

Mathurâ—1. Mathura, the capital of Śûrasena; hence the Jainas call Mathura by the name of Sauripura or Sauryapura (*SBE.*, XLV, p. 112). It was the birth-place of Kṛishṇa. At a place called Janmabhûmi or Kârâgâra near the Potara-kuṇḍa he was born; in the suburb called Malla-pura adjoining the temple of Keśava Deva, he fought with

the two wrestlers, Chânura and Mushṭika; at Kubjâ's well he cured Kubjâ of her hump; at Kaṃsa-kâ-Ṭilâ, outside the southern gate of the present city, he killed Kaṃsa: at Biśrâma ghâṭ or Biśrânti-ghâṭ (*Varâha P.*, ch. 152) he rested himself after his victory. Kaṃsa-kâ-Ṭilâ and Kubjâ's temple are situated on high mounds which are evidently the remains of the three Asoka Stûpas mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. The Jog-ghâṭ marks the spot where Kaṃsa is said to have dashed Mâyâ or Yoganidrâ to the ground, but a pair of feet carved on a stone just below the *Baṭ* tree (*Ficus Indicus*) in front of the Kârâgâra where Krishṇa was born, points out the place where Kaṃsa attempted to kill her, but she escaped from his hand into the sky. Mathurâ was the hermitage of Dhruva (*Skanda P.*, Kâśî Kh., ch. 20); near Dhruva-ghâṭ, there is a temple dedicated to him. Growse identifies the Kaṅkâlî Ṭilâ (see **Urumunda Parvata**) near the Kâṭrâ with the monastery of Upagupta, the preceptor, according to some, of Kâlâśoka or according to others of Aśoka. It was visited by Hiuen Tsiang. The temple ot Kaṅkâlî Devî, a form of Durgâ, is a very small temple built on the land evidently after the destruction of the Buddhist monastery. The temple of Bhuteśvara is identified with the stûpa of Sâriputra, the disciple of Buddha; it is one of the seven stûpas mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. Within the temple is a subterranean chamber containing the image of Pâtâleśwari—a form of Mahishamarddinî. The Damdamâ mound near Serai Jamalpur is identified with the monkey-stûpa and the Yaśa Vihâra with the temple of Keśava Deva, which has been graphically described by Travernier as the temple of "Râm Râm" before its destruction by Aurangzeb in 1669 for the construction of a mosque on its site. Mathurâ was also called Madhupurî (present Maholi, five miles to the south-west of the modern city), being the abode ot Madhu, whose son Lavana was killed by Śatrughna, the brother oi Râmachandra, who founded the present city on the site ot Madhuvana (Growse's *Mathura*, ch. 4; *Harivaṃśa*, pt. I, ch. 54). Inscriptions of Vasu Deva found in Mathura by General Cunningham. He was perhaps the first of the Kaṇva dynasty of the Purâṇas, which ruled over North-Western India and the Punjab just before and after the Christian era; or he was the predecessor of Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka (see *Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. III, p. 42). Mathura was also called Madhura (*Râmâyaṇa*, Uttara, ch. 108—Bomb. recension); see **Madhurâ.** 2. Mâthura (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 95), Madhurâ or Madura, the second capital of Pâṇḍya, on the river Vaigai, in the province of Madras; it is said to have been founded by Kula Śekhara. It was called Dakshiṇa Mathurâ by way of contradistinction to Mathura of the United Provinces (*Bṛihat-Śiva P.*, pt. II, ch. 20). It was the capital of Jaṭâvarman who ascended the throne in 1250 or 1251, and conquered the Hoysala king Someśvara of Karṇâṭa (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 8). It contained the celebrated temples of Minâkshî Devî and Sundareśvara Mahâdeva (Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, p. 226). See **Minâkshî.**

Matipura—Madawar or Mundore in western Rohilkhand, eight miles north of Bijnor and thirty miles to the south of Hardwar. It is also called Madyabâr. See **Pralamba.**

Matsya-Deśa—1. The territory of Jaipur; it included the whole of the present territory of Alwar with a portion of Bharatpur (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 30 and Virâṭa, ch. 1; Thornton's *Gazetteer*; *Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. XX, p. 2; vol. II, p. 244). It was the kingdom of Râjâ Virâṭa of the *Mahâbhârata*, where Yudhishṭhira and his brothers resided incognito during the last year of their banishment. Bairâṭa or Birâṭa is in the Jaipur State of Rajputana. Matsya is the Machchha of the Buddhists, and it was one of the sixteen great kingdoms (*mahâ-janapada*) mentioned in the Piṭakas (*SBE.*, XVII, p. 146 note). Machheri, which is a corruption of Matsya, is situated 22 miles to the south of Alwar, which formerly appertained to the territory of Jaipur. See **Birâṭa.** 2. Coorg (*Skanda P.*, Kâveri Mâhât,

chs. 11-14; Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. III, pp. 88, 89, 91). 3. The eastern Matsya appears to have been the southern portion of Tirhut including **Baiśâlî** (*q.v.*), the country of the "Monster Fish" of Hiuen Tsiang (Beal's *RWC.*, II, p. 78; *JASB.*, 1900, p. 83; *Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 30).

Matsya-Tîrtha—A small lake situated on a hill 8 or 10 miles to the west of Tirupânankundram not far from the river Tuṅgabhadrâ, in the province of Mysore (*Chaitanya-charitâmṛita*, pt. II, ch. 9). It is full of fishes which produce a musical sound morning and evening. This phenomenon is, perhaps, due to the singing of the fishes which are like the singing fishes called Butterman off the coast of Scotland or the singing fishes of Ceylon or to the arrangement of the surrounding rocks which, at varying temperatures, produce a musical sound. Such music was noticed in the statue of the "Vocal Memnon" in Egypt and also in the rocks of several places (see Rawlinson's *Ancient Egypt*, p. 212).

Mauli—The Rohtas hills.

Maulika—Same as **Mulaka** and **Aśmaka** (*Brahmâṇḍa P.*, ch. 49).

Maulisnâna—Multan (*Padma P.*, Uttara Kh., ch. 61). It is the Meu-lo-san-pu-lo (Maulisnânapura) of Hiuen Tsiang, who visited it in 641 A.D. Same as **Mûlasthânapura** (*q.v.*). It is also called Mûlasthâna in the *Padma P.*, (I, ch. 13). It is the Malla-deśa of the *Râmâyaṇa* (Uttara, ch. 115) given by Râmachandra to Lakshmaṇa's son Chandraketu. It is the country of the Mallas of Alexander's historians. Maulisnâna is perhaps a corruption of Mâlava-sthâna or Malla-sthâna.

Mâyâpurî—It included Hardwar, Mâyâpurî, and Kaṅkhala; (see **Sapta-mokshadâpurî**). Kaṅkhala is two miles from Hardwar. It was here that the celebrated Daksha-yajña of the Purâṇas took place, and Satî, the daughter of Daksha, sacrificed her life, unable to bear the insult to her husband Mahâdeva by her father (*Kûrma P.*, I, ch. 15). The present Mâyâpur is situated between Hardwar and Kaṅkhala (*Matsya P.*, ch. 22). Pilgrims from all parts of India go to bathe at Brahmakuṇḍa in the *ghâṭ* called Har-ki-Pairi at Hardwar. In a temple behind the temple of Daksheśvara Mahâdeva at Kaṅkhala, the Yajña-kuṇḍa, where Satî immolated herself, is still pointed out. In the *Mahâbhârata* (Vana, ch. 84), Haridvâra is called Gaṅgâdvâra.

Maya-râshṭra—Mirat, where the remnant of Maya Dânava's fort is still pointed out, in a place called Andha-koṭa. It is about twenty miles from the Kâlî-nadî. The Bilveśvara Mahâdeva is said to have been worshipped there by Mandodarî, the wife of Râvaṇa and daughter of Maya Dânava. About Andhakeśa (perhaps corrupted into Andha-koṭa) and Bilveśvara Mahâdeva, see *Śiva P.*, Bk. I, ch. 41. Maya is the reputed author of *Maya-mata*, *Mayaśilpa*, &c., (O. C. Gangoly's *South Indian Bronzes*, p. 7; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, p. 230).

Mayarat—Same as **Maya-râshṭra**. Mirat is a corruption of Mayarâṭ.

Mayûra—Mâyâpurî or Hardwar. The present Mâyâpurî is situated between the town of Hardwar and Kaṅkhala.

Mayûrî—Mahi, a town on the Malabar coast (Caldwell's *Drav. Comp. Gram.*, p. 3).

Medapâta—Mewar in Rajputana (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 409).

Medhâvî-Tîrtha—Near Kâlañjar in Bundelkhand.

Mega—The second mouth of the Ganges mentioned by Ptolemy. It is perhaps a transcription of Magrâ (channel), now represented by the Jîrmia estuary (see my *Early Course of the Ganges*).

Meghanâda—The river Megnâ in East Bengal. The river Brahmaputra in its southerly course towards the ocean after leaving Assam is called the Megnâ.

Meghavâhana—The river Megnâ in East Bengal. Same as **Meghanâda.**

Mehatnu—A tributary of the Krumû, modern Kurum (Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, vol. II, p. 180 ; *Ṛig-Veda*, X, 75). Same as **Mahatnu.**

Mekala—The mount Amarakaṇṭaka, in which the river Nerbuda has its source ; hence the Nerbuda is called Mekalakanyakâ (*Amarakosha*). It is a part of the Vindhya range.

Melezigeris (of the Greeks)—The town of Mâlvan situated in the island called Medha in the Ratnagiri district of the Bombay Presidency. The Channel which separated the island from the mainland has now dried up (*Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, vol. VIII, p. 204). Sir R. G. Bhandarkar identifies it with Jayagaḍ (*Early History of the Ḍekkan*, sec. viii).

Meros Mount—The mountain called Mar-koh near Jalalabad in the Punjab, which was ascended by Alexander the Great (McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 338). For the route of Alexander the Great when he invaded India, see *JASB.*, 1842, p. 552—*Note on the Passes into Hindoostan* by H. T. Prinsep.

Meru—See **Sumeru-Parvat** (*Skanda P.*, Vishṇu Kh., III, ch. 7).

Minâkshî—Madura, one of the Pîṭhas where Satî's eyes are said to have fallen. The temple of Mînâkshî Devî (*Devî-Bhâgavata*, VII, ch. 38), is situated within the town. It is said to have been built by Viśvanâth, the first king of the Nyak dynasty, in 1520 A.D. (Fergusson's *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 364). See **Mathurâ.** Human sacrifices were offered to the goddess (*JASB.*, VII, pt. I, p. 379). The Madura temple is one of the largest and most beautiful temples in Southern India. There are golden flag-staffs called *Aruṇastambha* or *Sonâr Tâlgâchh* (golden palm-tree) in front of every temple in Southern India. The *Aruṇa-stambha* is a form of sun-dial for indicating the exact time of worship of the gods, though its real significance has now been forgotten ; it now merely serves as an ornament to the temple.

Miśraka—Misrikh, a celebrated Tîrtha, in the district of Sitâpur in Oudh : the hermitage of Dadhichi Ṛishi [*Padma P.*, Svarga (Âdi), ch. 12]. But it appears to be a Kurukshetra Tîrtha.

Mitanni—See **Mitravana.**

Mithilâ—1. Tirhut. 2. Janakpur (see **Bideha**). It was the capital of Bideha (*Bhâgavata*, pt. IX, ch. 13). It is called Miyulu in the Buddhist annals (see Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 196). From the middle of the fourteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century, a dynasty of Brahman kings reigned in Mithilâ and the sixth of the line was Śiva Siṃha. Vidyâpati flourished at his court (*JASB.*, 1884, p. 76 and colophon to his poems). He gave to the poet a village called Bisapi in Pargana Jarail on the Bâgvatî in 293 Lakshmana era or in 1400 A.D. His capital was Gajarathapur. The Mithila University, which was a Brahminical university, flourished in the 14th century A.D., after the destruction of the Vikramaśilâ monastery by Bakhtiyar Khilji. Its glory was supplanted by the rise of the university town of Navadvîpa.

Mitravana—1. Multan. Same as **Sâmbapura.** Kanârak in Orissa is also called Mitravana or Maitreyavana in the *Kapila-saṃhitâ* (Dr. Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*, vol. II, p. 146 ; *Skanda P.*, Prabhâsa Kh., I, 100). 2. Mitanni of the Tel-el-Amara inscription appears to be a corruption of Mitravana, one of the three "original seats" of Sun-worship : modern Mesopotamia (*Bhavishya P.*, I, 72, 4 ; see Havell's *Hist of Aryan rule in India*, p. 41).

The Aryans worshipped nature including the Sun (Mitra) before they emigrated **to India** and other countries (comp. *Ṛig Veda* with the *Avesta* ; *Bhavishya P.*, I, 139, 83 ff.).

Miyulu—Same as **Mithilâ.**

Modâgiri—Monghyr (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 29).

Mohana—The southern portion of the Northern Circars, the coastlands situated between the rivers Mahânadî and the Godâvarî (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 252).

Moharakapura—Moharpur in the district of Mirzapur, U.P. See **Dharmâraṇya** (3).

Mouziris (of the Greeks)—Muyirikkodu or Muyirikoṭṭa (Kishan-koṭṭa opposite to the site of Cranganore) on the Malabar coast (Dr. Caldwell's *Drav. Comp. Gram.*, p. 94 ; Dr. Burnell's *S. I. Pal.*, p. 51 note ; McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, VII, ch. 1, sec. 8 in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XIII, p. 228). The identification of Mouziris or Muziris, as it is also called, with Masura in the Ratnagiri district of the Bombay Presidency does not appear to be correct. It is most probably the Murachîpattana of the *Râmâyaṇa* (Kish., ch. 42) and *Bṛihat-Saṁhita* (ch. 14) and the Muñjagrâma of the *Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 30, conquered by Sahadeva.

Mṛiga—Margiana, the country about Merv in Turkestan : see **Sâkadvîpa** (Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies,* vol. IV, pp. 25, 26, note). Murg was the ancient name of Merv, which still exists in Murg-ab, the river of Merv. It is the Mourva of the *Avesta* and Margu of the Achæmenian *Inscriptions.*

Mṛigadâva—Sârnâth, six miles from Benares, the place where Buddha preached his first sermon after the attainment of Buddhahood at Buddha Gaya (*Dhamma-Chakka-ppavattana Sutta* in the *Sacred Books of the East,* vol. XI). Mṛigadâva was situated in Ṛishipatana (*Bhadrakalpa-Avadâna* in Dr. R. Mitra's *Sans. Bud. Litr. of Nepal*). Here Kauṇḍinya, Asvajit, Vâshpa, Mahânâman and Bhadrika became his first disciples. The Buddhist temples and Vihâras and stupas of Sârnâth were destroyed and burnt by the Sivaites in the eleventh century when Benares was annexed to the kingdom of Kanauj and Hinduism was restored. (See **Sâraṅganâtha.**) The exploration of 1905 has discovered a pillar of Asoka which marks the site where, according to Hiuen Tsiang, Buddha first "turned the wheel of law". The pillar is so well polished that it is still as "bright as Jade." The Dhamek Stupa, according to General Cunningham (*Anc. Geo.*, p. 438), was the place where Buddha first turned the wheel of law. The Chaukhandi tower, or what is called Lari-kâ-Jhânp, is the place where Buddha after his arrival met Kauṇḍinya, Asvajit, and the aforesaid three others, who were at first not inclined to show him any mark of respect, but were obliged to do so when he came near them. Akbar built a tower upon it to commemorate the visit of his father Humâyûn. The place where the red sandstone statue of Bodhisattva of the time of Kanishka under an umbrella of the same material has been discovered, was the *chaṅkrama*, mentioned by Itsing, where Buddha used to walk. Just to the south of the Asoka pillar, there is a hollow spot which has the appearance of a well and is pointed out as the bathing place of Buddha by ignorant men ; it is in reality the Asoka stupa mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, the interior of which has become hollow by bricks being taken out of it by unscrupulous men. The base is now only a few feet above the ground, and there are still four staircases on its four sides each consisting of four or five steps and carved out of one piece of stone. The remains of a temple mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang may be identified with the ruins discovered with four porticoes on the four sides on the southern side of the excavated area. The three tanks referred to by Hiuen Tsiang have been identified by General Cunningham with the present tanks named Chandratâl, Sâraṅga-tâl, and Nayâ-tâl (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. I, pp. 103-129). On the

bank of the Sâraṅga-tâl, there is a small temple of Mahâdeva called Śârnâth. This temple is evidently founded on the ruins of a stupa erected to the memory of the six-tusked elephant which gave its tusks to the hunter in deference to his yellow robe. On the bank of the Nayâ-tâl, where Buddha washed his garments, there was a square stone containing marks of Buddha's robes, as stated by Hiuen Tsiang. The stone was found by General Cunningham near the village of Barahipur. For particulars of the ruins, see Sir John Marshall's *Excavations at Sarnath*, 1907–08.

Mṛigasthalâ—See *Paśupatinâtha* (*Varâha P.*, ch. 215 ; *Svayambhû P.*, ch. 4).

Mṛittikâvatî—The country of the Bhojas by the side of the Parṇâsâ (Banas) river in Malwa (Wilson's *Vishṇu P.*, pt. IV, ch. 13 ; *Harshacharita*, ch. VI). Same as **Mârttikâvata** (Mṛta in Marwar). The capital of Mṛittikâvatî or Mârttikâvata was Saubhanagara or Śâlvapura, which has been identified by General Cunningham with Alwar (*Mbh.*, Vana P., ch. 14, and *Arch. S. Rep.*, vol. XX, p. 120). It was situated near Kurukshetra (see *Mbh.*, Maushala P., ch. 7). It comprised portions of the territories of Jodhpur, Jaipur, and Alwar. See *Śâlva* and *Mârttikavata.*

Muchilinda—Buddha-kuṇḍa, a tank in Buddha Gaya, to the south of the great temple. Dr. R. L. Mitra, however, places the tank at a considerable distance to the south-east of this tank, now called Mucharim (*Buddha-Gaya*, pp. 55–115).

Muchkunda—A lake three miles to the west of Dholpur where Kâla-yavana or Gonardda I (Gonandh I according to the *Râjataraṅginî*, I, *v.* 48), king of Kasmir, an ally of Jarâsindhu, was, by the advice of Krishṇa, consumed to ashes by a glance of Muchkunda when he was rudely awakened from his slumber (*Vishṇu P.*, pt. V, ch. 13 ; *Varâha P.*, ch. 158 ; Growse's *Mathurâ*, p. 65). On the site of the lake there was formerly a mountain.

Mudga-giri—Monghyr (see **Mudgala-giri**).

Mudgala-giri—Monghyr in Behar. Mudgalaputra, a disciple of Buddha, converted Śrutaviṃśatikoṭi, a rich merchant of this place, to Buddhism. Hence Mudgagiri and Mudgala-giri are contractions of Maudgalya-giri. The hermitage of Maudgala Ṛishî as he was called, existed near Monghyr (P. Ghosal's *Bhârat-bhramaṇa*). The Kashṭahâriṇî or Kashṭaharaṇa Ghâṭ at Monghyr derives its sanctity from Râma having bathed at this Ghâṭ to expiate his sin for having killed Râvaṇa, who though a *râkshasa* was nevertheless a Brâhmaṇa. Râmachandra is also said to have expiated his sin for slaying Râvaṇa by bathing at a sacred tank at Hatia-haran, twenty eight miles to the south-east of Hardoi in Oudh, and also in the river Gumti at Dhopâp, eighteen miles south-east of Sultanpur in Oudh (Führer's *MAI.*). Mudgala-giri is the Hiraṇya-Parvata of Hiuen Tsiang, which according to General Cunningham, is a form of Haraṇa Parvata derived from the name of Kashṭaharaṇa Ghâṭ (*Arch. S. Rep.*, XV, pp. 15, 16 ; *Anc. Geo.*, p. 476). The fort of Monghyr is situated on the Maruk hill, which is a spur of the Khaḍakpur hills, the Pirpâhâḍi hill at Monghyr being the most northern point of Khaḍakpur hills (*JASB.*, 1852, p. 204). In the 11th century it was called Mun-giri (Alberuni's *India*, I, p. 200).

Mûjavant—It is identified with one of the mountains to the south of Kasmir. Soma plants, so necessary for sacrifices, used to grow copiously on this mountain (Drs. Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, vol. II, p. 169).

Muktaveṇî—Triveṇî, north of Hughli in Bengal. Muktaveṇî is used by way of contradistinction to Yuktaveṇî or Allahabad (*Varâha P.*, ch. 152), where the three rivers Gaṅgâ, Yamunâ, and Sarasvatî unite and flow together; at Muktaveṇî the three rivers separate and flow in different directions (*Bṛihat-Dharma P.*, Pûrva Kh., ch. 6; *JASB.*, XV, 1847, p. 393; *An account of the temples of Triveṇî near Hughly*, by D. Money). Triveṇî is mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy; it formed a quarter of Saptagrâma (*K. Ch.*, p. 196). The temple of the Sapta-Ṛishis or Seven Ṛishis near the Triveṇî Ghâṭ has now been transformed into the tomb of Zaffar Khan Ghazi, the conqueror of Saptagrâma (*JASB.*, 1910, p. 599). Muktaveṇî has been alluded to in the *Pavana-dûta* (v. 33) by Dhoyî who flourished in the 12th century A.D.

Muktinâtha—A celebrated temple of Nârâyaṇa, situated in Tibet or rather on the border of Nepal, on a small river called Kâlî-Gaṇḍakî, in the Sapta Gaṇḍaki range of the Himalaya, not far from the source of the Gandak. It is fifteen or sixteen days' journey from Pâlpâ, the headquarters of the second governor of Nepal and four days' journey to the north of Bini-sahar, within half a mile of which the Gandak takes the name of Śâlagrâmî, the bed of which abounds with the sacred stones called Śâlagrâma. About three days' journey beyond Muktinâtha is a natural reservoir called Dâmodara-kuṇḍa (Hamilton's *Gazetteer*) which is considered to be the source of the Gandak (Thornton's *Gazetteer*). From the northern side a snow-covered river from Tibet, which is on the northern side, brings in Śâlagrâma stones to the Kuṇḍa.

Mûlaka—Same as **Aśmaka**. According to the Buddhists, Mûlaka was a different town from Aśmaka (*MB.*, p. 346; *Vishṇu-dharmottara P.*, pt. I, ch. 9). The countries of Mûlaka and Aśmaka (Assaka) were separated by the Godâvarî (*Paramatthajotikâ*, II, pt. II, p. 581).

Mûlasthâna-Pura—Multan. It is the Mâlava of the *Mahâbhârata* (Sabhâ P., ch. 31), situated on the west of Hastinapura, Mâlava of the *Harshacharita*, and Mallabhûmi of the *Râmâyaṇa* (Uttara, ch. 115)—the country of the Mallis of Alexander's historians. Vishṇu incarnated at this place as Nṛisiṃha-avatâra, and killed the Asura Hiraṇyakaśipu, the father of Prahlâda. The temple of Nṛisiṃha Deva in the old fort is still called Prahlâdapurî (Cunningham's *Geography of Ancient India*, p. 230). About fifty miles from Multan, a portion of the Suliman mountain is called Prahlâda's Mount, from which Prahlâda is believed to have been thrown down, and close by, is a tank into which, he is said to have been thrown by the orders of his father, Hiraṇyakaśipu. The temple of the Sun at Suraj Kuṇḍa, four miles to the south of Multan is said to have been built by Śâmba, the son of Kṛishṇa, who was cured here of his leprosy by the god (*Bhavishya P.*, Brâhma, ch. 74, *Brahma P.*, I, ch. 140). It is a celebrated place of pilgrimage. The Suraj Kuṇḍa is 132 feet in diameter and 10 feet deep. Hiuen Tsiang saw the golden image of the Sun when he visited Multan in the reign of Râjâ Chach. It was the capital of Malla-deśa or the country of the Mallis of Alexander's historians (see **Hiraṇyapura**). It is the same as Mauli-snâna of the *Padma P.*, (Uttara, ch. 61)—the Meou-lo-san-pou-lo of Hiuen Tsiang. According to Prof. Wilson the sun-worship at Multan was introduced under Sassanian influence (Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 357). This story is supported by the 5th century sun-coins, where the figures of the sun is in the dress of a Persian king, and the priests who performed the sun-worship at Multan were called Magas (*Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. I, pt. I, p. 142). According to the *Bhavishya P.*, (Brâhma, pp. 74 ff.) the priests were brought

from Śâkadvîpa. Mûlasthâna is mentioned in the *Padma P.*, (I, ch. 13) as being the abode of Śâmba (see **Maulisnâna**). The old city of Multan was situated on either bank of the Ravi.

Mûlatâpî—The river Tapti, so called from its source at Multâi, which is a corruption of Mûlatâpî (*Matsya P.*, ch. 22, *v.* 33).

Muṇḍâ—Chhota-Nâgpur, especially the district of Ranchi (*Vâyu P.*, Pûrva, ch. 45).

Muṇḍagrâma—On the river Bâgmatî, where Daksha's *Muṇḍa* (head) is said to have fallen.

Muṇḍapṛishṭha—The Brahmayoni hill in Gaya (*Garuḍa P.*, ch. 86; *Agni P.*, ch. 115, *v.* 44); especially that portion of it which contains the Vishṇupada temple. See **Kolâhala Parvata**.

Muñjagrâma—See **Mouziris.**

Murachîpattana—See **Mouziris**.

Muralâ—1. The river Nerbuda (*Trikâṇḍaśesha*, ch. I). It is also called Muraṇḍalâ. 2. Perhaps the river Mulâ-muthâ, which rises near Poona and is a tributary of the Bhîmâ (*Raghuvaṃśa*, IV, *v.* 55). 3. Same as **Kerala** or **Malabar** (Hall and Tawney's *Kathâ-sarit-sâgara*, ch. XIX).

Muraṇḍ—Same as **Lampâkâ**.

Muraṇḍalâ—See **Muralâ**.

Mûshika—It has been identified by Cunningham with Upper Sindh, of which the capital was Alor, the Musikanus of Ptolemy; he also identifies Alor with Binagara of Ptolemy. The *Mahâbhârata* (Bhîshma, ch. 9), however, places the country of Mûshika in southern India, which has been identified by Wilson (*Vishṇu P.*, p. 474) with Koṅkan in the province of Bombay, infested with pirates; its inhabitants were called Kanakas (see also *Padma P.*, Svarga Kh., ch. 3). In the *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, Mûshika is said to be one ot the four districts of Malayâlam, namely Tûluva, Kerala, Kuva, and Mûshika (*JASB.*, 1838, p. 183). According to Dr. Fleet, Mûshika, is a part of the Malabar Coast between Quilon and Cape Comorin (*Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 281; Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 276—584). As Strabo also places the Musikanos in Sindh (McCrindle's *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*), there must have been two countries of that name, one in Upper Sindh, and the other on the Malabar Coast, that is, Travancore (see Dowson's Map in *JRAS.*, 1846, facing p. i).

Muziris—Same as **Mouziris**.

N.

Nâdeśvara—Same as **Bindusara** (1), (*Bṛihat-Nâradîya P.*, pt. I, ch. 16)

Nâdika—Same as **Kollâga**, a suburb of Baiśâlî, where the Nâta clan resided, for which the place was called Nâdika. See **Kuṇḍagrâma** and **Kollâga** (*Mahâ-parinibbâna Sutta*, ch. II, 5). Same as **Nâṭika**.

Nâgarrada—The Sarik-kul, the lake of the Great Pamir. (Beal's *RWC.*, II, p. 297*n.*).

Nâganadî—Same as *Achiravatî* (I-tsing's *Record of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 185).

Nâgapura—Same as **Hastinâpura** (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 183).

Nagara—1. Same as **Chamatkârapura**. 2. Same as **Nagarahâra**,—Na-kia-lo-ho of Hiuen Tsiang.

Nagarahâra—Same as Nigarhâra (*Brahmâṇḍa P.*, ch. 49, *v.* 70). The town was situated at the confluence of the Surkhar or Surkh-rud and Kabul rivers, near Jâlâlâbad (*JASB.*, XVII, 498). McCrindle identifies it with Nanghenhar or Nangnihar, four or five miles to the west of Jâlâlâbad; it is the Nagara or Dionysopolis of Ptolemy, and Nysa of Alexander's historians (*Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 338). Bâbar also writes the name as Nangenhar (Talbot's *Memoirs of Bâbar*, p. 129), and Nekerhar (Erskine's *Memoirs*). Nungnihar, however, is the name of the Kabul valley, and Bâbar says that Nungnihara has nine streams (*see* **Kubhâ**). In 1570 the town of Jâlâlâbad was built by Akbar. According to Prof. Lassen, it was the capital of a Greek kingdom, probably of Agathocles and Pantaleon, who exhibit the symbols of Dionysos on their coins (*JASB.*, 1839, p. 145), and it was situated on the southern bank of the Kabul river not far from Jâlâlâbad (*JASB.*, 1840, p. 477). The name of Dionysopolis existed even at the time of Mahmûd of Ghazni, for Alberuni mentions the town of Dinus as being situated between Kabul and Peshawar. It was also called Udyânapura. At some distance from the ruins of Nagarahâra and on the opposite bank of the river is a mountain called Mar-koh, *i.e.*, Mount Meros of Alexander's historians (McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 338). Jâlâlâbad contains some forty topes dating from the commencement of the Christian era to 700 A.D. On the southern bank of the Kabul river, Nagarahâra was the extreme boundary of India (*JASB.*, 1840, p. 486). The inscription found at Guserawa, 10 miles to the south-east of the town of Bihar, mentions the name of Nagarahâra, and is there said to be situated at Uttarâpatha (*JASB.*, XVII, p. 492).

Nagarakoṭa—Kangrâ or Koṭ Kangrâ at the junction of the Mânjhi and the Bân-Gangâ rivers in the Kohistan of the Jalandhar Doab, where the temple of Mâtâ Devî or Vajreśvarî is situated; this holy shrine was desecrated by Mahmûd of Ghazni. It is a Pîṭha where one of Satî's breasts is said to have fallen. It was the old capital of Kûluta or Trigartta (see Dr. Stein: *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, I, p. 204 note). The fort was considered impregnable; it is now out of repairs. Within the fort are the remains of Hindu temples. About a mile from Kangrâ is the populous town of Bhawan built on the northern slope of a hill called Mulkera, containing a Hindu temple with gilded dome (*JASB.*, XVIII, p. 366). Its ancient name was Susarmapura or Susarmanagara (*Ep. Ind.*, I, 103 note; Vol. II, p. 483). Âśâpurî is an isolated hill in the Kangrâ valley (*JASB.*, XVII, 287); it is a place of pilgrimage.

Naimishâraṇya—Nimkhâravana or Nimsar, at a short distance from the Nimsar station of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway, and twenty miles from Sitapur and 45 miles to the north-west of Lucknow. It was the abode of sixty thousand Ṛishis. Many of the *Purâṇas* were written perhaps at this place. It is situated on the left bank of the Gomati (*Râmâyaṇa*, Uttara K., ch. 91). In the Naimisha forest, there was a town called **Nâgapura** on the bank of the Gomatî.

Nairañjana—The river Phalgu (Aśvaghosha's *Buddha-charita*). Its two branches are the Nîlâjana and the Mohanâ, and their united stream is called the Phalgu. Buddha-Gaya is situated at a short distance to the west of the Nîlâjana or Nirañjana, which has its source near Simeria in the district of Hazaribagh.

Nakuleśvara—See **Kârâvana** (*Devî P.*, ch. 63).

Nakulîśa—See **Kârâvana** (*Skanda P.*, Maheśvara Kh., Kumârikâ, ch. 58).

Nalakâlika—See **Neleynda.**

Nalakânana—See **Neleynda.**

Nâlânda—Bargâon, which lies seven miles to the north-west of Rajgir in the district of Patna, the celebrated seat of Buddhist learning up to the thirteenth century A.D. Bargâon is a corruption of Vihâragrâma. Nâlandâ was a "great city" in which were many horses, elephants, and men. The great monastery, which no longer exists, has been traced by General Cunningham by the square patches of cultivation amongst a long mass of brick ruins 1,600 feet by 400 feet. These open spaces show the position of the courtyard of the six smaller monasteries, which are described by Hiuen Tsiang as being situated within one enclosure forming altogether eight courts (Cunningham's *Anc. Geo.*, p. 470; *Mahâ-parinibbâna-sutta* in the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XI, p. 12). The whole establishment was surrounded by a brick wall which enclosed the entire convent from without, one gate opening into the great college (Beal's *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. ix). It was the birth-place of Śârîputra, the famous disciple of Buddha (Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama*; Legge's *Fa Hian*, p. 81). But according to Hiuen Tsiang Śârîputra was born at Kâlapinâka, four miles to the south-east of Nâlandâ. According to the *Bhadra-kalpa Avadâna*; (Dr. R. Mitra's *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, p. 45), Śârîputra was born at Nâradagrâma near Râjagṛiha; he was the last of the seven sons of Dharmapati by his wife Śârî; but according to the *Mahâvastu-avadâna* (*Sans. Bud. Liter. of Nepal*, p. 148), the birthplace of Śârîputra is located at Alanda which was four miles from Râjagṛiha. Nâradagrâma and Alanda appear to be variations of Nâlandâ. Śârîputra also died at Nâlandâ (*Jâtaka*, *Cam. Ed.*, Vol. V, p. 64, but see Vol. I, p. 230). Śaṅkara and Mudgaragâminin, two brothers, built the celebrated monastery on the birth-place of Śârîputra (Dr. R. L. Mitra's *Buddha-Gaya*, pp. 238, 242). But according to Hiuen Tsiang, the monastery was built by king Śakrâditya (Beal's *RWC.*, Vol. II, p. 168). The celebrated Nâgârjuna, who introduced the Mahâyâna system of Buddhism in the first century, resided at the monastery of Nâlandâ, making it a seat of Mahâyana school of Central India (see **Kośala-Dakshina**). Many Chinese pilgrims, including Hiuen Tsiang, studied at this monastery in the seventh century. The great temple at Nâlandâ, which resembled the great temple at Buddha-Gaya, was built by Bâlâditya who lived at the end of the first century after Christ (Dr. R. L. Mitra's *Buddha-Gaya*, p. 247). Cunningham identifies it with the third mound from the north on the right side of the road. According to some authorities, it was built over the spot where Śârîputra's body was burnt (Legge's *Fa Hian*, p. 81). It was situated to the north-west of the Nâlandâ monastery containing a big image of Buddha. According to Hiuen Tsiang, ten thousand priests, and according to I-tsing, over three thousand priests resided in the six large buildings within the same compound forming together one great monastic establishment, and the structure was one of the most splendid buildings in India (I-tsing's *Records of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 65). Hiuen Tsiang and I-tsing resided and studied at the Nâlandâ monastery for many years. There are many high mounds and masses of brick ruins on both sides of the road running from north to south within the villages called Bargâon, Begumpur, Mustaphâpur, Kapatiah, and Ânandpur, collectively called Bargâon. These high mounds are the remains of the temples attached to the great Nâlandâ monastery. In an enclosure near a very big mound on the north side of these ruins is a very large and beautiful image of Buddha which is very similar to that at Buddha-Gaya. The image was, as stated before, enshrined at Bâlâditya's temple which is the third mound to the south from Bâlâditya's *Vihâra* identified by Cunningham with the mound situated at a short distance to the north-west of this enclosure. Bargâon contains many sculptures of more beautiful design and artistic value than those

of any other place. To the south of the monastery there was a tank where the Nâga (dragon) Nâlandâ lived. This tank has been identified by General Cunningham with the *Kargidya Pokhar*. Buddha, while on his way to Kusinâra, sojourned at Nâlandâ in the Pâvârika Mango-orchard, afterwards the site of the famous Buddhist university (*Kevaddha Sutta* in Rhys Davids' *Dialogues of the Buddha*, p. 276). Bargâon contains a temple of the Sun and a beautiful Sarâvak temple of Mahâvîra, the last Tîrthankara of the Jainas. Mahâvîra passed here fourteen Pajjusanas (Parjushana or rainy season retirement).—Stevenson's *Kalpasûtra*, ch. VI. Bargâon has been identified with Kuṇḍapura, the birth-place of Mahâvîra. But it has been proved by Dr. Hoernle that Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍagrâma was a quarter of Vaiśâli (*see* Hoernle's *Uvasagadasao ; Bühler's Indian Sect of the Jainas*, p. 25 ; *SBE.*, Vol. XXII, p. 223). From this mistaken identification of Bargâon with Kuṇḍapura by the Jainas, the Hindus have gone further and changed Kuṇḍapurâ into Kuṇḍinapura, the birth-place of Rukmiṇî, the consort of Krishṇa. Though Nâlandâ or Bargâon was not Kuṇḍapura, the birth-place of Mahâvîra, yet it appears that he dwelt at Nâlandâ, perhaps on the site of the present Sarâvak temple, while Buddha resided in the Pâvarika Mango-orchard. On this occasion Buddha converted to Buddhism Upâli, the favourite disciple of Mahâvîra, a grihapati, not his namesake the compiler of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*. In consequence of this conversion Mahâvîra is said to have left the city of Nâlandâ and gone to Pâpa (Pâvâ) where he died of broken heart (Spence Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, 2nd Ed., p. 274 ; Stevenson's *Kalpasûtra*, ch. VI). In the latter part of the seventh century when I-tsing resided at Nâlandâ, there were more than ten great tanks near the Nâlandâ monastery where at the sound of a *ghanṭâ* (bell), hundred and sometimes thousand priests used to bathe together (I-tsing's *Record of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 108). There are still many large tanks surrounding Bargâon, such as Dighi, Pansokhar, Sangarkhâ, Bhunai pokhar, several of which are now dry and are under cultivation. During the Buddhist period there were six universities, *viz.*, at Nâlandâ (Bargâon), Vikramaśîlâ (Pâtharghâṭâ), Takshaśîlâ (Taxila), Balabhî (Walâ), Dhanakaṭaka (Amarâvatî) and Kâñchipura (Conjeverum) ; the first two were in Eastern India and the rest in Northern, Western, Central, and Southern India respectively. It also appears that there was a University at Padmapura in Vidarbha in the seventh century A.D. The Universities at Ujjayinî, Takshaśîlâ, and Benares were Brahmanical universities. The University of Nâlandâ was founded in succession to the Takshaśîlâ University in the first century B.C., and existed nominally up to the twelfth century A.D., when it was destroyed by the Muhammadans under Bakhtiyar Khilji. Kulika (Kelika, according to the *Bhadrakalpa-Avadâna*, in Dr. R. Mitra's *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*), the birth-place of Maudgalya, the disciple of Buddha, has been identified by Cunningham with Jagdispur-mound, a little over one mile to the south-west of the ruins of Bargâon (*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. I, p. 29). Between Râjgir and Nâlandâ was the village Ambalaṭṭhikâ which contained a rest-house (*Chullavagga*, XI, I, 8).

Nalapura—Narwar, on the river Sindhu (Kâlisindh), 40 miles south-west of Gwalior. It was the capital of Râjâ Nala of the tale of Nala-Damayantî (*Jour. Arch. Soc. of Delhi*, 1853, p. 42 ; Tod's *Rajasthana*, Vol. II, p. 1197). It was the capital of Nishadha.

Nalinî—The river Padmâ (*Râmâyaṇa*, Bâla K., 43 ; Nikhilnath Rai's *History of Murshidabad*, p. 57). But from the *Padma P.* (Uttara, ch. 62), Nalinî and Padmâ (Padmâvatî) appear to be different rivers. As the Nalinî is described to be a considerable stream which

flows to the east from near the source of the Ganges, its identification with the river Brahmaputra appears to be correct (*Râmâyana*, Âdi, ch. 43 ; Nabin Chandra **Das's** *Anc. Geo. of Asia*). Nalini is also called Baṭodakâ [*Padma P.*, Swarga (Âdi), ch. 2].

Nandâ—1. A portion of the river Sarasvatî was called Nandâ (*Padma P.*, Srishṭi, ch. 18). 2. The river Mahânandâ, to the east of the river Kusi (*Mbh.*, Vana, P., chs. 87, 190). 3. The river Mandâkinî, a small river in Garwal, which falls into the river Alakânandâ (*Brahmâṇda P.*, ch. 43) : Nanda Prayâga is situated at the confluence of these two rivers. In the *Bhâgavata* (IV, ch. 6), Nandâ and Alakânandâ are said to be situated on the two sides of Alakâ in the Kailâsa mountain. 4. The river Godâvarî (see **Gotamî**). 5. A lofty snow-clad conical mountain peak in Kumaun called also Nandâ Devî, celebrated for its temple of the goddess of that name (*Devî P.*, chs. 38, 93).

Nandâ-Devî Parvata—See **Nandâ** (5).

Nandâkinî—See **Pañcha-Prayâga.**

Nandana-sara—A sacred lake on the north side of Pir Panjal mountain in Kasmir.

Nandana-vana—See **Bana**.

Nandigiri—The Nandidroog mountain in Mysore, containing a temple of Śiva and the sources of the five rivers : Northern Pinâkinî (Pennar), Southern Pinâkinî or Pâpaghnî, Chitravatî, Kshîranadî (Pâlar) and Arkavatî. The Pâlaḍ flows out of the mouth of the figure of Nandî cut in the rock (Wilson's *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, p. 136). But in the *Liṅga P.* (Pt. I, ch. 43, and *Śiva P.*, IV, ch. 47), the names of the five rivers at Nandî's place of austerity are differently given. See **Japyeśvara.**

Nandigrâma—Nundgâon in Oudh, close to the Bharata-kuṇḍa, eight or nine miles to the south of Fyzabad. Bharata is said to have resided at this place during the exile of his brother Râmachandra. It is also called Bhâdarasâ (*Râmâyaṇa*, Ayodhyâ K., ch. 115; *Archâvatâra-sthala-vaibhava-darpaṇam*), Bhâdarasâ being a corruption Bhrâtṛidarsana.

Nandikshetra—Twenty-three miles south of Śṛinagar in Kasmir near the Haramukh mount, including the Gaṅgâbal lake and the sacred lake called Nandisara or Nandkol or Kâlodaka which is said to be the residence of Śiva and his faithful attendant Nandin (Dr. Stein's *Ancient Geography of Kasmir*, p. 91 ; *Kathâ-saritsâgara*, IX, ch. 50). The name is applied to a valley at the foot of the east glaciers of the Haramukh Peaks ; the temple of Jyeshṭheśvara or Jyeshṭharudra is situated in this valley (Dr. Stein's *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, Vol. I, pp. 8, 21).

Nandikuṇḍa—See **Sâbhramatî** (*Agni P.*, ch. 219).

Nandipura—So called from Devî Nandinî, one of the Satî Pîṭhas situated in the district of Birbhum in Bengal.

Nârâyaṇa-parvata—A mountain in **Badarikâ-âśrama** (q.v.), on the left bank of the Alakânandâ.

Nârâyaṇasara—A lake at the mouth of the Indus at the western extremity of the Runn of Kachh, eighteen miles south-west of Lakhpat (*Bhâgavata P.*, VI, ch. 5). It is a place of great sanctity and a rival to Dvârakâ. The five sacred Sarovaras or lakes are Mânasa on the north, Bindusarovara in Bhuvaneśvara on the east, Pampâ on the south, Nârâyaṇasarovara on the west, and Pushkara in the middle.

Nârâyaṇî—The river Gandak.

Narmadâ—The river Nerbuda. It rises in the Amarakaṇṭaka mountain and falls into the Gulf of Cambay. The junction of the Nerbuda with the sea is called Narmadâ-Udadhi-saṅgama, which is a sacred place of pilgrimage (*Matsya P.*, ch. 193).

Narmadâ-Sindhu Sangama—The junction of the Nerbuda with the ocean: it is celebrated as Jamadagni Tîrtha (*Matsya P.*, ch. 193).

Nâsikya—Same as **Pañchavaṭî** (*Vâyu P.*, Pûrva, ch. 45); Nasik. The name of Nasika is mentioned by Ptolemy.

Nâṭaka—Same as **Lâṭa** (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 30).

Nâṭika—A suburb of Vaiśâlî (Besâr), where the Jñâtrika Kshatriyas resided; to this clan belonged Mahâvîra, the last Tîrthaṅkara of the Jainas (Jacobi's *Jaina-sûtras*, Intro., in *SBE*, XXII, p. xi).

Navadevakula—Newal, thirty-three miles south-west of Unao near Bângarmau in Oudh and nineteen miles south-east of Kanauj, visited by Hiuen Tsiang (Führer's *MAI*). It is the same as Âlavî (see **Âlavî**).

Navadvîpa—Nadia, the birth-place of Chaitanya, the last incarnation of Vishṇu according to the Vaishṇavas. The Navadvîpa of Chaitanya was situated opposite to the present Navadvîpa across the river Ganges; the present Navadvîpa is situated on the site of the ancient village of Kulia in the district of Nadia in Bengal. For the names of the original nine *dvîpas* or islets which formed the present Navadvîpa (see the Vaishṇava poet Narahari Das's *Navadvîpa Parikramâ*). Chaitanya was born in Saka 1407 corresponding to 1485 A.D., and he disappeared at Puri in Saka 1455 corresponding to 1533 A.D. See **Utkala**. Chaitanya was the son of a Vaidika Brâhmaṇa; at the age of 24, he was persuaded by Advaita to become a mendicant, to forsake his wife, and go to Benares; he taught his followers to think upon Hari and call out his name, to renounce a secular wife, to eat with all those who are Vaishṇavas, and allow widows to marry. The Gossains are his successors. The era of Chaitanya marked the commencement of the Bengali literature. Navadvîpa was the last Hindu capital of Bengal. Lakshmaniya or Aśoka Sena, the grandson of Lakshmaṇa Sena and great-grandson of Vallâla Sena, held his court at this place, whence he was driven by Bakhtiyar Khilji who made Gauḍ once more the capital of Bengal. For the Navadvîpa university, see **Mithilâ**.

Nava-Gândhâra—Kandahar, where the begging-pot of Buddha (the four bowls given him by the four guardian-deities after he had attained Buddhahood, and which he caused to appear as a single bowl) was removed from Kanishka's dagoba at Peshawar, the true Gandhâra. The alms-bowl was given by Buddha to the Lichchhavis and was kept at Vaiśâlî, whence it was carried off by Kanishka in the second century A.D.; and when Gândhâra was conquered by Kitolo, it was removed to Kândahar by the Gândhâris who emigrated there in the fifth century (*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 8-12; Legge's *Fa Hian*, ch. XI, *note*, p. 35; Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Vol. I, p. 675 *note*).

Nava-Râshṭra—Nausari—the Noagramma of Ptolemy—in the Baroach district, Bombay (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 31).

Nava-Tripadî—Naya-Tirupadî, twenty miles to the east of Tiranalavelli (Tinnivelli) visited by Chaitanya (*Archâvatâra-sthala-vaibhava-darpanam*, p. 64).

Nelcynda—Koṭṭayam in Travancore (*Periplus*, Schoff's trans., p. 208, and his *Two South-Indian Place-names in the Periplus*). It is the Nelkynda of Ptolemy [McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, Bk. VII, ch. 1, sec. 9 in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII (1884), p. 329]. It is generally supposed to be Nileśvaram on the Malabar Coast (Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 321). Nelcynda or Nelkynda is perhaps the Nalakâlika of the *Brahmâṇḍa P.*, ch. 49, and Nalakânana of the *Mbh.* (Bhîshma, ch. 9).

Nepâla—Nepal (*Varâha P.*, chs. 145, 215; *Svayambhû P.*, ch. 1). According to the *Svayambhû P.* (ch. 3), the Nepal valley originally consisted of a lake called **Nâga Bâsa** or **Kâli-hrada**, the residence of the Nâga Karkoṭaka. It was fourteen miles in length and four miles in breadth. The lake was dessieated by Mañjuśrî, who came from Pañcha Śîrsha Parvata in Mahâ-Chinâ, by cutting open the mountain on the south, and constructed on the dry bed of the lake, the temple of Svayambhûnâth or Svayambhû Jyotirûpa or Âdi-Buddha, the supreme God of the Northern Buddhists, about a mile and a half to the west of Kâṭmâṇḍu, and also the temple of Guhyeśvarî (ch. 5), who is the same as Prajñâ and Ârya Târâ of the Prajñâ Svabhâvikâ sect and Prakṛiti of the Brâhmins. It should be observed that Târâ Devî, and not Ârya Târâ, is the wife or Śakti of the fifth Dhyâni Buddha Amoghasiddha, as Vajra Dhâteśvarî, Lochanâ, Mâmukhî, and Pâṇḍarâ are the Śaktis of the four Dhyânî Buddhas Vairochana, Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava, and Amitâbha respectively (see **Udaṇḍapura** and **Uravilva**)). The dried bed of the lake to which he gave the name of Nepâla was originally populated from Mahâ China and afterwards from Gauḍa-deśa (*Svayambhû P.*, ch. 7), at the time of Râjâ Prachaṇḍa Deva.

Nibârâ—The river Nirâ, a tributary of the Bhîmâ (*Padma P.*, Svarga, Âdi, ch. 3). It rises in the Western Ghats.

Nichai-Giri—The low range of hills in the kingdom of Bhupal that lies to the south of Bhilsa as far as Bhojapura (Kâlidâsa's *Meghadûta*, Pt. I. v. 26; compare Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes.*, p. 327). It is called the Bhojapura hills.

Nichâksha—The name of a hill mentioned in the *Devî P.*, ch. 42. Perhaps it is the same as Kâlidâsa's "Nichairâkhya." See **Nichai-giri.**

Nichchhavi—Same as Tirabhukti (Purushottama Deva's *Trikâṇḍaśesha*, ch. 2). Nichchhavi is evidently a corruption of Lichchhavi, a warlike tribe who resided at Tirhut at the time of Buddha and whose capital was Vaiśâlî.

Nichulapura—Trichinopoly in the district of Madras (*Archâvatâra-sthala-vaibhava-darpaṇam*). Trichinopoly is evidently a corruption of Trisirapalli (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 58).

Nigamodbodha—Nigambod-ghâṭ in Old Delhi (Indraprastha) near the old Calcutta gate, a place of pilgrimage on the Jamunâ mentioned in the *Padma P.* (Uttara Kh., ch. 66).

Nigarhâra—Same as **Nagarahâra** (*Brahmâṇḍa P.*, ch. 49, v. 70).

Nikai (of the Greeks)—Mong, where the celebrated battle was fought between Alexander the Great and Porus (Cunningham's *Anc. Geo.*, p. 174). Mong is now called Murg, a town on the bank of the Jhelum in the district of Guzerat in the Punjab. Nikai is said to have been built by Alexander on the site of the field of battle. Purchas, an early English traveller of the seventeenth century, says that the battle was fought in a city called Detee, where a brass pillar existed as a token of the victory (Purchas's *Pilgrimage*).

Nilâb—The river Sindhu (Indus) of the Muhammadan historians.

Nilâchala—1. A hill at Puri in Orissa on which the temple of Jagannâth is supposed to be situated (*Padma P.*, Pâtâla, ch. 9). It is about 20 feet higher than the surrounding plain. 2. A hill at Gauhati in Assam on which the temple of Kâmâkhyâ Devî was built. 3. The Haridwar hills (*Mbh.*, Anuśâsana, ch. 25).

Nilâjana—The upper part of the river Phalgu. It is also called Lîlâjana. The *Mahâvagga* (Pt. I, ch. 1), calls it Nirañjarâ. It passes through a beautiful deep narrow gorge called Khai-bâneru, the mountains on either side rising in wild confusion, naked and barren, and falls from a great height into a romantic glen called Mâludâ, situated within a distance of six miles from Chatrâ, one of the sub-divisions of the district of Hazaribagh. The

sound of the fall at Mâludâ can be heard from a great distance. According to Dr. Buchanan, the river is separated by a sandy channel into two arms opposite to the extensive ruins at Buddha-Gaya. The eastern and largest arm is called Nîlâjana and Niringchiya (*i.e.*, Nirañjana in Pâli) (Martin's *Eastern India*, Vol. I, p. 14).

Nîlakaṇṭha—A celebrated place of pilgrimage in Nepal containing the temple of **Nîlakaṇṭha** Mahâdeva at the foot of the Sheopuri peak (ancient Śatarudra mountain), five miles north of Katmandu (*Bṛihat-Śiva P.*, Uttara Kh., ch. 32).

Nilâachana—Same as **Nîlâjana.**

Nîla-Parvata—1. Nîlgiri or Nîlâchal, a low range of sandhills in the district of Puri in Orissa on which the temple of Jagannath is situated. 2. A hill near Gauhati in Assam on which the temple of Kâmâkhyâ Devî is situated. 3. The Nilgiri hill in the Madras Presidency *SBE.*, Vol. VIII, p. 222). 4. The Haridwar hills called Chaṇḍî-pâhâd situated on the northern side of the Ganges called here Nîladhârâ between Haridwar and Kankhala (*Mbh.*, Anuśâsana, ch. 25). 5. On the north of Meru. The Kuen-lun range in Tibet (*Brahmâṇḍa P.*, ch. 35, *vs.* 34-38; *Mbh.*, Bhîshma, ch. 7; Anuśâsana, ch. 7). See **Uttara-Kuru** and **Harivarsha.**

Nirâhâra—Same as **Nagarahâra** (*Matsya P.*, ch. 113).

Nirañjara—Same as **Nîlâjana.**

Nirvindhyâ—A tributary of the Chambal between the rivers Betravatî (Betwa) and Sindh in Malwa (Meghadûta, Pt. I, vs. 30, 31). It has been identified with the river Kâli-sindh in Malwa (*Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, Vol V, p. 46—Life of Chaitanya; *Meghadûta*, V, *v.* 29). But this identification does not appear to be correct as Kâlîdâsa's Sindhu (*Meghadûta*, Pt. I, *v.* 30), appears to be the Kâlisindh; the Nirvindhyâ should be identified with the Newuj, another tributary of the Chambal between the rivers Betwa and Kâli-sindh (see Thornton's *Gazetteer*, s.v. *Gwalior*, *Bhopal*). The Newuj is also called Jam-niri (Tod's *Râjasthân*, I, p. 17).

Niśchîrâ—The river Lîlâjan which joins the Mohânâ near Gaya, and their united stream forms the Phalgu (*Agni P.*, ch. 116; *Mârkaṇḍ. P.*, ch. 57). It is the Nirañjara of the Buddhists.

Nishâda-bhûmi—See **Nishâdha-bhûmi.**

Nishadha—1. Marwar, the capital of the Nala Raja (Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 140; *Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 53). Narwar is the contraction of Nalapura. It was the kingdom of the nine Nâgas of the *Purâṇas.* It is situated on the right bank of the Sindh, forty miles to the south-west of Gwalior. Lassen places Nishadha, the kingdom of Nala, along the Satpura hills to the north-west of Berar. Burgess also places it to the south of Malwa (Burgess's *Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh*, p. 131). 2. The mountains which lie to the west of the Gandhamâdana and north of the Kabul river, called by the Greeks Paropamisos, now called Hindu Kush [Lassen's *History traced from Bactrian and Indo-Scythian Coins* in *JASB.*, Vol. IX (1840), p. 469 note]. Paropamisos is evidently a contraction of Parvata-Upa-Nishada, or the name perhaps is derived from the Pâripâtra (the name of the westernmost peak) of the Nishadha range (*Brahmâṇḍa P.*, ch. 44, *v.* 9). Pamir is perhaps a corruption of Pâripâtra. The Paropamisos, the Hindu-Kush, and the Koh-i-Baba appear to be the names of the different parts of the westerly continuation of the great Himalayan chain.

Nishâdha-bhûmi—The country of the Nishādas (or Nishādhas) or Bheels, which was originally Marwar or Jodhpur, whence driven south by other tribes they settled among the mountains that form the western boundary of Malwa and Khandesh in the lofty range

of the Vindhya and Satpura, and the woody and rugged banks of the Mâhî, the Nerbuda, and the Tapti (Malcolm's *Memoirs of Central India*, Vol. I, p. 452).

Nivṛitti—The eastern half of Puṇḍra-deśa, comprising Dinajpur, Rungpur, and Koch-Bihar, the principal town of which was Bardhana-kuṭi which has been identified by Westmacot with Puṇḍravardhana (*JASB.*, of 1875, p. 188). Gauḍa was also called Nivṛitti (*Trikâṇḍaśesha*).

Nysa—Nysatta, on the northern bank of the Kabul river about two leagues below Hastanagar (St. Martin cited in McCrindle's *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 180). It has been considered by Mr. McCrindle to be the same as Nagara or Dionysopolis of Ptolemy or ancient Nagarahâra (see **Nagarahâra**)

O

Odantapurî—Same as **Udaṇḍapura**.

Oḍra—Same as **Udra**. Orissa (*Brahma P.*, ch. 27). See **Utkala** and **Śrîkshetra**. The sacred Buddhist places in Orissa were appropriated by the Hindus in the fifth and sixth centuries on the revival of Hiduism, as Bhuvaneśvara was done by the Śaivas, Purî by the Vaishṇavas, Yâjapura by the Śâktas, Koṇârka by the Sauras and Darpaṇa (ancient Vinâyaka-kshetra on the Assia range) by the Gâṇapatyas (Dr. Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 148). For the persecution of the Buddhists by the Hindus, see *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, p. 264; Hunter's *Orissa*, Vol. I, ch. V; Dr. R. Mitra's *Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 58; Mâdhavâchârya *Śaṅkaravijaya*, ch. I, *v.* 93; *Bṛihat-Dharma P.*, Uttara Kh., ch. 19). Pushpamitra offered 100 dinars for the head of every Buddhist Śramaṇa in Sâkala (*Arch. S. Rep.*, of 1863, Vol. II, p. 41, and Vol. XX, p. 103). But Dr. Rhys Davids and Dr. Bühler are of opinion that the Buddhists were not persecuted (*Buddhist India*, p. 319). According to *Brahma P.* (chs. 28, 29, 42), Oḍra extended northwards to Braja-maṇḍala or Jâjpur, and consisted of three sacred *kshetras* called Purushottama (or Śrî) kshetra, Savitu (or Arka) kshetra, and Birajâ kshetra through which flows the river Baitaraṇî.

Oghavatî—The river Apagâ, a branch of the river Chitang; its shortest distance from Thaneswar is three miles to the south (*Mbh.*, Śalya, ch. 39; *Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. XIV, p. 88). Kuru performed sacrifice on the bank of this river. As, however, according to the *Vâmana P.* (ch. 58), Pṛithûdaka is situated on the Oghavatî (see **Pṛithûdaka**), and Pehoa (ancient Pṛithûdaka) is situated near the junction of the Mârkaṇḍa and the Sarasvati (*Punjab Gazetteer*, Ambala District, 1884, p. 5), the Oghavatî cannot be identified with the Apagâ. It must be the river Mârkaṇḍa.

Ollâ—Same as **Lâta** (Râjaśekhara's *Viddhaśâlâ-bhañjikâ*, Acts II and IV). Ollâ is a corruption of Ballabhî or Balabhî, and its present form is Wallay or Walâ (see Balabhî).

Oṁkâra—Same as **Oṁkâranâtha** (*Bṛihat-Śiva P.*, II, ch. 3).

Oṁkâra-kshetra—Same as **Oṁkâranâtha** (*Bṛihat-Śiva P.*, II, ch. 4).

Oṁkâranâtha—Mândhâtâ. an island in the Nerbuda where the temple of Oṁkâranâtha is situated, 32 miles north-west of Khandwa, seven miles north-east of the Mortaka Railway station, and six miles east of Barwai. Oṁkâranâtha is one of the twelve great Liṅgas of Mahâdeva (*Śiva P.*, Pt. I, ch. 38). On the Birkhala cliffs at the eastern end of the island is the shrine of Kâla-Bhairava to whom human sacrifices were offered (*Imp. Gaz.*). The temple is the oldest of Śiva temples (Caine's *Picturesque India*, p. 397). Same as **Mâhishmatî**.

Ophir—See **Sauvîra, Âbhîra** and **Surpâraka** (*Bible*, I Kings, 9, 10). But some authorities consider it to have been in Southern Arabia instead of in India.

Orobatis (of the Greeks)—Arbutt on the left bank of the Landai near Naoshera, west of Pushkalâvatî, through which Hephaistion advanced on his way to the Indus (McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 72).

Orukkallu—Warrangal, in the Central Provinces (Dr. Burnell's *South Indian Palæography*; p. 54 note).

P

Padmagiri—Same as **Śrâvaṇa Belligola** (S. K. Aiyangar's *Ancient India*, p. 209).

Padmakshetra—Kaṇârak (Koṇârka), called also the black Pagoda or Chandrabhâgâ, twenty-four miles north-west of Puri in Orissa. It contains a temple of the Sun (Sûrya), said to have been established by Śâmba, a son of Kṛishṇa, who was cured here of leprosy by the god. According to an account, he was cured at Multan (see **Mûlasthânapura**). It appears, however, that this temple was built in 1277 A.D., under the superintendence of the minister Śivai Sântrâ by Lâṅgulîya Narasiṃha, the seventh king of the Gaṅgâ-vaṃśî dynasty, who reigned from 1237 to 1282 A.D. (Hunter's *Orissa*). See **Arka-kshetra** and **Koṇârka.** For a description of the temple of Kaṇârak, see Major Kittoe's *Journal of Tour in Orissa* in *JASB.*, 1838, p. 681.

Padmapura—1. Same as *Padmâvatî*; it is the birth-place of Bhavabhûti (*Mâlatî-Mâdhava*, Acts I, IV, IX). Padmapura is said to have been situated near Chandrapur at a short distance from Amarâvatî (Śarat Chandra Sâstrî's *Bhârata Bhramaṇa*, p. 244). 2. Pâmpur in Kasmir, on the right or north bank of the Jhelum, five or six miles to the south-east of Śrînagar. It was built by Padma, the maternal uncle of Bṛihaspati, who reigned in Kasmir in the ninth century A.D. It was celebrated for its cultivation of *Kumkuma* or saffron (*Crocus sativus*) which was largely used as a cosmetic by the ladies of ancient India (Thornton's *Gazetteer of Countries Adjacent to India*).

Padmâvata—The country (*janapada*), the capital of which was Karavîrapura : see **Padmâvatî**.

Padmâvatî—1. It has been identified by Cunningham with Narwar or Nalapura (*Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. II, pp. 308-318; *JASB.*, 1837, p. 17; *Bhâgavata P.*, Bk. XII, ch. 1) in Gwalior, on the river Sindh, 40 miles south-west of Gwalior. But this identification appears to be doubtful. The town was situated at the confluence of the rivers Sindhu (Sindh) and Pârâ (Pârvatî) in Vidarbha (*Mâlatî-Mâdhava*, Act IV), and therefore, it was perhaps the modern Bijayanagara, which is a corruption of Vidyânagara, 25 miles below Narwar (Thornton's *Gaz.*, s.v. *Sinde*), Padmâvatî being celebrated as a place of learning, especially for its teaching in logic in the eighth century at the time of Bhavabhûti who was born at this place (*Mahâvîracharita*, Act I; *Mâlatî-Mâdhava*, Act I); ancient Bidarbha (Berar) included the whole kingdom of Bhupal to the north of the Nerbuda (Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 363). 2. Same as **Karavîrapura** (*Harivaṃśa*, Vishnu P., ch. 94), which has been identified with Kolhapur; it was founded by Padmavarṇa. 3. It is another name for Ujjayinî (*Skanda P.*, Avantî Kh., I, chs. 36, 44). It is supposed that the scene of the *Mâlatî-Mâdhava* is laid at Ujjayinî (Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*, Vol. II). 4. The river Padmâ, a branch of the Ganges in East Bengal (*Bṛihat-Dharma P.*, Madhya Kh., ch. 22; *Chaitanya-Bhâgavata*, ch. 10; *Devî-Bhâgavata*, IX, chs. 6, 7; Gladwin's *Ayeen Akbery*, Pt. I, p. 301).

Pahlava—Media (Mada), when it formed a part of the ancient Parthian kingdom (modern Persia), was the "Pahlava country." The Avestâ is written in the Pahlavi or Pehlvi character of the Parthian times. (Prof. Noldeka in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*). The Pahlavas have been identified with the Parthians (Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, p. 188). It was celebrated for its horses (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ, P., ch. 32). See **Pârada.**

Pahnava—Same as **Pahlava** (*Brahmâṇḍa P.*, ch. 51, *v.* 46).

Pai hân—Same as **Pratishṭhâna.**

Pakshî-Tîrtha—Tirukkalukkunram (or "Hill of the Sacred Kites"), a large village in the Chingleput district in the Province of Madras, midway between Chingleput and Madras. It is a celebrated place of pilgrimage (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 270; *Chaitanyacharitâmṛita*, Pt. II, ch. 9). According to the *Archâvatâra*, it is seven miles south-east of Chingleput. The sacred spot is situated on a hill which is called Bedagiri, near the temple of Hara (named Vaidyarâja or properly Vedagirîśvara) and Pârvatî. By the side of a well, the pilgrims assemble to see a pair of white birds of the falcon kind with their wings black at the end, which are said to come there every day at noon. The chief priest who awaits their arrival with offerings of food, feeds them with his own hand. The assembled pilgrims prostrate themselves and devoutly pray when these birds appear, as they are considered to be Śiva and his consort. They fly away after they have taken food and drunk water [*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X (1881), p. 198].

Palæpatmæ—It has been identified with Pâl near Mahâḍ (Bhandarkar's *Early Hist. of the Dekkan*, sec. VIII), but Mr. Schoff identifies it with Dâbhol, a port in south Konkan (*Periplus*, p. 201).

Palæsimundu (of the Greeks)—Same as **Pârasamudra**. Palæsimundus is supposed to have been the capital of Ceylon and is described as a seaport situated on the south on a river of the same name. It has been identified with Galle, but according to Lassen, it is Anarajapur (*JRAS.*, 1861, p. 353).

Palakkada—Pulicat in the province of Madras. Palakkada in Sanskrit means Daśanapura or Toothtown (Dr. Burnell's *S. I. Palæo*, p. 36 note: *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 154).

Palakka-deśa—The district of Nellore in the Madras Presidency. It was conquered by Samudra Gupta. According to Joppen (*Historical Atlas of India*, p. 6), Palakka or Palakha is Palghatcherry.

Palâśinî—1. A river which flows near the Girnar hill in Kathiawar. See **Girinagara**. It is mentioned in the *Mbh.* (Bhîshma P., ch. 9) and also in the Rudra-Daman inscription of Girnar. It is described as a water-course with violent torrents (*JASB.*, 1838, pp. 340, 877). 2. The river Paddair which falls into the ocean near Kalingapatam in Ganjam (*Mârkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 57).

Pallava—1. The Pallava country was bordered by the Coromandel coast. The Kurambaras lived here before the seventh century A.D. (Rapson's *Indian Coins*, p. 37). See **Kâñchipura**. 2. Same as **Pahlava** (*Padma P.*, Uttara, ch. 13).

Pampâ—A tributary of the river Tuṅgabhadrâ; it rises in the Ṛishyamukha mountain, eight miles from the Anagandi hills, where Râma met Hanumâna and Sugrîva for the first time; it is in the district of Bellary on the north of the town of Hampi (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 369—Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*). Near it is a lake called Pampâsarovara (Wilson, *Uttara-Râma-charita*; *Râmâyaṇa*, Kishk., ch. 1).

Pampâkshetra—On the south of the Tuṅgabhadrâ in the Bellary district containing the Ṛishyamukha hill and the Pampâ sarovara (*Ind. Ant.*, VI, 1877, p. 85).

Pampâpura—Vindhyâchala (town), five miles to the west of Mirzapur in the United Provinces where the celebrated temple of Bindubâsinî is situated [*Bhavishya P.*, Pratisarga P., ch. 9 (p. 341, Bomb. ed.); Dr. Fuhrer's *MAI*]. To the east of Vindhyâchala, the remains of a fort and other buildings and statues are still found. Pampâpura was the capital of the Bhars who are perhaps the Bhargas of the *Mâhabhârata* subdued by Bhîma (Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, pp. 359, 367). 2. **Baidyanâth (Deoghar)** in the

Santal Parganas in Bengal; one of its ancient names was Paloo-gâon (see **Chitâbhûmi**).

Pânâ-Nṛisiṃha—Maṅgala-giri, in the Kistna district in the province of Madras, about 7 miles to the south of Bezwada. On the top of this hill is a temple of Nṛisiṃha called Pânâ-Nṛisiṃha. It was visited by Chaitanya (*Chaitanya-charitâmṛita,* II, ch. 9). On the widely open mouth of the image, sherbet (pânâ) of molasses (guḍ) is poured, but it is said that the god takes only a moiety of the sherbet which is vowed to him and ejects the rest, though immediately after, it swallows half a maund given by another votary.

Pañcha-Drâvida—Drâvida, Karṇâṭa, Gujarâṭa, Mahârâshṭra, and Tailaṅga or Andhra (Wilson's *Dict.*). This is not a geographical division, but it is the name of the five classes of Brâhmaṇas of Southern India (Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, p. 19).

Pañcha-Gaṅgâ—The five Ganges are Bhâgirathî (Ganges), Gomatî (Godâvarî), Krishna-veṇî (Krishṇâ), Pinâkinî (Pennar) and Kâverî.

Pañcha-Gauḍa—The Brâhmins of Sârasvata (see **Sârasvata**), Kânyakubja, Gauḍa, Mithila and Utkala were called Pañcha-Gauḍa (*Ballâla-charitam,* edited by Haraprasâd Śâstri, p. 2). This is not a geographical division, it is the name of the five classes of Brâhmaṇas of Northern India (Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, p. 19, but some of the names are differently given there). The Pañcha-Gauḍa of the *Râjataraṅgiṇî* appears to be the five geographical divisions of the province of Bengal, namely Puṇḍravarddhana, Râḍha, Magadha, Tirabhukti and perhaps Barendra (see Dr. Stein's *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, Vol. I, p. 163; *JASB.*, 1908, p. 208).

Pañcha-Karpaṭa—The district called Panjkora on the southern slope of the Hindu-Kush, and the town called Panjgauḍa, situated on the river Panjkora, a tributary of the river Swat. Both Panjkora and Panjgauḍa appear to be corruptions of Pañcha-Karpaṭa. See **Gourî** (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 32). It was conquered by Sahadeva. Its chief town is Dir.

Pañcha-Kedâra—The temples of Kedârnâth, Tuṅganâth, Rudranâth, Madhyameśvara and Kalpeśvara, all situated along the Himalayan chain in Garwal, form a peculiar object of pilgrimage, and they are collectively called Pañcha-Kedâra. Mahâdeva in the form of Sadâśiva, fled from Arjuna, one of the five Pâṇḍavas, and took refuge at Kedârnâth in the guise of a buffalo, but finding himself hard-pressed, burrowed into the ground, leaving his hinder parts on the surface, which became an object of adoration here. The remaining portions of the god are worshipped at four other places: the arms (*bâhu*) at Tuṅganâth, the face (*mukha*) at Rudranâth, the belly (*nâbhi*) at Madhyameśvara and the hair (*jaṭâ*) and head at Kalpeśvara (Führer's *MAI.;* Gouriprasâd Miśra's *Kedaranâtha Badari-Viśâla Yâtrâ*).

Pañchâla—Rohilkhand. Pañchâla was originally the country north and west of Delhi from the foot of the Himalaya to the river Chambal, but it was afterwards divided into North and South Pañchâla, separated by the Ganges; the capital of the former was Ahi-chhatra, and that of the latter was Kâmpilya. South Pañchâla was the kingdom of Râjâ Drupada whose daughter Draupadî was married to the five Pâṇḍavas. Mâkandi was also the name of another capital of South Pañchâla. South Pañchâla extended from the southern bank of the Ganges to the river Charmanvatî or Chambal (*Mbh.*, Âdi P., ch. 140), and North Pañchâla extended from the Ganges to the Himalaya. Kanouj was also the capital of Pañchâla at the time of Buddha (Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India,* p. 27).

Pañcha-Nada—1. The Panjab,—the country of the five rivers called Śatadru, Vipâśâ, Irâvatî, Chandrabhâgâ and Vitastâ (*Agni P.*, ch. 109; *Mbh.*, Karṇa, ch. 45). The name is especially applied to the region watered by the collected streams of the Ghara (the united stream of the Sutlej and Bias) and the Trinâb (the united stream of the Ravi, Chenub and Jhelam) from their confluence to Methunkote near which the united water joins the

Indus. It was conquered by Darius Hystaspes (Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies*, Vol. IV, p. 433). The Greek kings who reigned over the Panjab were Menander, Apollodotus, Zoilus, Dionysius, Stration, Hippostratus, Diomides, Nicias, Telephos, Hermæus. They did not reign in succession, but some of them reigned in one province contemporaneously with others in other provinces. These Greek kings reigned from the beginning of the second century B.C. to 78 A.D. when they were conquered by the Sakas. The Saka kings who reigned in the Panjab were (1) Vononoes, (2) Spalirises, brother of (1), (3) Azas I, (4) Azilises, (5) Azas II, (6) Maues or Moga. According to Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, Vonones was the founder of the Saka era and not Kanishka, as stated by Professor Oldenburg. These Indo-Scythian kings reigned from 78 A.D. to 156 A.D. During the reign of Maues, the Panjab was conquered by Gondophares, the first king of the Indo-Parthian dynasty. The Scythian kings governed the Panjab through their governors, while their seat of government was at Sistan (See **Śakadvîpa**). The capital of the successors of Gondophares according to some authorities was at Balkh. The Indo-Parthian or Pahlava kings who reigned in the Panjab were (1) Gondophares, (2) Abdagases, nephew of (1), (3) Orthagnes, (4) Arsakes, (5) Pakores, (6) Sanabares. The Pahlava kingdom was overthrown by the Kushan king, Kujula-Kadphises, in 198 A.D. The country east of Kirman was named Kushan throughout the Sassanian period (*JRAS.*, XV, p. 233). These Kushan kings reigned from 198 to 376 A.D. Their kingdom was subverted by the Gupta kings. The Guptas were conquered by the Hunas (Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's *Peep into the Early History of India* and Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's *Kushan Stone-inscription and the Question about the Origin of the Saka Era* in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XX, Part lvi, p. 356 *f*; *JASB.*, 1908, p. 81). 2. A place of pilgrimage in Kurukshetra (*Mbh.*, Vana, ch. 83, *v.* 16). 3. The five rivers of Japyeśvara (q.v.) are collectively called Pañchanada: they are Jâtodaka, Triśrota, Vṛishdvanî, Svarnodaka and Jambunadî (*Liṅga P.*, I, 43). 4. The confluence of five rivers in the Deccan called Dakshiṇa Pañchanada, they are the Kṛishnâ, Venâ, Tuṅgâ, Bhadrâ, Konâ (*Vishṇu Saṃhitâ*, ch. 85; *SBE.*, Vol. VII, p. 259 note).

Pañchânana—The river Pañchâna which flows by the side of Rajgir in the districts of Patna and Gaya; it is either the old bed of the Sone which according to the *Râmâyaṇa* flowed by the eastern side of Girivraja or Râjagṛiha (*Mbh.*, Âdi, ch. 32) or the ancient Sappini (see **Giriyek**).

Pañchapadi—The river Panjah, a tributary of the Oxus, which rises in the Hindu Kush (*Bhâgavata P.*, V, ch. 20).

Pañcha-Prayâga—(1) Devaprayâga at the confluence of the Bhâgirathî and the Alakânandâ; (2) Karṇa-prayâga at the confluence of the Alakânandâ and the Pindar river called also Karṇa-Gaṅgâ. Karṇa is said to have performed austerities near this confluence. (3) Rudraprayâga at the confluence of the Alakânandâ and the Mandâkinî; (4) Nandaprayâga at the confluence of the Alakânandâ and the Nandâ or Nandâkinî, a small river; (5) Bishṇuprayâga near Joshinâtha or Joshimaṭha at the confluence of the Alakânandâ and the Vishṇu-Gaṅgâ. The union of these streams form the river Ganges, which in its upper portion is called the Alakânandâ. The Jâhnavî is a tributary of the Bhâgirathî (see the Map in Hodgson's *Physical Geography of the Himalaya* in *JASB.*, XVIII, facing p. 762).

Pañchâpsâra-Tîrtha—In the district of Udayapur, one of the tributary states in the Chhota-Nagpur division. Kapu, Bandhanpur, Banjiamba and Ponri are supposed to be on the site of the Pañchâpsâra lake of the *Râmâyana* (*List of Ancient Monuments in the*

Chhota-Nagpur Division). But the *Bhâgavata* (Bk. X, ch. 79) places it in Southern India; the *Chaitanya-charitâmṛita* places it at Gokarṇa. According to Śrîdharaswâmî, the celebrated commentator, Pañchâpsâra-tîrtha is near Phâlguna or Anantapura in the Madras Presidency, fifty-six miles to the south-east of Bellari; it was visited by Arjuna and Balarâma. From the *Mbh.* (Âdi, ch. 217) it appears to be the same as *Pañcha-tîrtha* in the province of Madras.

Pañcha-Tîrtha—1. A collective name given to five pools or basins of water, situated between two hills on the west of Hardwar: their names are Amṛita-kuṇḍa, Tapta-kuṇḍa, Sîtâ-kuṇḍa, Râma-kuṇḍa and Sûrya-kuṇḍa. 2. A place of pilgrimage in the province of Madras mentioned in the *Mbh.* (Âdi P., ch. 217). It was visited by Arjuna. Same as **Pañchâpsâra-tîrtha** (*Skanda P.*, Kumârikâ Kh., ch. I).

Pañcha-Badarî—The five Badarîs are Badrinâtha, Bṛiddha-Badarî, Bhavishya-Badarî, Pâṇḍukeśvara and Âdi-Badarî (Gouriprasad Miśra's *Kedarnâtha Badarî-Viśâla Yâtrâ*).

Pañchavaṭî—Nasik, on the Godâvarî, where Râmachandra dwelt with Lakshmaṇa and Sîtâ during his exile; it was here that Sîtâ was abducted by Râvana, king of Laṅkâ. In the village called Saikhera, at a short distance from Nasik, Râmachandra is said to have killed Mârîcha who had beguiled him from his hut. Nasik is also one of the Pîṭhas, where Satî's nose is said to have fallen. Surpanakhâ's nose was cut at this place by Lakshmaṇa, the brother of Râmchandra. These two circumstances have given the name of Nasika to the ancient Pañchavaṭî. The Chaitya cave at Nasik is supposed by Mr. Fergusson to belong to the second and third centuries of the Christian era.

Pañcha-vedî—For the five *Vedîs* see **Prajâpativedî**.

Pâṇḍu—Same as *Pâṇḍya* (Upham's *Mahâvaṃsî*, ch. 76).

Pâṇḍupura—Pâṇḍerpur or Pândharpur on the southern bank of the river Bhîmarathî or Bhîmâ in the district of Satara or Sholapur in the province of Bombay. It contains the celebrated temple of Biṭhobâ Deva or Biṭhalnâtha, an image of Kṛishṇa (*Bomb. Gaz.*, XX, pp. 417 f; *Chaitanya-charitâmṛita*, Madhya, ch. 9). Pâṇḍupura is evidently a corruption of Puṇḍarîkapura; Puṇḍarîka, who was celebrated for his filial affection, was visited at this place by Kṛishṇa and Rukminî. Same as **Puṇḍarîka-kshetra, Tapasâśrama, Tapasâ**, and **Pauṇḍarîka.**

Pâṇḍya—The modern districts of Tinnevelly and Madura. Its capital at different periods were Uragapura or Uriyur (modern Trichinopoly), Mathura (modern Madura) and Kolkai or Korkai at the mouth of the river Tâmraparṇî, now 5 miles inland. **Kolkai** (q.v.) is mentioned by Ptolemy in the second century A.D., and by Marco Polo as Kael (Yule's *Marco Polo*, II, p. 305). Porus, who is also called Pandion by Strabo, evidently a king of Pâṇḍya, is said to have sent the first embassy to Augustus Cæsar at Rome in 26 or 27 B.C. (*JRAS.*, 1860, p. 309; Caldwell's *Drav. Com. Gram.*, p. 11). The second embassy was sent to Rome between 41 and 54 A.D. by Chandra Miska Sewa, king of Ceylon (44-52 A.D.) in the reign of Claudius (*JRAS.*, 1861, pp. 349, 350). Roman intercourse with India was at its height during the reign of Severus (third century A.D.), Commodus and the pseudo-Antonines, when Alexandria and Palmyra were both prosperous and famous for commerce (*JRAS.*, 1862, p. 276). It is said to have been founded in the sixth century B.C., and it was overthrown in the middle of eleventh century A.D., and afterwards restored by the Nâyaks. For the colonisation of Pâṇḍya by the Pâṇḍu tribe of Northern India see Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar's *Lectures on the Ancient History of India*, pp. 10, 11.

Pâṇîprastha—Pânipat, one of the five villages demanded by Yudhishṭhira from Duryodhana (see **Kurukshetra**). The five Prasthas or villages are said to be Pâṇiprastha, Sonaprastha, Indraprastha, Tilaprastha and Bhâgaprastha, whereas in the *Mahâbharata* (Udyoga, ch. 31) these names are Kuśasthala, Bṛikasthala, Mâkandi, Vâraṇâvata and another, but see *Veṇîsaṃhâra-Nâṭaka*, Act I, and *Mbh.*, Udyoga, ch. 72, where for Kuśasthala, Abisthala is mentioned.

Pâpâ—Pâvâpurî, about seven miles to the south-east of Bihar (town) and two miles to the north of Giriyek. Mahâvîra, the twenty-fourth Jaina Tîrthaṅkara, died here in B.C. 527 according to the Jainas of Guzerat, and in 569 B.C., according to Mr. Prinsep, at the age of 72 (Jacobi's *Jaina-Sûtras* in *SBE.*, XXII, p. 269), while he was dwelling in the house of the scribe of king Hastipâla (Bühler's *Indian Sect of the Jainas*, p. 27) or according to Stevenson's *Kalpa-sutra* (ch. vi) while he was spending the Paryushana (Pajjusana) at the palace of Shasṭipâla, king of Pâpâ. There are four beautiful Jaina temples in an enclosure which marks the site of his death. Pâpâ is a corruption of Apâpapurî. Pâpâ or Pâvâ has been wrongly identified by General Cunningham with Padraona which is the modern name of ancient Pâvâ where Buddha ate food at the house of Chunda. Pâvâpuri is the modern name of the ancient Pâpâ or Apâpapuri. See **Apâpapuri** and **Pâvâ**. Mahâvîra obtained the Kevalihood below a Śâla tree at Jṛimbhikagrâma on the river Ṛituvâlikâ (Stevenson's *Kalpa-sûtra*, ch. VI). See **Kundagâma**. The annual festival of Dipâvalî (Divâlî) was started to commemorate Mahâvîra's death (*SBE.*, XXII, p. 266).

Pâpaghnî—The southern Pennar which rises in the Nandidoorga mountain (Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, p. 137, quoting *Vâyu P.*).

Pâpanâśam—The cataract at Pâpanâśam in Tinnevelly is one of the most sacred places in the Carnatic, graphically described by Caunter in the *Oriental Manual* of 1834. It was visited by Chaitanya.

Parâ—Same as **Pârâ** (*Vâyu P.*, Pûrva, ch. 45, *v.* 98).

Pârâ—The river Pârvatî in Malwa which winding to the north of Narwar, falls into the Sindhu near Bijayanagara (*Brahmâṇḍa P.*, Pûrva, ch. 48; *Mâlatî-Mâdhava*, Act IX, and *Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. II, p. 308). It is the Eastern Pârvatî, the western Pârvatî being a tributary of the Chambal (Thornton's *Gaz.*, s.v. *Parbutty* and *Sinde*).

Pârada—Parthia or ancient Persia (*Matsya P.*, ch. 121). The Parthians were the Pṛithus of the *Rig Veda*. Parthia is mentioned as Pârthva in the Behistun inscription of Darius (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Vol. II, pp. 590-616). See **Pahlava**. According to Dr. Oppert, the Paradas dwelt in northern Beluchistan (Oppert's *On the Original Inhabitants of Bhâratavarsha or India*, p. 35).

Paralia—See **Purâli.**

Pâralipura—Deoghar in Bengal: it contains the celebrated temple of Baidyanâtha, one of the twelve great Liṅgas of Mahâdeva. Another Pârligâon situated in the Nizam's dominion is pointed out as the ancient Pâralipura, but Paloogâon, another name for Baidyanâth (Deoghar), is perhaps a corruption of Pâralipura (see **Chitâbhumi**).

Paraloka—See **Purâli.**

Pârasamudra—Ceylon. It is the Palæsimundu of the *Periplus* and Simoundou of Ptolemy. See Bhaṭṭa Swâmî's commentary on the word *Pârasamudraka*, a species of agallochum grown in Ceylon mentioned in the *Arthaśâstra* of Kauṭilya (Bk. II). Ceylon was always famous for its *aguru* (agallochum), as it formed one of the articles of gift presented by Bibhîshana to Sahadeva (*Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 30).

Pârasika—Persia (*Raghuvamśa*, IV, *v.* 60): the Persians were the Parsus of the *Rig-Veda* and Parsan of the Behistun Inscription (*JRAS.*, Vol. XV, pp. 101, 103).

Pâraskara—Thala-Pârkara district in Sindh (*Pânini, Ashṭâdhyâyî*, IV, 3, 93; VI, 1, 157; see Kunte's *Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization*, p. 372, and his map).

Paraśurâma-kshetra—Koṅkaṇ (see **Surpâraka-tîrtha**), a large territorial division between Surat and Goa, especially the entire sea-coast in the province of Bijâpur. Its capital was Thana (Alberuni's *India*, Vol. I, p. 203). Saṅgameśwara, a town on the Śâstri river in the Ratnagiri district of the Bombay Presidency containing temples built by Paraśu râma, was, according to the Sahyâdri Khaṇḍa of the *Skanda Purâṇa*, called Râmakshetra or Paraśurâma-kshetra. (It was the headquarters of king Karṇa of Kolhapur in the seventh century (*Revised Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. VIII, p. 201). The name of the town was evidently derived from the Mahâdeva Saṅgameśvara whose temple was situated at the junction of the Krishṇâ and Veṇâ (Da Cunha's *Hist. of Chaul and Bassein*, p. 110). Koṅkaṇ is bounded on the north by Guzerat, on the east by the Deccan, on the south by North Canara, on the west by the Arabian Sea. Vâlukeśvara mentioned in the aforesaid *Purâṇa* is the Malabar Hill, and Vânballi is Banavali, which is a tank in the southern part of the territory of Goa (*Ind. Ant.*, III, p. 248). Paraśu-râma-kshetra comprised seven divisions, viz., Kerala, Tuluṅga, Gaurâshṭra, Karahaṭa, Barâlâṭâ, Barbara and Koṅkaṇa proper. These seven divisions of land correspond to the seven different tribes of Brâhmaṇa who colonised it, and therefore it was called Sapta Koṅkaṇ (*Skanda P.*, Sahyâdri Kh., Bk. II, ch. viii; Da Cunha's *Hist. of Chaul and Bassein*, p. 121 note). See **Champâvatî Basya** and **Śrî-sthânaka**.

Paraśurâmapura—Twelve miles south-east of Patti in the district of Pratâpgar in Oudh. It is one of the Pîṭhas where a portion of Sati's body is said to have fallen.

Paraśusthâna—The country of the Pâraśavas mentioned in the *Vâyu Purâṇa* (II, ch. 37, *v.* 262), the capital of which was Hupian or Opian, a little to the north of Charikar at the north-east end of the Pamghan range (Beal's *RWC.*, II, p. 285 note). It is also mentioned by Pâṇini (V, 3, 117).

Pârasya—Persia (*Vishṇu P.*, II, ch. 3). Its chief town according to Hiuen Tsiang was Saurasthâna. Hiuen Tsiang must have visited Persia at the time of the Sassanian kings, when their capital was Ctesiphon on the Tigris. Su-la-sa-t'ang-na of Hiuen Tsiang is not perhaps Surasthâna or Saurasthâna, but appears to be a transcription of Sataraochana, the capital of Persia, now called Shahrud (see *JASB.*, 1911, p. 727).

Pâripâtra—1. The western part of the Vindhya range extending from the source of the Chambal to the Gulf of Cambay (*Asia. Res.*, Vol. VIII, p. 338); according to Dr. Bhandarkar it is that portion of the Vindhya range from which the rivers Chambal and Betwa take their rise (*History of the Dekkan*, Sec. III; *Varâha P.*, ch. 85). It comprised the Aravali mountains and the hills of Rajputana including the Pâthar range which is perhaps a contraction of Pâripâtra. It appears to have included the countries of Aparânta, Saurâshṭra, Śudra, Mâlapa (Mâlava), Malaka and others (*Kûrma P.*, Purva, ch. 47), in short a great portion of the western coast of India. According to the *Râmâyaṇa*, Pâripâtra or Pâriyâtra (q.v.) was situated on the western sea (Kishk. K., ch. 42, *v.* 20). 2. The Hindu Kush and the Pamir (see **Nishadha**).

Pâriyâtra—Same as *Pâripâtra* (I) (*Vâmana P.*, ch. 13; *Brahmâṇḍa P.*, Pt. II, ch. 16).

Parṇâśâ—1. The river Banas in Rajputana; a tributary of the Chambal (*Vâyu P.*, *I*, ch. 45; Cunningham's *Arch. S. Rep.*, viii, p. 15). 2. According to Bhagavanlal Indraji, another river of the same name rises near Abuin, Northern Guzerat (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, Pt. I,

p. 25), and falls into the Gulf of Kachh. Barṇâśâ is supposed to be a corruption of Parṇâśâ (*Arch. S. Rep.*, vi; *Matsya P.*, ch. 114). The river Parṇâśâ is mentioned in the *Mbh.*, Droṇa, ch. 92. 3. The river Tamasâ or Tonse, a tributary of the Yamunâ: the Prinas of Arrian (McCrindle's *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 134). But the *Matsya Purâṇa* (chap. 114) mentions both the rivers Parṇâśâ and Tamasâ. 4. A river near the Darddura mountain (*Râmâyaṇa*, Yuddha, II).

Parthalis—Parthalis, according to Megasthenes (fourth century B.C.) and the *Natural History* of Pliny (Plinios Secondus—trans. by Philemon Holland, London, 1601—ch. xix, p. 126), was the capital of the Gangaridai or the country of Râḍha on the Ganges, *i.e.*, the districts of Hughli and Burdwan in Bengal. It is evidently Pûrbasthalî, now a village in the district of Burdwan on the river Ganges.

Parushṇî—The river Ravi (Iravati) in the Panjab (*Ṛig-Veda*, X, 75). It is also called Purushṇî. The great battle of the ten confederate kings in the early part of the Aryan migration was fought on the banks of this river, and Sudâsa, the king of the Tritsu and head of one of the confederate parties, obtained victory over Kutsa, the king of the Purus, afterwards known as Kurus, and his allies (Ragozin's *Vedic India*, p. 326 *f.*) 2. A tributary of the Godavari (*Brahma P.*, ch. 144).

Parvata—1. A country in the Panjab to the north-west of Multan between the Ravi and the Sutlej. It is mentioned in the Ashṭadhyâyî of Pâṇini and also in the *Mudrârâkshasa* (Act III). 2. Same as *Śrî-śaila* (Ânanda Giri's *Śaṅkaravijaya*, ch. 55, p. 180).

Pârvatî—The river Parba in the Kohistan of the Jalandhar Doab: it falls into the river Bias, a couple of miles above Bajoura. Maṇikaraṇ, a celebrated place of pilgrimage, is situated on the right bank of the river, about 20 miles above the junction. The place is celebrated for its boiling springs which issue from the ground a few feet above the icy stream of the Parba. The springs are numerous (*JASB.*, XVII, p. 290).

Pârvatî-kshetra—Same as **Birajâ-kshetra.**

Paśchimodadhi—The Arabian Sea (*Padma P.*, Svarga).

Pâshâṇa—1. The Peshin valley in Southern Afghanistan (see **Pâshâṇa Parvata**): 2. See *Bâloksha*.

Pâshâṇa Parvata—The Amran mountains on the western boundary of Pishin (Pâshâṇa) valley in southern Afghanistan (*Ava. Kalp.*, chs. 59, 56).

Paśupata—See **Kârâvan** (*Matsya P.*, ch. 22).

Paśupatinâtha—The celebrated temple of Mahâdeva in Mṛigasthala in Nepal (*Devi P.*, ch. 63; *Svayambhû P.*, ch. 8), on the western bank of the Bagmati in the town of Devipâṭan which was founded by Asoka's daughter Chârumatî, about three miles north-west of Katmandu. It is associated with the story of the fowler and the god, which is recited on the night of the Śiva Chaturdaśî: it is said that the fowler obtained the boon of salvation from Mahâdeva at this place as the drippings of blood from his bag of game fell upon the head of the latter (*Skanda P.*, Mâheśwara Kh., Kedâra Kh., I., ch. 33). On the eastern bank of the river fronting the temple is a hill covered with lofty trees and jungle, which is called the Mṛigasthalî (Wright's *History of Nepal*, pp. 21, 81). But the *Śiva P.* (Jñânasaṃhitâ, ch. 74) places the scene of the story in the Arbuda mountain. Paśupatinâtha is also called Paśupati.

Paṭachchara—Paṭachchara appears to have comprised a portion of the district of Allahabad and the district of Banda; its capital was situated not far from the Ganges (compare *Jaimini-bhârata*, ch. 15, and *Mbh.*, Sabhâ, ch. 30). It was conquered by Sahadeva, one of the Pâṇḍavas.

There is a very good account of the marriage ceremonies. Meanwhile the Kheras asked the Brahmins to consult the augury of the stars and to fix the marriage. The Brahmins fixed Virvâr (Thursday) 9th of Sawan for the wedding. But Rânjha all this time was sad in his heart. Meanwhile, all the kitchens were busy making preparations for the feast, and fine flour, sugar and butter melted into each other's embrace as an affectionate sister-in-law embraces her brother-in-law. There were all sorts of *pilao* and soups and all the kinds of rice, even Mushki and Basputti and Musafir and Begami and Sonputti. And they brought baskets of clothes of all kinds, huge plates of every sort of sweetmeat and diverse fruits. And there was no end to the ornaments, armlets, anklets, necklaces, ear-rings and nose-rings which were prepared as a dowry for the bride. There were large dishes and small dishes. There were surma boxes for the bride to paint her eyes. There were drinking bowls of all sizes, frying pans, kneading dishes, spoons, rolling pins, milk cans and dinner trays, all of costly and regal magnificence.

The livers of the guests turned green with jealousy when they saw the abundance of good things. The potter women brought earthen pots and the bakers brought fuel from the forest. The water-carriers rushed about drawing water from the wells. Men with ropes and poles were carrying large cooking-pots, and others were carrying old-fashioned guns and culverts. A large host of people came to enjoy Chuchak's hospitality. There were multitudes of barbers cooking the food. Chuchak has gained credit in the world and the people are praying for his long life and prosperity.

And Rânjha left his buffaloes and sat in a corner sad at heart. Meanwhile flocks of beautiful women lined the tops of all the houses to watch the marriage procession. They were as delicate as fairies and as beautiful as houris. Their fairy forms must have been compounded of musk and perfume. They exchanged ribald songs and pleasantries with the women of the bridegroom's party. They flashed their beautiful red eyes and sang in sweet tones. They uncovered their heads and shoulders and showed their rounded breasts. They gazed at their own beauty in their thumb looking-glasses. They were tantalising the maddened lovers. They clapped their hands and danced and sang songs of welcome to the bridegroom. They greeted everybody as they passed with some new song.

The crowd and the noise was as great as at the fairs of Pakpattan or Nigah or Rattan or Thamman, where women flock to kiss the tomb of the saint and attain the achievement of their desires. The girls went wild with jealousy when they saw the costly robes of the married Siâl women.

Then came the musicians, the dancing girls, the jesters, and the ministrels with trumpets and cymbals, even from Kashmir and the Dekkan. The horses neighed and the ground quivered with the trampling of many hoofs. There were grey horses, piebald horses, duns, and roans, and chestnuts groomed to shine like the sun, and gorgeously caparisoned. Their ears were quivering with excitement. They were ridden by handsome Khera youths, and the dancing girls sang and declaimed with amorous gestures, and they danced like peacocks. The men beating the drum chanted songs. The riders had spears in their hands and were merry with good drink. The folds of their turbans were soaked in saffron. The saddle bells tinkled as the horses neighed and caracoled. Thus the marriage procession came from Rangpur to Jhang and they halted at the village guest-house. And mats were brought for them to sit on and huqqas of gold and silver and brass were brought for them to smoke. Garlands were flung round their

necks. The ministrels sang to them and the Kheras distributed money to the ministrels with lavish hands.

When the procession arrived, Rânjha's soul and his heart was scorched like roasted meat. And he said to himself sadly : " Saida is drunk with joy to-day though he has not touched wine. Saida has become a Nawab and Hîr his princess—who cares for poor Rânjha the shepherd. Death is better than life without my beloved."

And the people in their duty for Rânjha, said " Chuchak has been cruel ; he has broken his word and disgraced his faith ! "

Meanwhile the members of the marriage procession girded on their belts and proceeded to the house of the bride. The oil men held their torches in their hands to light the way for the procession, and the barbers presented dishes of sweets to the bridegroom's party. Then five rupees and a *lungi* (shawl) were given to the Kheras.

When the relations of the bride and the bridegroom met they put the bridegroom and his best men on horse back. Then the fireworks began. There were stars and catherine wheels ; bombs, balloons, and coloured rain ; rockets and set pieces of elephants, stages and peacocks ; coloured circles and moving thrones and revolving moons. All the neighbourhood flocked to see the fireworks. After the fireworks came the dinner. Rice and sugar and butter were distributed in big dishes and the singing women sang songs and were given money. The bride and bridegroom were made to sit facing each other and each one put surma in the other's eyes. And the fun waxed fast and furious, and the girls pestered the bridegroom with jokes and riddles and questions. They give him a sheaf of wheat and asked him if he could weave a basket. They made the bride close her fist and asked the bridegroom if he could open it. They threw a pair of women's petticoats over his head. "Try and lift this heavy cup with one finger," shouted one girl. " Bring us some stallion's milk," said another. "How can you work a well without bullocks ? " said a third. " Can you pitch a tent without poles ? Can you put an elephant into a palanquin (*doli*) ?" said another. They tickled him under the chin and asked jeeringly why he had brought his old mother along ? To whom did he want to marry her ? Was he hunting for a husband for his sister among their shepherds ? At whom was his best man's mother casting her eyes ? " We can get the very cowherd you want for your mother."

And Saida replied mockingly, " You are as lovely and as wise as Belkis the wife of Solomon herself and your wit burns us up entirely. Go to Dhonkal and you'll see a tent pitched without poles. Yes, I can make a well go without bullocks—take off your clothes and jump in. I have already married your cowherd's sister and we can supply lusty men to suit all of you. I am ready to take all of you home with me." Thus they jested and feasted at the wedding of Hîr and Saida.

Next comes the final ceremony before the Kâzi. Hîr quarrels with the Kâzi and totally refuses to marry Saida. Her recriminations with the Kâzi are long and tedious and fully justify the criticism of Fazal Shah that Wâris Shâh's story is too long and spun out. Finally Chuchak gets impatient and suggests to the Kâzi that he must somehow manage to finish the marriage ceremony. The Kâzi finally marries Hîr against her will to Saida. The Kheras then put Hîr in the marriage palanquin (*dôli*) and carry her off to Rangpur the home of her new husband. Hîr indulges in somewhat lengthy lamentation. Wâris Shâh is not so strong in pathetic as in humourous situations. The lamentations of Hîr from a poetical point of view are of distinctly mediocre quality. Her lament as given in the Patiala version in Temple's legends of the Punjab is of far superior quality to that of Wâris Shâh.

During an interval the Kheras go off hunting and Rânjha who has apparently accompanied the procession gets a chance of an interview with Hîr. One of the Kheras notices this. Hîr threatens to take poison if anybody lays hands on Rânjha. At last the procession reaches Rangpur and Hîr is welcomed by her mother-in-law with the customary ceremonies. Hîr gets another opportunity of speaking to Rânjha and she advises him to disguise himself as a Jogi and try to get an interview with her in that way. Next comes a tirade against Jats put partly in the mouth of Rânjha and partly in the mouth of the poet. It is worth quoting in full.

" Friends, you cannot trust the word of a Jat . . . . a Jat can lose his honour twenty-one times and yet be accounted a worthy member of the brotherhood. As butcher's dogs pick up bits from the refuse heap, so Jats inhale wisdom sitting on the village manure heap. They take off their *pagris* and sit on them and then find them nice and clean. The Jats were more powerful than the Emperor Akbar. They killed the Royal Minister Birbal. A Jat commits iniquity : somebody else is caught and the butcher's son is hung for it. He is a master of all crookedness and villainy. He is the leader of all quarrels and iniquities. He is a very sharp customer and quarrelsome. Jats steal the property of way-farers. If a Jat becomes your friend he does it for some selfish purpose. He makes friends with every caste even with barbers. There is no one more selfish than a Jat ; they have as few friends as a policeman (*sipahi*) (text and translation of this line is doubtful). He enjoys seeing a farcical representation of himself and his women-folk as much as his children enjoy seeing a catherine-wheel go round. They promise their daughters to strangers and then sell them to somebody else. They own only one-thirteenth of the village but they grab one-third by force. If they own a rat hole they claim the whole well. The owners are powerless to object. They promise their daughters in marriage and then go back on their words and the barbers who arranged the match are covered with disgrace. Wâris Shâh, there are three liars in this world, Jats, goldsmiths and butchers."

I quote two other similar passages from the same part of the poem. The first is a diatribe against the Sials. " Friends, know for sure that the Sials are robbers, they teach all their daughters to thieve too, they entrap the son of a noble man and make him into a shepherd . . . . They have beards like a venerable old man, but they are as sharp and dangerous as a butcher's knife. In the assembly they are called judges and counsellors. They are thieves, adulterers and highway robbers. They plunder travellers and break into houses. Wâris Shâh : All Jats are bad at heart and Chenab Jats are thorough scoundrels."

The second is a diatribe against Dogar Jats. " Dogar Jats sell their soul : they are robbers and house-breakers. They always break the traditions of the Faith. They are thieves, adulterers and usurers. Their women are just as bad. Their sons and daughters are thieves . . . . They have no fear of death or God. A man who prays regularly and leads a life of honesty, they sneer at and call him a saint. They become disgraced in the eyes of the world for devouring the property of their sons-in-law (it is considered very wrong especially among Hindus for a father-in-law to take even hospitality off his son-in-law. Probably the origin and object of this custom was to discourage selling of daughters in marriage and making money out of them). They give two husbands to each daughter and lay up trouble for them in the future."

This description of the Jat character is not a very flattering one but it contains a good deal of truth. If Rânjha is meant to be a Jat hero, he is a hero with very little nobility of character. Judged by Western standards he is a far from ideal lover. He is neither

conspicuous for pluck nor enterprise. In some respects the character of Gil Blas is not unlike that of Rânjha. Rânjha is a mixture of Kim and Gil Blas. The Jat as drawn by Wâris Shâh is a mixture of low cunning and boisterous brutality. To be a successful trickster; to get the better of your enemy by any ruse however deceitful; to bully people by a brute force, or to overwhelm them with torrents of abuse; this seems to be the ideal of the Jat character as drawn by Wâris Shâh. It may be that Wâris Shâh did not love the Jats, but I think an impartial critic must admit that he has drawn a not untrue character of the Jat of the Punjab. This, however, is a digression, and I return to the story.

We next get a description of Hîr in her new home. The game or ceremony of Gana (hunt the bracelet) is played, but Hîr is much too dejected to join in the game. Her apathy casts a wet blanket over the rest of the festivities and the party is broken up.

The scene then shifts to Jhang, where we see the Kazi congratulating Chuchak that Rânjha is now out of the way. Hîr is safely married and all his domestic difficulties are at an end.

Then we get a glimpse at Rânjha's home where Rânjha's sisters-in-law condole with him on the fickleness of girls in general and of Hîr in particular. "There is no trusting girls. The Kheras have plucked the flower that you used to guard so tenderly." They beg him to come home and give up all idea of Hîr. "If you come home we will dedicate a saucepan to Ali. We will hold a wrestling match and offer a garland to Ghâzi Pîr. We will light lamps in honour of Khwaja Khizar." Rânjha refuses to abandon hope, "Sisters when autumn comes the humming beetle waits patiently for the spring. Only the son of a Churl will run away from love."

The scene then shifts to Saida's home where we see that Hîr will have nothing to do with her husband. The Five Pirs miraculously protect her from his importunities. They also grant her a miraculous vision of Rânjha. A long lamentation follows, put into the mouth of Hîr. It is in the form of *Bârah Mâsa*, a lament of the twelve months of the year. It is rather an insipid production and not worth quoting. If English readers wish to see what a *Bârah Mâsa* is like they will find one in Macauliffe's translation of the Granth. It is a typical specimen of *Bârah Mâsah*. Hîr then sends a message to Rânjha through a Jat girl telling him to come and see her disguised as a Jôgi.

Rânjha then decides to turn Jôgi and he goes off to Tilla, a hill just above Jhelum, to get initiated as a Jôgi by Balnath. There are still Jôgis on Tilla, and one is shown a red mark on a rock which one is told was made by the blood from Rânjha's ears when he had his ears bored. This monastery of the Jôgis is a very old one and is mentioned I believe, by Baber. "Ranjha bowed his head, placed a lump of gur before Balnath and claspt the feet of all the Jôgis." He finds all the Jôgis engaged in religious contemplation. "Some were reading Gayan. Sita, Bhagvat and Bharat." He asks to be made a chela. "The straight path is inaccessible without the intervention of teachers (*Murshids*) as curds cannot be cooked without milk."

Balnath doubts if Rânjha is fit to become a Jôgi. "Your manner does not appear to be that of Jôgis; you play on the flute and stare at women, catch other peoples' cows and buffaloes and milk them. Jat, tell me the truth, what has befallen you that you want to relinquish pleasures and to become a Fakir. Jog is a very troublesome task. The taste of Jog is bitter and sour. You will have to dress as a Jôgi, dirty clothes, long hair, cropped skull, begging and all. You will have to meditate upon the Guru and hold your breath in your head (literally: "in the tenth door" supposed to be in the head). You will have to cease to rejoice when children are born and cease from sorrow when your dear ones die.

You will no longer mourn for the dead. You will have to abstain from seeing a woman. You will have to become "Mast" by taking *kand, mal, post,* opium and other stimulants. You will have to think the world is a mere vision. You will have to go on pilgrimages to Jagannath, Gôdâvari, Ganges and Jumna. You Jats cannot acquire Jog."

Rânjha replies: "I have given up women and all household affairs. Do not, Guru, pierce me over and over again? You should not break the heart of one who falls helpless on your threshhold."

Balnath is still sceptical, "It is the work of virtuous men to subdue passions by riding on the horse of Patience, holding the reins of Remembrance. You will not be able to undergo Jog, what is the good of asking for it? Child listen, God has made his abode in this body of dust, He is in everything, as a thread runs through the beads. He is the breath of life in the living. He is, as it were, the Spirit of *Bhang* and Opium. His is in the life of the world as colour is in *mehndi*. He is in everything as veins are in the body."

Rânjha replies: "I have now reached the degree called Chit Akas after passing Bhola Kas and Jadu Kas." These appear to be degrees of proficiency in Jôgi philosophy.

Balnath answers: "Jog means to be dead while alive. One has to sing the song of non-entity, using one's meagre body as a guitar."

The other Chelas are jealous when they see Balnath showing favour to Rânjha. Rânjha pacifies them, "I consider all of you like Balnath and have thus become your brother. Why are you so suspicious?"

The Chelas replied: "We have been serving him for twelve years and he does not give us Jog, even though we contemplate God day and night. He is sometimes like fire and sometimes like water, we cannot discover his secret." They are angry with Balnath and threaten to desert him. Balnath rebukes the Chelas, and they instantly cease their jealousy and backbiting.

Balnath then initiates Rânjha. "He read the enchantment of his Guru and took the name of God." Then he caught hold of the Razor of separation and totally shaved him in an instant. He rubbed ashes on his body: shaved his head and beard and made him wear ear-rings. He gave him his beggar's bowl, rosary (*kipti, samrna*), horn and trumpet (*nur* and *sangi*) in his hand and made him learn the word "Alakh". He then preaches to Rânjha: "One's heart is far from other peoples' women-folk. An old woman should be treated as a mother and a young woman as a sister."

Rânjha here discloses his hand. He replies to Balnath: "I do not agree with what you say."

Whereupon Balnath proceeds to lecture him. "You should beat the donkey of your Satan passion with the stick of belief. You should become a hermit and forget women."

Ranjha is quite frank in his reply: "Had I been able to be silent before Love, should I have undergone so great a trouble? The girl has captivated my mind and that is why I am reciting the word Fakir. I had no other object in becoming a Fakir."

Balnath is now sorry he made Rânjha a Fakir. He says, "I have committed a folly, but I cannot recall what I have done. I have made him wear ear-rings and now he has become a 'Thag', He has got the treasures of Fakir without having spent a single pice."

Balnath exhorts Rânjha to become a true Fakir, but Rânjha refuses to give up Hir. "I must search for my beloved." He then explains to Balnath how he and Hîr fell in love with each other when they were quite young. "Hir's hair was tied up in girlish plaits and I had down on my upper lip. Good days turned their back, bad days arrived and they betrothed her to the Kheras. Give me Hir. That is my only request. My heart begs for Hîr and Hir alone".

As the result of Rânjha's pleading, Balnath promises to use his influence in his favour. Balnath closed his eyes in the durbar of God and prayed for the success of Rânjha.

I have quoted this passage in some detail, partly to show the style of the poem, and partly to show the nature of Jôgi, and the relation of a Guru to his Chela.

A Guru, like a Pîr is obviously considered as an intermediary with God, as a person who has special access to the Throne and special influence with the Almighty. Just as the Emperor can only be approached through his minister or by the special favour of those who surround him, so ordinary persons cannot have direct access to God. This feeling is, I believe very common throughout the East. It is also noticeable that Jog is a sort of secret, an incantation ; it can be revealed by the Master as a favour. A Chela may meditate for twelve years on God, but initiation into the final mysteries of Jog depend on the goodwill of the Guru.

Thus after succeeding in being initiated as a Jôgi by Balnath, he sets off with his beggar's bowl, rosary, horn and trumpet and some medicinal herbs with the object of getting somehow an interview with Hîr. The destroyer of the Kheras started like a storm cloud that moves to the place, where it has fallen once before. He strode off with swinging steps as one intoxicated, even as camel men swing riding a camel's back. A shepherd on the road identifies him as Rânjha.

On the way Rânjha encounters a wolf and slays him with the miraculous help of the Five Pirs. The shepherd is much impressed by this exhibition of miraculous power, but he gives Rânjha some wholesome home truths about his behaviour to Hîr.

" You have disgraced the name of Love ; having won her love you should have run away with her, or having once loved her you should have killed her rather than let another possess her. You should have died rather than have been disgraced as you have been disgraced by the Kheras."

I quote this passage as showing that the poet is perhaps aware that he has not depicted Rânjha as a very adventurous hero.

The shepherd warns Rânjha of the dangers he will incur in visiting Rangpur and he tells him that Sehti, sister of Saida, is a very shrewd person, who will probably give him trouble ; but he gives Rânjha a hint that she is in love with Murâd, a Beloch camel-driver. Later on in the story Rânjha turns this bit of information to good account. He ultimately wins round Sehti by promising to help her in her love affair with Murâd.

Rânjha then reaches Rangpur. His interview with the girls of Rangpur is very well described. Wâris Shâh is particularly good in depicting women and the dialogue is most natural and spirited. The news of the arrival of the handsome Jogi soon reached the ears of Hîr and she asks the girls to bring the Jogi to her somehow.

The dialogue between the Jogi and the girls of Rangpur and between Hîr and girls is distinctly well written. The reader is left in doubt for a long time whether the identity of Rânjha has really been discovered. For dramatic purposes the full recognition is intentionally delayed. Rânjha keeps up his character as the wonder-working Fakir, and the glimpse it gives us of the ways of a Fakir in India is most interesting.

" Other people pound and sift *bhang* and *sharbat* ; I sift men at a glance. I can banish fairies, jinns, women and Satan himself by reciting spells and incantations."

Rânjha then meets Sehti the sister of the husband of Hîr. The scene is led up to with some skill and is worth quoting.

Rânjha looked up and said to those round him: "We have entered a ruined village. Not a girl sings at her spinning wheel. No one plays *Kilikari*[13] or *Sammi*[14] or makes the earth dance—no one hunts for needles; no one gins cotton. No one plays Maya or makes crows or peacocks fly—no one claps their hands and sends off messages to their lover by the peacock or the crow. No one sings the song *Choratori*; no one claps their hands in the merry go-round. Let us up and leave this village."

And the boys replied to Rânjha, "we will show you the place where the girls sit and sing"; and they took Rânjha to the place where the girls sat in their spinning parties, and he saw them laughing and chaffing and breaking each other's thread for fun; and they sang sweet songs as they turned their spinning wheels; and one said mischievously to Rânjha.

"The loves of our childhood do not last longer than four days." Another said "what do you want, Jôgi?" and Sehti to cajole him took off his necklace; and the Jôgi said "who is this hussy?" Somebody replied, "she is Ajju's daughter." The Jôgi said, "who is Ajju and why is she making mischief? Ajju has got a bad bargain of a daughter."

Sehti then turns on Rânjha and they engage in a long and rather wearisome wrangle. "I will thrash you like a donkey," exclaims Sehti, "and then you will remember God and learn wisdom."

"Why does this snake hiss at me?" retorts Rânjha, "and why does the tigress want to drink my blood. I suppose she is tired of her husband and is hunting for lovers."

Rânjha then passes on and enters the courtyard of a Jat. He frightens the cow who kicks over her ropes and spills the milk. The Jat turns round and abuses him and the Jat's wife flies at him in fury, Rânjha retorts in kind; he kicks her down and knocks out all her teeth. Then the Jat, seeing his wife prostrate on the ground, raises a hue and cry, and Rânjha in alarm makes his escape.

Rânjha then comes opposite Hîr's house and he audaciously calls out "Hîr, bride of the Kheras, are you well? Give me alms, give me alms." Sehti then comes out and abuses Rânjha. It is fairly clear from the context that she realises that the Jôgi is none other than Rânjha, Hîr's old lover. A long and wearisome wrangle between Sehti and Rânjha follows.

Rânjha's description of himself as a Jôgi is interesting. "We Fakirs are like black snakes. We acquire power and virtue by reading spells. We get up at midnight when the whole world is sleeping and we work. We are drenched with pure water from the well of our weeping eyes. We expell all impurities from our speech by using the tooth-brush of repentance and we sit on the carpet of true belief. We contemplate the true name of God. We become deaf and dumb by holding our breath in the tenth position. We sacrifice ourselves like Moths in the flames of the Divinity. We can ward off deceit and burn evil spirit. We can cast spells and destroy those whom we want to destroy. We can make absent loves smell the fragrance of their beloved's presence. Let virgins beware who oppose our powers, or it will fare ill with their virginity."

Sehti replies, "Jôgi if you have all these powers perhaps you can cure our bride Hîr."

Rânjha replies in an interesting passage which throws light on the pretensions of such wonder working Fakirs.

[13] *Kilikari*—Girls cross their hands and swing round: a game something like 'Here we go round the mulberry bush.'

[14] *Sammi*—Girls move round in a circle jumping, singing, swinging their arms, and clapping their hands.

"Through the blessing of my Pir and teacher I can tell the name of all diseases. I can whisper the call to prayer in the ears of the newly born babe. I can weave spells and put children to sleep with lullabies. I can dry up the womb of women and slay liars, adulterers and infidels. With cunning oils and potent herbs I can cure pain and paralysis and the eighteen kinds of leprosy. With boiled *ghaggar* herbs I can produce miscarriage. I can make a perfect cure of a barren woman by letting out blood from her ankle vein. I can assuage the pain of wounds with an ointment of soap and soda. If a man has toothache and cannot sleep I will pluck out his tooth with my forceps. Those who cannot see in the dark I can restore to sight by giving them the hot roasted spleen of a goat. I can cure a withered arm or benumbed leg by rubbing in the oil of a pelican. If a man is attacked by epilepsy, I apply the leather of my shoe to his nostril. If a man's face is awry, I show him the looking glass of Aleppo (*half*) and he is cured. I can cure jaundice with the milk of a she-camel. With cooling draughts of *dhannia* I can assuage the fires of passion. When a man is at the point of death and gasping with his last breath I put honey and milk in his mouth. At the last agony when the expiring life sticks fast in the gullet of the dying man I recite the holy Koran and his soul passes away in peace." (This by the way is a curious accomplishment for a Hindu Jôgi; perhaps it is an interpolation.)

Rânjha then remarks by way of keeping up his role of Fakir. "But what cares a Fakir for your beauty or for your beautiful sister-in-law Hîr. Your Hîr is a crane and she has been mated to an owl; your fairy has been yoked to an ass".

The last few words of this conversation are overheard by Hîr, who comes forward and talks to the Jôgi. She expresses her doubts whether the Jôgi can ever cure her heartache.

Rânjha then tells Hîr's horoscope. "I quote the opening lines. You were a little girl with your hair hanging down your back; he was a boy with the down of early youth on his upper lip, and he played on the flute." When the horoscope was finished, then Hîr stood up and said, "The Jogi's interpretation is a true one. He is a true Pandit and Jotshi. Tell me Jogi, where is my lover who stole my heart away and ruined himself."

The Jogi replies "Why are you searching outside ? your lover is in your house."

He then induces Hîr to draw aside her veil and she recognises the Jogi as her old lover Rânjha.

Hîr warns Rânjha to be careful of Sehti, her husband's sister, as Sehti will probably oppose Rânjha. Sehti soon appears and makes some contemptuous remarks about Jogis and Fakirs. Rânjha, remembering the hint given him by the shepherd, retaliates with somewhat pointed allusions to Sehti's love affair with Murâd. Sehti retorts with some highly spiced abuse and threatens to knock the Jogi's teeth out.

Hîr tries to make peace between Sehti and the Jôgi, and Sehti turns her sarcasms on to Hîr. Neither of these Jat women beat about the bush or mince their words and the dialogue is most racy and probably perfectly true to life.

Sehti then turns to her servant and tells her to give the Jogi some millet and send him away. Rânjha is furious at being given what he calls bird's food. The girl replies "all Jats eat it; it's the father and mother of the poor!"

During this altercation Sehti manages to break the Jogi's beggar bowl, and he and Sehti indulge in further recriminations. Hîr intervenes again and receives the rough side of Sehti's tongue. "O virtuous one whose raiment is as stainless as a praying mat."

This battle of words goes on for a long time and a final sarcasm of Hîr's so enrages Sehti that she and her maid rush out and violently assault Rânjha. "Even as Abu Samand fell on Nawab Hussain Khan at Chunian." Then Rânjha girded up his loins, remembered his Pîr and fell upon Sehti, "Even as the Pathan of Kasur fell on the camp of the Bakshi."

Hîr tries to intervene, but the women of the neighbourhood assemble like a flock of Kâbul dogs and thrust the Jôgi out of the courtyard. Rânjha retires crest-fallen to a garden at Kâlabâgh and plunges into religious meditation.

"He kindled fire and meditated on God and sparks came from his body." He recites spells and incantations and a voice from the Five Pîrs is heard bidding him be of good cheer.

After a day or two the girls of the village come down to the garden at Kâlabâgh and feeling in a sportive spirit they wreck the Jôgi's hut. Rânjha rushes out to attack them, exclaiming "Where is the caravan of these female devils?" The attack on the Jôgi's hut is apparently a ruse. All the girls run away except one, who allows herself to be caught and asks the Jôgi what message he has for her aunt Hîr. Rânjha gives the girl an affectionate message to carry back to Hîr. The girl goes back to Hîr and rates Hîr soundly for her heartless treatment of Rânjha. Hîr then decides to try and win over Sehti, and she ultimately succeeds in so doing by promising her that if Sehti helps her in her love affair she will help Sehti to meet her lover Murad. Sehti then goes off to Kâlabâgh to interview the Jôgi.

Rânjha, when he sees her coming, mutters "Why does a blast from Hell blow upon holy men?" Wordy warfare then ensues between Rânjha and Sehti, Rânjha abusing women and Sehti defending them and making a counter-attack against men. Some of her remarks are quite good. "It is men who are shameless and black-faced. They come to their senses when they lose their wives and then they say 'it is Destiny'."

This bickering goes on for some time; but at last Rânjha miraculously changes some cream, which Sehti had brought as an offering, into rice, and Sehti at once becomes Rânjha's humble slave. Sehti agrees to take Rânjha's messages to Hîr, if Rânjha will help her to meet Murad. The bargain is struck and Sehti goes off and gives Rânjha's message to Hîr.

Hîr then visits Rânjha in Kâlabâgh. Hîr salaamed with folded hands and caught Rânjha's feet saying, "Embrace me, Rânjha, for the fire of separation is burning me. My heart has been burnt like *kankar* in a lime kiln. I return you your deposit untouched."

The lovers meet and embrace. When Hîr returns from the garden flushed and radiant with happiness, the village girls chaff her. Hîr does her best to parry the chaff. "I have a touch of asthma, and that is why the colour comes into my cheeks. I ran after a runaway calf, and that is why the strings of my bodice have come undone. I was knocked down by a bullock in the way; he tore off all my bangles and earrings and chased me with a loud roar. Thanks to my good fortune I met a Fakir who took me safely back to the village."

To which the girls, who have guessed Hîr's secret, reply: "Sister, this bull has been pursuing you for a very long time. It is curious that he tramples in nobody's fields but yours and only steals your grapes. This bull has come from Hazara. At this moment he is lying disconsolate in the garden, crying Hîr, Hîr."

Sehti and Hîr then invent a strategem. Sehti goes to her mother and suggests that as Hîr has not been looking well for a long time it would do her good to go out into the fields. So Hîr is taken out into the fields and there she pretends to be bitten by a snake. Doctors, magicians and *hakims* are brought from far and wide to cure the snake-bite, but their skill is of no avail. At last a suggestion is made that the Jôgi at Kâlabâgh should be called. He is reputed to have great skill in such matters. "There is a very cunning Jôgi in the Kâlabâgh garden," says Sehti,

"in whose flute there are thousands of spells. Cobras and *keraits* bow down before him and hooded and crested snakes stand in awe of him."

Sehti's suggestion is adopted and Saida is sent off to interview the Jôgi. The Jògi's heart "leapt within him" when he saw Saida coming, but he feigns indifference when Saida tells him the object of his visit. "Who can avoid destiny ? . . . snakes bite according to the decree of destiny . . . what if the Jatti dies . . . Then the Fakir will be happy . . . what concern have Fakirs and holy men with women and worldly affairs ?" Saida implores the Jôgi to cure Hîr, and he explains how unhappy Hîr has been ever since her marriage. "She will have nothing to say to me or to any of my family ; if I touch her, she knocks off my turban and begins to cry out." Whereupon the Jôgi drew a square on the ground and thrust a knife therein and said : "Sit down, Jat, and swear on the Koran that you have never touched Hìr." He puts the knife to his throat and made him swear, and Saida swore saying, "May I be a leper if I ever touched Hìr." This outbrust of Rânjha is drawn with true dramatic skill.

The Jôgi then changes his tactics and suddenly turns on Saida ; abuses him violently for coming into his hut with shoes on, and then gives him a severe thrashing and "Saida runs weeping to his house." This sudden outbrust of temper on the part of the Jôgi is not very easy to understand. It is introduced abruptly and no explanation is offered by the author. The author is weak in narrative and makes no attempt to explain the psychology of his characters. He gives you the dialogue of his characters and you are left to guess why they talk as they do.

When Ajju hears how his son has been maltreated by the Jôgi he vows vengeance, but Sehti artfully persuades him to approach the Jôgi in a more humble and contrite spirit ; so Ajju goes off to interview the Jôgi and at last the Jôgi consents to try and cure Hìr, and "as he went to the house of Ajju, a partridge sang on the right for good luck. Sehti then takes charge of the Jôgi. The Jôgi insists on Hîr being put in a separate place with him. He will only allow Sehti to come with them. Thus Rânjha finds himself alone with Sehti and Hìr. He is, however, a little nervous about the success of his enterprise and prays to the Five Pìrs. And Pìr Bahauddin shook the earth and a voice spoke : "Jat, go on your way ; the road has been opened to you."

Sehti then implores Rânjha to assist her to meet Murad. Rânjha then prays to God : "Oh God, restore this Jatti's lover to her." And the Five Pîrs prayed and God showed His kindness and Murad stood before Sehti. Murad explains how he was induced to come to Sehti. The passage is interesting and worth quoting. I think it shows Waris Shah at his best.

"Some spell or enchantment has fallen on me. Some one has caught the nose-string of my camel and has brought me to your door. I was riding in the long line of camels half asleep, then a voice from heaven came into my ear, my camel heard it and grunted, she sped as quick as an arrow or a storm-wind. My string of camels has been lost ; you have exercised some sorcery over me. My camel is the grand-daughter of the best camel in the world. Come up, my bride, and get into my *kajawa*. Is not her mouth soft. Her back is as firm as a mountain. She has been moulded by angles." So the two pairs of lovers get on their respective camels and make their escape by night.

In the morning the villagers realise that the Jôgi has gone off with the two girls. There is a hue and cry and they set off in pursuit. "The Kheras drew up their armies on hearing the news." The forces of the Baloochis, however, defeat the Kheras and Murad successfully escapes with Sehti.

This is a rather interesting sidelight on the history of the locality. It seems to show that during the time depicted by Waris Shah, whenever that was, there was very little control by

the Central Authority; otherwise local armies would not be allowed to be raised. Further, as Waris Shah makes very little attempt to depict a definite historical period, but rather contents himself with depicting the state of society, as it was known to himself and his forefathers, we may hazard the suggestion that the control by the Moghals and their predecessors over Jhang and that part of the country was of a somewhat loose nature.

Hîr and Rânjha meet with adventures on the way. They encounter a lion. Rânjha's interview with the lion is worth quoting. It contains one of the few bits of typical folklore in the poem. "The lion smelt them and came towards them with a roar, and Hîr said : "Rânjha, a lion is coming, remember the Pîrs for God's sake." Rânjha remembered the Five Pirs and they came in the twinkling of an eye. The Fire Pîrs advise Rânjha to speak gently and persuasively to the lion, but eventually, if he refuses to listen to reason, they recommend him to up and slay the lion.

"Gallant Lion," exclaims Rânjha, "I beseech you by Pîr and Fakir to spare us. In the name of Hazrat Pîr Dastgir, the Lord of Pîrs, I beseech you to go away". The lion replies, "Rânjha, listen to me, for the last seven days I have not had anything to eat or drink and now God had sent me a victim." The lion then makes a rush at Rânjha. Rânjha attacks him with the cudgel given him by Jahanian (one of the Five Pîrs), and the dragger given him by Jalâl Bukhari (another of the Five Pîrs). He kills the lion and puts his nails and flesh in his wallet. Sleep then ovecromes him despite Hîr's warnings; while they are asleep the Kheras come upon them and capture them.

Rânjha then at the suggestion of Hîr seeks for justice from Râja Adali. (I do not think Râja Adali is meant to portray Adâl Shâh, or that he is meant to be a historical personage. Possibly the name is meant to suggest the typical just Râja; but against this theory we must record the fact that the Patiala version of the story, quoted by Temple in Punjab Legends, makes Râja Adali anything but a just Râja.)

In the Patiala version Râja Adali is so struck by Hîr's charms that he proposes to keep her for himself. On hearing Rânjha's request Raja Adali issues orders to his armies to capture the Kheras. This use of the military to enforce criminal jurisdiction might explain why a criminal court is called a *Faujdâri Adâlat*. It is probable that Martial Law far more nearly approximates to the Indian ideal of criminal procedure than the cumbrous intricacies of the Criminal Procedure Code; it also happens to be a fairly correct translation of *Fâujdāri Adâlat*, but this is by the way and a mere *obiter dictum*.

Rânjha and the Kheras both state their case before the Râja and the Râja refers them to the Kâzi. The Kâzi hears both sides. He is not impressed with Rânjha's special pleading that he and Hîr were betrothed in the tablet of destiny. He somewhat brutally brings them from the clouds to earth by remarking "Without witnesses there can be no marriage. Produce your witnesses." The Kâzi, seeing clearly that Hîr was really married to Saida, tells Rânjha that he must give up Hîr to the Kheras. Rânjha bursts into abuse of Kāzis and their ways, remarking "if you sympathize so much with the Kheras, give them your own daughter." This insult not unnaturally enrages the Kâzi and he peremptorily gives Hîr back to the Kheras.

When Hîr and Rânjha learn their fate they call down curses on the Râja and his city. As the result of these imprecations the city catches fire. The Râja in perplexity summons his wise men and astrologers. They tell him : "The pens of your officers are free from blame, but God has listened to the sighs of the lovers. Fire has descended from heaven and it has consumed the palaces, forts and ditches of the city." Whereupon the Râja ordered the Kheras to be arrested by his armies, and taking Hîr from the Kheras he gave her back to Rânjha.

Rânjha blesses the Râja "May all your troubles flee away and may you rule over horses, camels, elephants, batteries, Hindustan, and Scinde."

Rânjha congratulates himself on his good fortune, but Hîr foresees difficulties ahead and is not so optimistic. "If I enter my father's country like this, people will say I am a runaway and have not been properly married. My aunts will taunt me and ask me why I have come back in this way." Hîr is drawn as a young lady with a lot of sturdy common-sense. This comes out more than once in the poem. After proceeding a short way Rânjha and Hîr are recongized by some Sial shepherds. They go and tell the Sials. "Behold the shepherd has brought the girl Hîr back. He has shaved the beards of Kheras."

The Sials then suggest Rânjha shall marry Hîr in a formal way and bring a proper wedding procession. About this time a barber comes from the Kheras with a message asking the Sials to give Hîr back. The barber is sent back with a derisive reply. The matrimonial problem is then discussed by the brotherhood. Rânjha suspecting no guile goes off to his home to get ready the marriage procession and all preparations for the wedding.

Kaido points out to Hîr that if the Kheras demand her back, it will be difficult not to admit the justice of their claim, and he points out to the brotherhood that if the Sials do not give her up to the Kheras, their reputation will suffer. "Men will say, go, look at the faithlessness of the Sials; they marry their daughters to one man and then contemplate giving her in marriage to another."

The brotherhood agrees with Kaido. "Brother, you are right; your honour and our honour are one. We shall get great disgrace if we send this girl off with the shepherd." The plot then develops. "Is not Hîr always sickly and in poor health? Let us poison her and become sinful in the sight of God." So Kaido with his evil cunning came and sat down beside Hîr and said "My daughter, you must be brave and patient"; and Hîr replied unsuspectingly, "Uncle what need have I of patience?"

Kaido replied, "Rânjha has been killed, death with glittering sword has taken him." Hîr sighed and fainted away, and the Sials gave her sharbat and mixed poison with it, and thus brought ruin and disgrace on their name. "The parents of Hîr killed her." "This was the doing of God", adds the pious poet. "When the fever of death was upon Hîr, she cried out, "bring me Rânjha that I may meet him again", and, Kaido true to his character as the villain of the piece, replied, "Rânjha has been killed, keep quiet or it will go ill with you." "So Hîr breathed her last crying, Rânjha, Rânjha."

The poet hurries us rapidly on to the final tragedy, the narrative moving with a speed that is unusual in this otherwise much spun out tale. "And they buried her and sent a message to Rânjha saying: The hour of destiny has arrived; we had hoped otherwise, but nobody can escape the destiny of death." Even as it is written in the *Korân* "Every thing is mortal save Thee only, O God." Rânjha asks the messenger: "Why this dejected air? Why are you sobbing? Is my property safe? Is my beloved ill?"

And the messenger sighed and said, "That dacoit of death from whom no one can escape has looted your property. Hîr has been dead for the last eight watches. They bathed her body and buried her yesterday and as soon as they began the last funeral rites they sent me to give you the news." "Hearing these words Rânjha heaved a sigh and the breath of life forsook him". "Thus both the lovers passed away from this mortal world and entered into the Halls of Eternity."

"The world is but a play," moralises the poet in the concluding lines of the poem, "of fields and forests. Dust unto dust; all will merge into dust on the Last Day. Only the poet's

poetry remains in everlasting remembrance." "For no one," adds the poet in a burst of delightful candour, "has writtten so beautiful a 'Hîr'." Thus ends the famous story of Rânjha and Hîr as told by the most famous of the poets of the Punjab. He ends with an epilogue which is doubly interesting, as it gives us some autobiographical detail about the poem and the author, and it throws some sidelights on the conditions of the country when the Moghul Empire was crumbling to pieces and the era of the Jat Sikhs was about to begin.

I quote the Epilogue at full length, although disconnected and rambling in parts, and although the text which I have followed probably contains mistakes and interpolations, yet it is interesting enough to quote as a specimen of Waris Shah's style.

EPILOGUE.[15]

(1) Fools and sinners give counsel to the world, the words of the wise are set at nought: No man tells the truth or cares for justice; telling what is untrue has become the practice in the world.

(2) Men sit together and conspire to commit evil; in the hand of tyrants there is a sharp sword; There is no Governor, Ruler or Emperor; the country and all the people in it have been made desolate.

(3) Great confusion has fallen on the country; there is a sword in every man's hand: The pardah (curtain) of shame and modesty has been lifted, and all the world goes naked in the open bazar. Thieves have become leaders of men; harlots have become mistresses of the household; the company of devils has multiplied exceedingly.

(4) The state of the nobles is pitiable; men of menial birth flourish and the peasantry are in great prosperity: The Jats have become masters of our country; everywhere there is a new Government.

(5) When Love became known to me, a desire came upon me to compose this story: It was written in the country of the west (Lamman Des) in the year 1180 Hijri or 1820 of the Era of Raja Bikramajit.[16] (A.D. 1766).

(6) When men of learning deigned to approve of my book it became known and noised abroad among all and sundry in the land: Waris, those who recite the Holy Kalam will attain salvation and their boat will be taken ashore.

(7) The land of Kharral Hans is famous among all lands; it was there where I wrote my poem after much pain and perseverance: Let poets themselves test this work of poetry, I have loosed the steed of my genius in the arena of fame.

(8) Other poets have sung petty themes, I have carried out an immense work: Let the wise ponder my poem with care, my verse enclothes a hidden meaning.

(9) I sat apart in solitude and wrote this story of Hîr, at the request of my friends, after great meditation: May young men of the Country read it with pleasure; I have planted the flower of poetry for the sake of its sweet savour.

(10) I have at last achieved my object, thanks be to God, and all day long I was lost in fear and astonishment: Waris Shah, My good actions will not avail to save me; of what can I—this poor one—be proud.

(11) Oh God, without Thy mercy I have no hope of salvation. If Justice is done and I get merely my deserts, my face will be as black as a monkey: Without the mercy of Thy friend the Prophet I am nothing—I mere dust and ashes.

[15] In the translation of this Epilogue a fullstop has been put in at the end of each line in the original. in the middle of the line only colons or semi-colons have been shown. This will enable readers to appreciate the length of Waris Shah's lines.

[16] I may remark these two dates do not correspond; Hijri 1180 is probably the correct date.

(12) I tremble at my unworthiness; even as sinners tremble at the sound of the last Trumpet: even as the faithful tremble for their faith, or as Hajis tremble when they see Holy Mecca: And even as the general fears for the pay of his soldiers, or as servants fear having their pay cut for some fault.

(13) Out of all the miserable Punjab, I am most sorry for Kasur; I tremble for my faith even as Moses trembled on Mount Sinai. Those Ghazis will go to Heaven as a reward and martyrs will claim their Houris; The world outside appears magnificent, but inside it is evil, as a drum sounds well at a distance.

(14) Grant me my faith and my honour intact: our hope is on God the Merciful. Waris Shah, I have no hope of salvation from my own good actions. God grant me a sight of Thy Presence.

(15) Waris Shah lives in Jandiala and is a pupil of the Makdum of Kasur; when I had written the poem and stood before my teacher; I presented it to him as an offering and he accepted it.

(16) Lord, it is Thou who exalteth to honour, and Thou who bringeth to dishonour: All honours come from the Hand of God. What claim can this poor sinner have?

(17) This book was written with the help of Shaket Ganj, the Lover of God, when he opened the treasury of his beneficence: Waris Shah, your name will be famous if God the bountiful give you grace.

(18) O Lord have regard to the humility of Waris Shah, And remove all pain and, trouble from his infirmity: Waris Shah has bestowed a portion of his blessing on all the Faithful.

(19) May I always live, O God, with the support of Thy help. This is always my prayer: May my Faith remain pure and my estate in the world remain undefiled

(20) Grant me to long with a fervent desire for Thee, and remove from my neck the burden of my griefs; May he who reads this book, hears it, or writes it, have pleasure therein; May my poor disordered effort be found acceptable.

(21) May the Prophet be my intercessor and protector for the past, present and future. Lord, hide the fault of Thy poor faqir Waris Shah: Thou art my Lord, All terrible and All glorious; my task has been finished with the blessing of God; it was written at the request of a dear friend.

(22) A pleasant story of True lovers has been composed, even as the fragrance of roses in a garden: Let him who hears it in the spirit of true Love hearken attentively that he may learn to separate the true from the false.

(23) I have composed a poem with much deft cunning and deep learning; It is as fair as a string of royal pearls; I have unfolded the story at full length and decked it with all kinds of beauties.

(24) It is adorned with metaphors even as the beauty of a necklace of rubies; may the reader of it be filled with pleasure: And may all the world cry 'well done'; Waris Shah yearns for the sight of God, even as Hîr yearned for her Lover.

(25) In all holiness I make my supplication before God: Thou art God and the Lord of Mercy. If Thy slave has made a mistake, even in a single letter, Lord forgive my fault.

(26) If justice be done there is no place for me; only by Thy grace can I be saved: May I have no care for religion or the world. This is my prayer, Lord.

(27) Pour Thy Mercy on the writer and readers of this book; may the hearers have much pleasure: Lord give them the desire for Thy presence. Lord preserve the honour and modesty of all.

(28) Overlook our infirmities and grant us salvation, Waris Shah: To all true believers grant Faith and Truth and the Sight of Thy Presence, Oh Lord.

IV.

JOHN SCATTERGOOD, MERCHANT AND SERVANT OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, HIS CAREER IN MADRAS AND BENGAL, 1672—1681.

John Scattergood was the eldest son of Roger Scattergood noticed above (No. III) and was probably born in London about 1654[72] or 1655. As previously stated (*ante*, p. 16) he, with several others, petitioned the Court of Committees for a writership in August 1672.[73]

On receipt of the applications, the Court directed[74] that the candidates should be examined "in point of fair writing and accomptantship" and that the examiner should satisfy himself with regard to their "qualifications and good demeanour." John Scattergood apparently passed a successful examination, for on the 19th September 1672, when the Court "proceeded to the election of Youths to serve the Company as writers in India,[75]" his name appears among those selected at the munificent salary of £10 per annum.

On this occasion twenty writers were elected, and ten, among whom was John Scattergood, were allotted to the "Coast and Bay," *i.e.*, Madras and Bengal, each being required to find securities for £500. The persons "approved" in the case of the young John were his father Roger Scattergood and Mr. Robert Master[76] (Masters or Maisters), the latter a man of substance and a freeman of the Company. On the 14th November 1672 an advance of half his year's salary was made to John Scattergood,[77] and on the 23rd his "Indentures of Covenants to wrighters now goeing out in the Companys shipps for the East Indies" were sealed.[78]

Ten of the Company's ships sailed for India in December 1672. They were under the command of Captain William Basse in the *London*, and he and the other commanders were enjoined "to keep together" on account of "the present war,"[79] that is, the Third Dutch War, which was the result of Charles II's secret treaty with the French at Dover on the 2nd May 1670. It has not been ascertained in which of the ten ships John Scattergood was a passenger, but it is probable that one of his travelling companions was William Ayloffe (or Ayliffe), a fellow writer with whom he seems to have formed a friendship.

The Log of the *London* is extant,[80] and it shows that the voyage was not devoid of excitement. A constant look-out was kept for any sign of the enemy and there were several false alarms. After rounding the Cape, on the 16th April 1673, three vessels, at first thought to be Dutch ships, were sighted, but after several hours' anxiety were "at last discovered" to be English merchantmen homeward bound from the Coromandel Coast. One of these, the *Johanna*, reported that twenty-five Dutch ships had left Ceylon and were supposed to be hovering about the Malabar Coast.

On the 16th May the *London* and all her consorts anchored at Johanna, one of the Comoro Islands, without encountering the enemy, for which "great marcy," wrote Captain Basse, "the Lord make us all truly thankfull." The crews of the ten ships were suffering badly from

72 No entry of his birth or baptism has been found. It is not at Christ Church, Newgate Street, in which parish his parents were then residing (see *ante*, p. 6). In the Heralds College Pedigree he is described as "John Scattergood Factor at Bengala in ye East Indies," without further details (*Visitation of Northamptonshire*, 1611), Press-mark K. 1, signed by (Dr.) Anthony Scattergood.

73 *Court Minutes*, XXVIII, 37*a*. (India Office Records.)

74 *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 38*a*.

75 *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 44*a*.

76 *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 65*b*, 131*a* and *ante*, p. 16.

77 *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 72*b*.

78 *Home Series, Miscellaneous*, vol. XXVI (India Office Records).

79 *Court Minutes*, XXVIII, 77*a*.

80 *Marine Records*, vol. LXXI (India Office Records).

scurvy, and several of the men had to be carried " Ashower In Cradills." After watering, taking in fresh provisions and making the usual present to the Chief of the island of two yards of broadcloth from each commander " or the vallew thereof," the fleet again set sail, and the voyage proceeded without incident until the 17th June 1673, when near Ceylon further news was obtained of the presence of eighteen Dutch sail off their settlement at Negapatam. A letter " dereckted unto the Hear Ricklifvongonce [Rijkloff van Goens]," the Dutch admiral, was intercepted in a native junk, but on being opened, it was found to contain nothing " that might advantaige us."

Off Porto Novo, on the 21st June, Captain Basse received another letter containing the news " that the Dutch did ride all the shower along from St. Thomay to Fort St. George 12 shipps of warr and 2 small vessills. The pourport of the Letter was that if we thought ourselves not strong enough to deale with the Dutch, then to go of into the sea and make the best of our way for Metchlepatam [Masulipatam]. It was debated by us all wheather to goe for Madaraspatam and fight our way through the Dutch, but it was Concluded by all that in regard the Companyes treasure was one board our shipps, and all thear Conserns for this yeare, to goe for Metchlepatam and thear receive farther orders and to land our treasure." It was also decided to tow the native junk abovementioned and her consort along with the fleet, lest by their means the Dutch should learn " our strength and number of shipps."

Accordingly, the English fleet sailed out to sea on the 21st June 1673. The captured junks were found to be such a hindrance that after two days it was decided " to Cast them of " and " the persons Concerned were as willing to be Cast of as wee to Lett them goe." On the morning of the 26th Divi Point was sighted, and in the afternoon the fleet anchored safely in Masulipatam Road, where the Company had at that date a thriving factory on shore, managed by a Council subordinate to Fort St. George, their principal settlement in Madras.

The ten writers were landed on the 26th June, and on receipt of orders from headquarters were distributed among the various factories in Madras and Bengal. John Scattergood remained at Masulipatam and was placed under Christopher Hatton, a man of long experience in South Indian methods of trade, and an associate of Peter Radcliffe, with whom the young writer became intimately connected later on.

Dissension was rife among the Company's servants at Masulipatam at this period. The Council was divided into two factions, the one supporting Richard Mohun, Chief, and the other backing up the charge of Matthew Mainwaring, Second in office, against him. Mainwaring's complaint was eventually heard at Fort St. George in 1675 and ended in Mohun's dismissal from his post. John Scattergood was not among the witnesses summoned by Mainwaring, but his friend William Ayloffe deposed that Mohun had held back his salary " as also" that of " Mr. Scattergood "[81] and Mainwaring in his " Memoriall " of the 5th June expressed his belief that " Mr. John Scattergood " and others " can sufficiently speake to severall of the aforegoeing perticulers if the awe of Mr. Mohun were taken from them."[81]

Soon after these events young Scattergood probably received news of his kinsfolk together with the " wines and other necessaries " sent out by his father.[82] In the following year he learnt that the Court had decided that " all Writers at £10 per annum " were to be paid quarterly in India for five years and at the end of that time to receive £20 for the three following years.[83]

81 *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. I.

82 See *ante*, p. 16.

83 *Home series, Miscellaneous*, XXXIV, 19.

In July 1675 a Consultation was held at Masulipatam to consider the best methods of procuring the cloth ordered to be sent home by the shipping of that year.[84] It was decided that an investment should be made at Madapollam, a short distance from Masulipatam (where the Company already had a small factory) " and the places adjacent thereto," and that Robert Fleetwood and Christopher Hatton should be entrusted with the selection and purchase of 44,000 pieces of cloth, taking with them "two writers for their assistance," namely, Samuel Wales and John Scattergood. The investment was to consist of " Longcloths, Sallampores, Dungarees and fine Salloes [*sâlû*] made at Golcondah." Three of these varieties of goods have already been described ;[85] the other, Dungaree (*dangri*), was a coarse stout fabric, of the nature of sailcloth, much in request for wrappers for packing goods. " Musters " (patterns) of the cloths were furnished to the merchants. They were provided with 3000 pagodas to advance to the weavers, and with English broadcloth, looking-glasses, etc., with which to propitiate the local governors. They were, moreover, ordered to " keep an exact diary " of all transactions and to recover, as far as possible, all bad debts made in the previous year.[84]

Disquieting reports concerning the conduct of their servants in certain factories in Madras and Bengal had reached the ears of the Court of Committees, and in consequence Major William Puckle was entrusted with a mission of inspection and powers to rectify abuses. In October 1675 he was at Masulipatam where he found the " young men " guilty of " disorders in their chambers, where they spend much time . . . in drinking Bowls of Punch till they exceeded the bounds of Sobriety." In this condition they used bad language, " as God Dam," and spoke against the Company. The Padre also complained that the " young men neglected to come to prayers."[86] John Scattergood was probably among these absentees, and though he is not specially mentioned as a ringleader in the insubordinate actions then prevailing, he was no doubt infected with the general spirit of opposition to authority, for Puckle wrote to the Agent at Fort St. George that[87] all the young men were " very Insolent in their carriage " towards Mr. Mainwaring and himself, and could not " beare the Reproofs and admonitions that have been given them." Sermons " purposely preached " against their " sinns " and " private discourses " all failed in subduing the spirits of the young folk. On the day following his report of their " lewd behaviour," Puckle writes :[88] " This is the 5 day of November ; our Padre hath read to us a Sermon and our young men very busy about a Bonfer and firing Chambers [small cannon] borrowed of the Dutch."

Whether or no John Scattergood was among the young reprobates condemned by the inspector, the turbulent stage must have been a transient one, for his name is never adversely mentioned in the Records during the remainder of his service.

In March 1676 Mainwaring brought a fresh charge against Mohun, and John Scattergood, who then ranked 12th at Masulipatam, was one of the plaintiff's witnesses.[89] It was about this time that Scattergood became intimate with the Radcliffe brothers, Thomas and Peter, who were trading on the Coromandel Coast as free merchants. Their business was chiefly between Madras and Pegu and they dealt in " Chints and other paintings [printed calicoes] and also sundry sorts of Cloath." Peter Radcliffe had been in India since 1655 and was " brought up under Mr. Hatten at Pegu."[86] His brother appears to have followed him soon after and to have adopted the same line of trade. Peter was a bachelor, but Thomas was married,

84 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. I. 85 See *ante*, p. 10.

86 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. XII (Major Puckle's Diary).

87 *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. XXVIII. 88 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. XII.

89 *O.C.*, 4142 ; *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol.

in all probability before he sailed from England, where he seems to have left his wife and children.

In August 1676 a second inspector on the part of the Company arrived at Masulipatam. This was Streynsham Master, the able administrator, whose powers exceeded that of Major Puckle and who came to India as Agent Designate of Fort St. George. He promptly reorganised the factory and introduced his own system of keeping the Company's accounts. By his orders John Scattergood was sent to Golconda. The special object of his mission does not appear, but as he brought back 8,000 pagodas, it seems likely that he was entrusted with bullion which he was to exchange for current coin.

On his return to Masulipatam, John Scattergood became mixed up in a dispute between Matthew Mainwaring and George Chamberlain, a factor who ranked next after Christopher Hatton at Masulipatam. The quarrel concerned the "Cash Account" which Chamberlain insinuated would not bear inspection, and he also hinted that the 8,000 pagodas brought by Scattergood from Golconda on the Company's account had not been properly entered. A stormy Council Meeting was held on the 22nd December, at which John Scattergood was not present, but in which his name was mentioned. He was evidently anxious to keep out of the affair, for on the 23rd he added to the Minutes: "I John Scattergood except against what was acted the 22 December being then absent." He also "excepted" to a statement that Matthew Mainwaring's Action "redounds . . . to the shame of his impertinent enemies." He was then pressed by Chamberlain to say that he had given Mainwaring money to supply deficiencies in the Cash Account, but replied that he "was not bound to satisfye him or any other but those that Imployed him." However, as Chamberlain continued to press him to speak, on the 29th December, Scattergood made the following attestation regarding the matter :—[90]

"Being desired and required by Mr. George Chamberlaine in a paper dated the 26th December 1676 directed not onely to him but to seaverall others of the Honorable Compas. Servants to give my attestation of what I knew acted and spoken the 23th instant, relating to the Honble. Compas. affaires; I do declare that being in the Honble. Compas. Mansion House the 23th December I saw Mr. Matt. Mainwaring bring forth severall Parcells of Pagodas which were told over and said to bee the Ballance of the Cash booke with which Mr. Chamberlaine (who required a sight of them) was satisfyed, but desired us to take notice whether they were all of Madras, which they were not, but many of them of Pollicatt stamp, but in Valeew as good as the rest; Mr. Mainwaring also brought out a bagg of above 1000 Pagodas above the ballance, which was not thought requisit to bee told over. Afterwards Mr. Mainwaring proferd and proposed Mr. Chamberlaine to take a view of the Honble Compas. Silver, which Mr. Chamberlaine did not think good to see, but said that unless hee had also a key to the Honble. Compas. Cash Chest hee would not bee concerned in theire Cash which Mr. Mainwaring refused him, saying that as hee had hitherto bin trusted with the Cash, and seaverall times produced it to Publick view, hee would not now have his Creditt Crack'd by haveing other Persons concerned with him. That is true, I do hereunto sett my hand." —JOHN SCATTERGOOD.

Metchlepatam
In the Honble. Compas. House.
Dec : the 29th 1676.

[90] *Factory Records, M ulipatam*, vol. 1.

"I allso attest that when Mr. Chamberlaine desired a key to the Cash Chest, Mr. Arnold replyed, that hee did not think it fit for him to have a key thereto, since hee kept that money no better which hee was intrusted with already, and that hee had no power to propose a new alteration being things were so appointed by Esqr. Streynsham Master."—JOHN SCATTERGOOD.

The altercation dragged on until February 1676/7 when, during Master's absence at Fort. St. George, Chamberlain tried to make it appear that Scattergood's journey to Golconda was detrimental to the Company's interest.[91] He was promptly silenced by Christopher Hatton and Joseph Arnold, and there the matter ended. Chamberlain's credit was failing and he had fallen into disrepute with his employers and was dismissed the service at the end of the year.

After this affair John Scattergood's official life proceeded on the even tenour of its way. He still remained at Masulipatam under Christopher Hatton, and in November 1677 ranked eighth in the factory. In May 1678 he was one of the witnesses to "Mrs. [Robert] Fleetwoods Declaration and renunciation of her husband's Estate,"[92] prior to her second marriage on the following day to John Heathfield, surgeon of Masulipatam factory. Scattergood's share in this matter is interesting, as his own family was connected with the Fleetwoods, his mother having been the granddaughter of Richard Fleetwood of Penwortham, Lancashire.[93]

On the 23rd May, Margery Heathfield's goods were put up at "outcry"[92] to satisfy her late husband's debt to the Company, and John Scattergood purchased :—

	pags.	fan.	ca.[94]
1 Little looking glass	—	3	—
2 Peices of silke	1	11	—
1 Cloth of gold coat	2	10	6
A parcell of Golcondah pictures	—	—	8
3 Quilts	2	1	6
4 Small Jarrs	—	1	6
5 Old Cushions	—	1	4
1 Brass Candlestick	—	3	4
3 Snake Stones	—	4	2

In the following month, June 1678, John Scattergood, having served his five years as a writer, "attained to the degree of factor" at £20 per annum, and was required to "seale new Covenants with a Bond in the penalty of 2,000 li."[92] The same securities as before, *viz.*, his father and Robert Masters, were approved by the Court.[95] A copy of the covenant, as given below, is entered in the Masulipatam Consultation Book.[92]

NOVERINT UNIVERSI per presentes nos Johannem Scattergood de Metchlepatam in Indiis Orientalibus Mercatorem et teneri et firmiter obligari Gubernatori et Societati Mercatorum Londinensium negotiantium ad Indias Orientales in Quingentis libris legalis Monetae Angliae solvendis eisdem Gubernatori et Societati aut suo certo Attornato vel Successoribus suis Ad quam quidem Solutionem bene et fideliter faciendam Obligamus Nos et utrumque nostrum per se pro toto et in solido haeredes Executores et Administratores nostros et utriumque nostrum firmiter per presentes Sigillis Nostris Sigillatas Datas tricessimo die Novembris anno Domini 1678 Annoque Regni Domini nostri Caroli Secundi Dei Gratia Angliae Scotiae Franciae et Hiberniae Regis fidei Deffensoris Etca. tricessimo.

91 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. I.
92 *Ibid.*, vol. II.
93 See *ante*, p. 6 n.
94 Pagodas, fanams, cash.
95 See *ante*, p. 16.

WHEREAS the above named Governor and Company have at the speciall Request and desire of the above bound John Scattergood, and [blank] entertained into their Service the said John Scattergood as their Covenant Servant to serve them in such Factoryes and at such places in the East Indies abovesaid or any other places of Trade granted to the said Company and Comprized within their Charter, and for such provision Allowance and Sallary and at and under such other conditions and during so long tyme as is and shall be agreed upon between the said Governor and Company and the said John Scattergood. THE CONDITION of this Obligation is such That if the said John Scattergood shall from tyme to tyme during the said Employment or afterwards whensoever he shall be thereunto required by the said Governor and Company their Successors agents or Assignes make and give unto them or their Assignes true plain and perfect Accounts and reckonings in writing of for and concerning all and every such goods Merchandizes Money and things what so ever which shall at any tyme or tymes hereafter be consigned or sent unto him the said John Scattergood by or from the said Governor and Company their Successors, Agents or Assignes, And of and for all and every the Returnes Proceed[s] and Benefitts to be had and gotten for and in respect of those goods Money and Merchandizes or any of them, And of all other goods and things whatsoever for which he the said John Scattergood shall or may be charged or answerable (by reason of his aforesaid Employment) in any manner of wise. And further if the said John Scattergood his Executors Administrators or Assignes shall and doe from tyme to tyme upon such request to be made as aforesaid, well and truly peaceably and quietly yeild and deliver up and pay, or cause to be yeilded delivered up and paid unto the said Governor and Company and their Successors, or to their Agents or assignes, to and for the use of the said Governor and Company all and every such goods wares money Merchandizes and other things whatsoever as by the foot or every such account or accounts shall appear to be found to be due or belonging to the said Governor and Company and their Successors by or from the said John Scattergood without any fraud or farther delay That then this present Obligation to be void and of none effect or elce it to stand and abide in full force and vertue.

JOHN SCATTERGOOD.

Sealed and delivered by John Scattergood.

In the presence of

CHRISTOPHER HATTON.[96]
JOHN FIELD.
HENRY CROON COLBORNE.
SAM WALES.

Vera Copia.

CHRISTOPHER HATTON.
JOHN FIELD.
MAURICE WYNNE."

As a factor, Scattergood had now "liberty . . . to trade in any Comodityes too and from the Fort to any Port or places in the East Indies northward of the equator except Tonqueene and Formosa."[97]

In August 1678 he was sent to Madapollam "to be assistant" to Maurice Wynn, Chief of that factory.[98] There he found his friend William Ayloffe. In December he was back

[96] Hatton had succeeded to the chiefship of Masulipatam in March 1678 on the suspension of Matt. Mainwaring.

[97] Abstract of General Letter to the Fort 24 Dec. 1675 (*Home Series, Misc.*, vol. XXXIV).

[98] *O.C.* 4472.

again at Masulipatam where he played an important part during the visit of the King of Golconda to the factory and its neighbourhood. The Masulipatam Diary gives the story in detail.[99]

10*th December* 1678. "The King's Minister Shaw Raza[100] attended divine service at Masulipatam to see the manner of our religion and worship" [when John Scattergood was no doubt present].

16*th December* 1678. "This morning the King tooke Boat at the Banksall[101] to go to Diu [Dìvi] attended upon by Mr. John Field, Mr. George Everard and Mr. John Scattergood."

MR. JOHN FIELDS DIARY [AND] OBSERVATIONS DURING HIS ATTENDANCE UPON THE KING AT DIU.[102]

Monday, 16*th December* 1678. "This afternoon the King pitch'd his Tent on the Island of Divu[103] and at night tooke his pastime on the water in our Boat returning to his Tent about 10 a Clock."

17*th December* 1678. "About 7 a Clock this morning the King sett out for Gunting[104] and being gone a little way return'd, passing by our Tent and calling for the Dubass,[105] but he not being present the King spoke to another, desiring wee would goe with him; which wee immediately did. In the way his Majestie tooke great delight in seeing severall flights of the Hawks, and after wee had travell'd about 14 or 15 Miles, mett with severall wild Cowes which were Chased, Eight of them killed and one Calf taken by the Kings Persian Dogs. Some time after night Wee attended him to his Tent, and presently he asked for our Boat, but she not being near, tooke the Dutch Boat. After his return our Dubass who went with him, complained of our Boat not being ready to receive the King, upon which John Field checked the Tandell[106] thereof, and ordered him immediately to goe and lye close by the Dutch Boat before the Kings Tent, that thereby shee might be ready for his Majestie in the morning if he pleased to go on her, which the Dutch Seamen there on their Sloop seeing him about to doe, laid their sloop and Boat athwart that ours might not come neare, beat our people and tore our awning, making a great noise to the disturbance of the King. This caused John Field to desire Mr. Everard and Mr. Seymour,[17] himself being lame by a hurt in the Boate and they speaking the Language, to goe see what was the matter and make all quiet. By that tyme they came there, the King sent out his servants to enquire the Occasion of that Noise, which Mr. Everard declared to them, telling them all that wee desired was to

99 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*. vol. II.

100 The king was Abû'l Hasan Shâh, the last of the Qutb Shâhî Kings of Golconda. "Shaw Reza" is a corruption of Sharzah Khân, one of Abû'l Hasan's nobles, a military commander. See T. W. Haig, *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, pp. 189, 192 f.n. for mentions of this individual.

101 The Company's warehouse at the wharf where the harbour dues were collected. See *Hobson-Jobson, s. v.* Banksall.

102 John Field was at this time Second of the Factory at Masulipatam, and John Scattergood accompanied him with other of the Company's servants and freemen.

103 Dîvî Island, then some 15 miles from the mainland. It is no longer an island, but gives its name to Point Divi.

104 I cannot identify this place. It can hardly be Guntûr in Guntûr *tâluk*, near Masulipatam.

105 *Dûbâshî*, interpreter.

106 Tindal (Mal., *taṇḍal*), a common Anglo-Indian term for a native petty officer of lascars. In the text it is the boatswain who is meant.

107 Freemen residing at Masulipatam. See *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, II, 106n., 165n.

have our Boat lye before the Kings Tent as well as the Dutches, that his Majestie might goe on which hee pleased. At length Goba Narsa [Gopa Narasu], the Dutch Dubass of Golcondah, who alwayes attends the King, ordered their Boat away, and ours remained before the Tent.

18th December 1678. "This morning very early the King sent out word to make ready our Boat, he intending on her to Collipelle,[108] 15 or 16 miles from the place where he was, and on the other side of the water. This was immediately done and he [was] attended by John Field, Mr. Everard, Mr. Scattergood and Mr. Seymour. In the way mett him a Letter from Madona, his great Bramina,[109] which was read very softly to him, after which he appeared very chearfull and spent the time on the water in mirth and turning a Jentue [Hindu] Song into a Persia or Moors [Muhammadan] Song, which he performed very readily. As soon as he came to Collipelle and had eaten, he made but small Stay; and whereas before he intended to return to Dieu, now took his Journey to Metchlepatam.

This night about nine of the Clock the King came to Town."

21st December 1678. Consultation at Masulipatam. "The Councell having this day received notice from the King of his intention on Monday next to visit Narsipore[110] and Madapollam[111] and parts adjacent, Ordered . . . that John Field and John Scattergood do attend upon the King to Madapollam and parts adjacent with 30 peons of this Factory and the Honble. Compas. Dubass to wait upon them. . .

23rd December 1678. "This morning the King departed from this place towards Narsapore and Madapollam."

MR. JOHN FIELDS DIARY [AND] OBSERVATIONS IN HIS JOURNEY WITH THE KING TO NARSAPORE, DASHEROON[112] &CA., PARTS OF THAT COUNTREY.

23rd December 1678. "This night wee overtook the king at Gullepollam[113] where wee visited him at his Tent, who desired us to stay and Eate and then goe forward that wee might gett over the Rivers before him and his people, taking it very kindly that wee attended him.

24th December 1678. "Mr. John Tivill mett the King beyond Lambell,[114] presenting him with ten Copims,[115] being accompanied with Mr. John Heathfield, Mr. George Ramsden and Mr. William Ayloffe,[116] the King arriving at Narsapore about 5 a clock in the Afternoon. The same night Burra Saib[117] (frequently called Shaw Reza, the name of his Father) came to the Factory where he stayed about halfe an hour, telling us he would bring the King the next day, and so went to attend the King on the Water.

108 Pedda Kallepalli in Bandar *tâluk*, Kistna District, on the left bank of the Kistna.

109 Madanna Pantulu, a Brâhman, one of the chief ministers at the Court of Golconda.

110 Narasâpuram in Narsâpur *tâluk*, Godâvari District.

111 John Tivill was in charge of Madapollam Factory at this date, and a letter was sent to him from Masulipatam warning him of the King's visit.

112 Drâcharam, 17 miles S. W. of Cocanada. See *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, II, 115n.

113 Pedda Gollapalem, in Gudivâda *tâluk*, Kistna District.

114 I cannot identify this place.

115 Copang, kobang (*kâping*), a Japanese gold coin weighing 222 grs. of gold. See *ante*, vol. XXVII, p. 223, for a note on the double significance of this term.

116 For Heathfield and Ayloffe, see *ante*, pp. 17, 21 George Ramsden, then factor, went to India as a writer in the same year as John Scattergood.

117 Barâ Sâhib, the Great Lord. the Chief, *i.e.*, a personage of importance.

25th December 1678. "This morning the King came to the Factory, veiwed all places above Staires, and then required us to go to prayers, saying he knew it was a great Feast with Us, he attending present all the while; and some tyme after, when our boat being ready to receive him, he went on her to [the late] Mr. Robert Fleetwoods house, which he was much taken with, praising it severall tymes and saying when he came next from Golcondah he would take up his residence therein. He remained there till night and then tooke his pleasure on our Boat on the River (the Dutch having no Boat there to wait upon him). About tenn at night he landed at Narsapore, giving John Field, Mr. Scattergood, Mr. Heathfield and Mr. Seymor who attended him, leave to go home and be ready to go with him to Antroveed[118] the next day.

26th December 1678. "This morning John Field, Mr. Heathfield, Mr. Scattergood [and] Mr. Seymor waited on the king to Antroveed, where wee spent that day, it being midnight ere wee returnd home, the king being highly pleásd with the accomodation made for him and our attendance on him, but we making him sensible of the danger he underwent by having so many people in the Boat with him, she being as full as one could sitt by another when he came to Narsapore, he counted the people, finding about 160 persons, and desiring Us to spare him what Boats wee could the next day to carry him and his people to Nagram,[119] and then gave us leave to go home.

27th December 1678. "This morning was sent two Boats to the king and Burra Saib besides that whereon he was to goe, and Burra Saib sent word to John Field the king expected his Company to Nagram and from thence to Dasheroon, upon which John Field prepared to goe with him, accompanied with Mr. Scattergood and Mr. Seymor. At neare Sunsett wee arrived at Nagram, where after our Salam to the king, Wee reposed our selves this night in a house belonging to Mahmud Raza.[120]

28th December 1678. "This morning wee sett forward for Pollicull,[121] arriving there about Noon, and staying there till the next morning. In the way followed Senior Ruyser Second for the Dutch Company in Pollicull[122] but did not reach Pollicull till some tyme after the king and us. At neare night they were admitted to the kings presence, and after a short attendance, departed. At night Senior Vunk, Cheife of Dasheroon,[123] arrived, who stayed not long, but went to prepare their Factory there for the Kings reception.

29th December 1678. "About noon Wee came with the King into Dasheroon, and att night the Dutch gott him to their Factory, but he made no stay but went thence to a house of Mahomed Razas, formerly Governor here, and the Dutch sett forward to Pollicull to fitt there Factory there for the King.

30th December 1678. "This day the King continued in Dasheroon, having taken physick of his French Doctor, intending to-morrow back to Pollicoell [*sic*], thence to Ellamanchete,[124] thence to Pollicull, thence to Narsapore."

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118 Antaravêdipâlem, on the coast, about 16 miles north of Masulipatam.

119 Nagaram. See *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, II, 267n.

120 Muhammad Raza. See *infra*, diary of 29th December.

121 Pâlakollu, about seven miles from Madapollam (Madhavayapalem), where the Dutch obtained permission for a settlement in 1676.

122 Nicolaas Ruyzer, who became Chief of the Factory in 1682. See Valentyn *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*, V, 39.

123 Dirk Vonk, Chief, 1677–1699. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

124 Yelemanchiti, on the Godavari, about 3 miles S.E. of Pâlakollu.

On the 3rd January 1678 9 there is a note of John Field's return to Masulipatam[125] with, most probably, John Scattergood in his company. The next day the King came back to the town and went on a Dutch ship. He was visited by the English and expressed himself satisfied with his treatment during his stay. He then set out for Golconda and was accompanied for some distance by John Field.

On the 27th February 1678 9, at a Consultation held at Masulipatam,[125] the "settlement of employment of writers who have become factors" was debated, and Scattergood was appointed to be an assistant to Maurice Wynn, warehousekeeper.

In the following month, Streynsham Master, now Agent and Governor of Fort St. George, paid a second visit of inspection to the factory of Masulipatam and extended his journey to the surrounding district. On the 20th March he reached Nizâmpatnam (called by the English Pettipolee, from the neighbouring village of Peddapalle) in Guntûr District, where he was met by Messrs. Hatton, Wynn, Colborne and Scattergood.[126] He found the English factory house, which had been unoccupied since the death of Ambrose Salisbury in January 1675/6, in a ruinous condition, and in consequence any thought of reopening a factory there was abandoned. Master's tour lasted from the 11th March until the 2nd May 1679 and during this time he occupied himself principally with commercial measures rather than with reforms in the conduct of the factories, as had been the case in his previous visit.

In May 1679 John Scattergood was at Madapollam. On the 31st the accounts of that factory and Masulipatam were examined and passed, "and in order that the aforesaid books may be in more convenient time in a readyness to be sent to the Agent and Councell. It is ordered that the Books of Accounts belonging to Factory Madapollam be fairely transcribed by Mr. John Scattergood,"[125] who had now had an insight into every branch of the working of the factory.

Whether the prospect of prolonged stool work was distasteful to him, or whether he was disappointed in an advance of position consequent on the Agent's visit of inspection, Scattergood now desired a change of scene and occupation, and petitioned to be sent to Bengal. On the 26th June Streynsham Master wrote to Christopher Hatton : [127]

> "Wee have received a letter from Mr. John Scattergood wherein he desires to have leave to goe downe to the Bay to serve the Honble. Company there, to which we shall give answear when it pleases God to arrive the ships from England, by which we may receive some directions from the Honble. Company which may relate thereunto."

One of the reasons influencing Scattergood in his desire for a change was probably the knowledge that there was little chance of his succeeding to the chiefship of Masulipatam, for he learnt about this time, through a private source, that the establishment at that factory was to be reduced to three persons "and they to receive but meane allowances."[128]

At this time, too, he must have been contemplating marriage, but whether the bride was one of the three "woemen unmarryed" who came to Masulipatam in the ships sailing from England in January 1678 9, or whether she had been long in the country is at present an unsolved point. No entry of the marriage has been found, but the probability is that it occurred some time in 1679 or early in 1680. At any rate, it could not have happened later than November of the latter year.

125 *Factory Records, Masulipatam,* vol. II.

126 *Diaries of Streynsham Master,* ed. Temple, II, 136.

127 *Factory Records, Fort St. George,* vol. XVIII.

128 *O.C.* 4627.

The lady was Elizabeth Radcliffe, a near relation of the two free merchants mentioned above. Thomas Radcliffe, baptised at St. Mary's, Stratford-le-Bow on the 27th January 1630/1, was the eldest surviving son of "Ralffe Ratcliffe gent. and Elizabeth his wife," née Clark.[129] Peter Radcliffe, baptised 4th April 1641 at the same church, appears to have been the youngest of the family. He died in England, unmarried, in 1725, and on the 2nd June of that year his estate was administered by his niece and next of kin, Elizabeth Trenchfield, widow of Richard Trenchfield and previously widow of John Scattergood.[130]

As regards the parentage of Elizabeth Scattergood, née Radcliffe. Only three of the sons of Ralph and Elizabeth Radcliffe of Bow seem to have survived infancy. These were Thomas, Edward and Peter. The last, as we know, died unmarried, and as his administratrix is stated to have been his niece on his brother's side (*neptis ex fratre*), she must presumably have been the daughter of either Thomas or Edward. Thomas Radcliffe died in India in 1678 and his will[131] was proved in England on the 8th December 1679 by his brother Edward. In the will he mentions only two daughters, Mary and Susan. It therefore seems more probable that Elizabeth Scattergood was the daughter of Edward Radcliffe, and was one of the unmarried women who went to Masulipatam in 1679 where her two uncles were then residing. Edward Radcliffe administered the estate of his mother, who died a widow, in December 1670.[130] She was a resident of the parish of St. Olave's, Hart Street but was buried at All Hallows, Barking. Three of Edward's children were baptised at St. Olave's[132] but the name of Elizabeth does not appear among them. A search for the will of Edward Radcliffe has so far proved fruitless and at present there is no direct evidence that he was the father of John Scattergood's wife, though there is a good deal to be said in favour of this theory.

A holograph letter of John Scattergood, with his seal, written while he was awaiting an answer to his request to go to Bengal, has been preserved among the India Office Records.[133]

Metchlepatam, August primo 1679.

Mr. Wm. Ayloffe

Esteemed Freind.

I am heartily sorry at the news I hear of your Sickness, which I cannot Chuse but Condole with you, being fallen into the same Condition my selfe, having had a feavour and my Body much disordered these 2 dayes. I hope at the receipt of this you will bee amended, the wholsomness of the place you are in,[134] and the conveniency of the Doctor [John Heathfield] being with you, furthering your Cure, the want of both which here, added to the present sickly time, makes mee doubt my distemper will not soo [*sic*] soon quitt mee, though I strive against it all I can.

Pray Sir (if your health will permitt you) doe mee the kindness to procure my 3½ pagodas of Ramah,[135] soe long since promised, and the paintings [printed calicoes] which certainly must ere this bee done, but if you cannot look after it, desire Mr. Ramsden (to whom pray present my service) who knows where the Painters live.

Noe ships yet come, but expected every day. My service to your selfe Concludes these from, Sir,

Your freind and Servant,

JNO. SCATTERGOOD.

129 *Baptismal Registers* of St. Mary's, Stratford-le-Bow.

130 *P.C.C. Administration*.

131 *P.C.C.*, 116 *King*.

132 *Registers* of St. Olave's Hart Street.

133 *O.C.* 4638.

134 Madapollam, the health resort of the Company's servants at Masulipatam.

135 **Râmayya, a native merchant.**

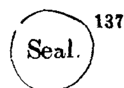
This day Mrs. Helloes setts forwards to come to Madam Mainwaring.

Pray when you see Mr. Chamberlaine[136] aske him whether hee received a lb: of Tobacco I sent him which by reason of his silence I know not whether hee has or not.

[Endorsed]

To. Mr. William Ayloffe,

Merchant In Madapollam.



[137]

Permission to try his fortune in Bengal must have reached Scattergood a few days after writing the above letter. On the 7th August 1679 Captain Nehemiah Earning, commander of the *George*, was ordered to receive on board, on account of Mr. John Scattergood, "Two Ellephants Teeth poiz [weight] 100 *li*." and "Eleven parcells of Gance[138] poiz 1000 *li*.,"[139] and to deliver the same to the owner on his arrival in Balasor Road.

The next mention of Scattergood occurs in the Bengal records[140] among a list of the Company's servants, where his name appears 13th in order and his position that of Second or "Accomptant" to the factory at Balasor which was subordinate to Hûglî, then the headquarters of the Company in "the Bay." According to the regulations made by Streynsham Master during his second inspection in Bengal, the allowance of the Second at a subordinate factory was Rs. 4 per month, with candles and "a lamp to every chamber" in the factory.[141]

It is uncertain when Scattergood arrived at Balasor. He did not begin his official work until the 14th January 1679/80[142] and one would like to think that the interval from August 1679 was spent in a leisurely journey with his bride and a round of visits to his friends. With his entrance into his new sphere of work began a round of daily duties, monotonous for the most part, but always pressing, with plenty of pin-pricks to counterbalance the dignity of a higher position. Balasor seemed to be the buffer on which the authorities at Hûglî poured out their vexation when things went awry, and there was very little peace for either John Byam, the Chief, or his Second. Indeed, the latter must often have wished himself back at Masulipatam, where at least there was a sanatorium within reach.

Very little of interest remains to be chronicled regarding the last two years of John Scattergood's life in India. His name appears at all Consultations held at Balasor from the 14th January 1679/80 until August 1681.[143] Thomas Bromley, his junior in standing,[144] also arrived on the 14th January 1679/80, having been appointed Third and Warehousekeeper, and both the new officials took up "there Charge according to there places."

Balasor Factory was at this time in an unsatisfactory condition. The business was "behindhand," occasioned by the "backwardness of their late Cheife," Richard Edwards, who had died on the 6th November 1679, and a "pare of Books and 2 Copies of Diary" for the last year remained to be "copied out." There was a shortage of horses and an application was made to Hûgli that, "in regard" three were allowed to the factory, two might

136 George Chamberlain, though no longer in the Company's service, was allowed to remain in India, ostensibly to enable him to discharge his debts to the Company.

137 This is the Scattergood armorial seal: Quarterly, 1st and 4th, gules 2 bars gemels between 3 dexter hands erect coupé at the wrist appaumé argent, for Scattergood; 2nd and 3rd, argent on a chevron azure 3 cinquefoils pierced of the 1st, for Westby of Mowbreck. A grant of arms by Sir William Dugdale was made to the writer's grandfather, John Scattergood of Ellaston (see *ante*, pp. 2, 6) in 1662. The Westby arms were those of his mother's family (*ante*, p. 6, n. 31).

138 Gance, ganza, Skt. *kaṇsa*, bell-metal; any mixed metal.

139 *Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol II.

140 *Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. II; *O.C.* 4697.

141 *O.C.* 4682.

142 *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. XXVIII.

143 *Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. I.

144 Thomas Bromley, a Christ's Hospital lad, was apprenticed to the Company in 1671 and became a factor in 1679.

be sent thence "to compleat our complement" or else that they might be permitted to "by a couple here."[145] An attempt was also made to detain Charles Cross, a young writer, to help with the arrears of clerical work, but this was not permitted.

Streynsham Master, who had visited the factory shortly before the death of Edwards, had left detailed instructions for keeping the books, and John Scattergood was evidently anxious that the Agent should have no cause of complaint. On the 10th April 1680 the following remark occurs in a letter from Balasor to Hugli :[145] "Wee hope your advices are on the way for the Rectifying those severall accounts specifyed in ours of the 23 past, soe that the same may bee adjusted before the closure of our Bookes." But in spite of his more responsible position, Scattergood's salary still remained at £20 per annum, the only addition being the allowances mentioned above.

In May 1680 a deputation, of which the "Accomptant" was a member, waited upon the newly appointed Nawâb of Orissa, when he and his *dîwân* were presented "as usuall." The gifts, wrote the factors at Balasor to Hûglî, were, "to all outward shew and appearance," "well exsepted of, though sence it hath appeared to the contrary, the Nabob [Nawâb] haveing returned to yards of fine green [cloth] and 3 wax figures and the Duans [Diwân's] Loocking Glas, 2 Swoords, 2 knives and a wax fegure, for all which they demanded brod Clouth, notwithstanding our Vuckeele [*vakîl*, agent] acquainted them that wee [*sic*? it] had alwayes been Costomary, yett thay would omitt of no deniall, soe that we weare ne[ce]ssitated to Comply with there desier, upon which the Nabob granted our perwanna,[146] and ordered the same should be immediately writ, which hope in a day [or two] to bee possessed of."[145] In spite of this promise, owing to the "roguery of his officers," the *parwâna* was not forthcoming before the Nawâb's departure from the neighbourhood of Balasor, and emissaries were deputed to follow him with "strick orders" not to return without the desired document.

There was much bickering between the English and Dutch at Balasor at this date, the heads of each factory striving to ingratiate themselves with the local authorities to the detriment of their rivals. It was doubtless for this reason that a messenger from the Court of Siam met with a favourable reception from the English in July 1680 and was supplied with money.[146]

Great pains had been taken to overtake the arrears of clerical work, and in September 1680 Byam and Scattergood were able to send up to Hûglî "Coppies of one pair of bookes well maid up in wax cloth."

About this time there was a serious dispute with the weavers in the neighbourhood of Balasor. They declined to accept "Ryalls of Eight" (Spanish dollars) instead of Rupees as an advance on the cloth they had contracted to provide, and much haggling ensued before an arrangement was made which satisfied all parties.[146]

In November 1680 Byam and Scattergood reported to Hûglî that their only helper, Thomas Bromley, had been dangerously ill and that his right hand was "soe benumed that hee hase now use thereof." They begged for assistance since, with "only two effective in the warehouse," it would be impossible "to gett through with this years investment," especially as it was so late before an agreement was concluded with the merchants. However, they promised to use their "utmost endeavours for the accomplishing what required"

145 *Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. VIII.

146 *Parwâna*, writing, official letter : in this case for liberty of trade within the Nawâb 's territory.

of them, and "after all," if they were "scanting [in] the performance," they hoped it would "bee imputed through want of such assistance as the business of this place Requiers."[147]

The predicament of the factors at Balasor met with little sympathy at Hûglî. Matthias Vincent, Chief for affairs in Bengal, either could not, or would not, send them assistance, and an attempt to retain the temporary services of William Rivett, a young writer, was frustrated by an order, dated 22nd October 1680, that he should be sent on to Hûglî "by the verey first oppertunity," "we wanting assistance more then you," and "we doe recommend the sorting, priseing and packing off the Companys goods with you to Mr. Byam and Mr. Scattergood, and whatever be left undone, to see that the goods are well sorted, duely prised and timely shipped of."[148] On the 4th November further directions as to the careful packing of goods were sent to the overworked factors at Balasor, and on the 11th December Vincent and his Council repeated their assertion with regard to Rivett's services. They added: "What business absolutely necessary . . . we question not but by one meanes or other, with some collaterall assistance you have there, you will be able to acquit yourselves well enough of for this shipping.[148]

In February 1681 complaints were sent from Hûgli of the non-arrival of copies of the Balasor "Register of Charges Generall this year, as ought to have been sent us, at which we wonder, since though Thomas Bromley was lame at the latter end of the year, he might have gott one ready by the end of May."[148] As a matter of fact, Bromley was of very little use, even when in good health, and the whole of the work of the factory fell on Byam and Scattergood. These two must have made a gallant effort to satisfy their superiors, for on the 4th June 1681 Vincent and his Council acknowledged the receipt of the Balasor books of accounts, but complained that the "perticulars of the Charges Generall" were not "summed up in columns at the end of the book as enordered, which in your other copies get done and let it be subscribed by the keeper thereof."[149]

It was no wonder that when, after so many months of strenuous work, John Scattergood was attacked by fever, he had little strength left to battle against illness. He signed a Consultation for the last time on the 3rd August 1681. A week later, Thomas Bromley, who had been sent to Balasor Road to bring up the Company's Packet from the ships just arrived from Europe, wrote: "I am heartily sorry Mr. Scattergood is soe bad and hope by this time he is Recovered."[150] Then comes the entry in the Balasor Diary of the 13th August: "Mr. John Scattergood after 11 days sickness of a Violent feavour, departed this life aboute 6 of the clock this morning and was buryed the same day in the Afternoon."[151]

In the Hûgli Diary of the 20th August, the event is thus chronicled:[152] "This night came a generall letter from Ballasore dated the 13th instant . . . in [it] . . . came the news of the Decease of John Scattergood the second there of a violent feaver the 13th currant early in the morning. God prepare our hearts for our expected change."

A copy of John Scattergood's will, dated 11 August 1681, two days before his death, is preserved at Somerset House.[153]

> In the name of God Amen. I John Scattergood of Ballasore Merchant being sick of body but in perfect memory thanks be given unto Allmighty God therefore doe make and declare this my last Will and Testament in manner and forme following.

147 *Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. VIII.

148 *Ibid.*, vol. VI.

149 *O.C.* 4757.

150 *O.C.* 4749, *Factory Records. Hugli*, vol. VI

151 *Factory Records, Balasor*, vol. I.

152 *Factory Records, Hugli*, vol III.

153 *P.C.C.*, 22 *Hare*.

That is to say first, I commend my soule unto Almighty God and my body to the earth to bee buried in decent and Christian manner at the discretion of my executors hereunder named.

And as touching my worldly estate wherewith God hath blessed me in this present world, I dispose thereof as followeth.

Imprimis. I give and bequeath to my deare and Loveing wife Elizabeth Scattergood after all debts and Legacies paid one Moyety of my Estate with all her jewells plate household necessaries and Slaves and the other Moyety of my Estate I give and bequeath to my only Sonn whome I desire may bee Baptized John[154] and that he bee left to the care and tuition of his Mother untill he comes to the age of four or five years when I desire hee may bee sent home to my friends in England.

Item. I give and bequeath to my Loveing Mother Catherine Scattergood[155] thirty pounds sterling with what money shall bee due to me from the Honble. the East India company upon account of my sallary payable in England, and in case of my Mother's decease I give the same to my loveing Father Roger Scattergood and to my Brothers and Sisters to be divided amongst them at the discretion of my Father.

Item. I doe order and appoint one hundred and forty Rupees to be paid unto Mr. John Evans Minister at Hugly[156] it being upon an accompt known to my wife.

Item. It is my desire if it please God to take me out of this world that my Executors build a tomb over mee[157] so that the cost thereof may not exceed Sixty Rupees.

Item. I doe hereby appoint and make my loveing freinds John Byam [158] and John Evans my Executors and overseers of this my last will and Testament and for their trust and care in the due performance of all things required of them I doe give and bequeath to each of them one hundred Rupees apeice.

Item. I doe declare that whereas I have given and bequeathed to my sonn whose name is to be John Scattergood the one halfe of my Estate it is to be understood that all debts and Legacies is first to be paid and that in case of my son his mortality before he come of full age then that such part of my Estate as properly belongs to him by virtue of this my last Will and Testament doe fall to my loveing wife Elizabeth Scattergood And I doe hereby declare this to be my last Will and Testament.

In Witnesse whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seale in Ballasore this Eleventh August in the yeare of our Lord one Thousand Six hundred and Eighty one.

Signed and sealed.

JOHN SCATTERGOOD.

154 From this it would appear that John Scattergood Junior was very young at the time of his father's death, but as there was no resident chaplain at Balasor, he may have been any age between a few days and several months.

155 See *ante*, p. 6 n.

156 John Evans, curate of Thistleworth (Isleworth), afterward Bishop of Bangor, elected chaplain for Bengal on the 2nd Nov. 1677. There are frequent references to him in the correspondence of John Scattergood Junior. His first wife was a sister of Richard Trenchfield, Mrs. John Scattergood's second husband.

157 There is no record of the carrying out of this clause of the will.

158 John Byam entered the Company's service in 1670 and died at Balasor in 1683. He was also brother-in-law to Richard Trenchfield.

Signed Sealed and published by the Testator to be his last will and Testament the day and yeare above written in the presence of.

NATH. HILL.[159]

JAMES HARDING.[159]

Ballasore thirty first January one Thousand Six hundred and Eighty one [1681/2].
A true copie of the Originalle.

Witnesse our hands.

JNO. SUTTON.

JNO. BROWNE.

The will was proved in England on the 15th February 1683/4, by Catherine Scattergood, widow, who had previously received from the Court of Committees the balance of her son's salary that was willed to her. The sum paid over to her was £ 31.13.11.[160] Roger Scattergood, the testator's father, predeceased his son by three months,[161] and Catherine Scattergood therefore administered the estate.

The conditions of life in the Company's factories in India in the 17th century were such as to make the remarriage of widows a very usual occurrence and almost a matter of course. It is therefore not surprising to find that within a short period after her husband's death, Mrs. John Scattergood (née Radcliffe) married Richard Trenchfield, a servant of the E. I. Co., who had been elected writer in October 1671,[162] and in 1682, was a member of the Council at Hûglî. No record has been found of this second marriage nor any note of the sending of the young John Scattergood to England in accordance with his father's wishes, though these were duly observed.

(To be continued.)

[159] James Harding is probably identical with the individual of that name who was elected writer in November 1671, suspended from his post in Bengal in 1678 and dismissed the service in 1679. He was ordered home to England, but refused to go and eventually died at Fort St. George. Of the other witnesses no record has been found. They were probably connected with the Company's shipping.

[160] Court Minutes, XXXIII, 200, 205, 209*a*.

[161] See *ante*, p. 1[illegible].

[162] Court Minutes, XXVII, 87.

APPENDIX XIII.

LIST OF OBJECTS MADE AND USED BY THE ANDAMANESE.[1]

[It is to be understood that, unless otherwise stated. the descriptions here given refer to the **bôjig-ngîji**-, (more especially the **âkà-bêa**-, *i.e.*, the South Andaman tribe) of Great Andaman, in whose territory the Indian penal colony is situated.]

1. **kârama**-. (Pl. B.) Bow of a flattened S-shaped form—the *upper* half concave and the *lower* convex[2]—, as made and used by the five **bôjig-ngîji**- tribes of Middle and South Andaman and the Archipelago (see Dictionary "Andamanese" and Pl. i, iv, vii, *etc.*). It is generally made of a hard wood called **chai**-, less frequently of the **badama**-, **yârla**-, **pôrud**- or **châdak**- (see App. XI). These bows vary in length from 4 to over 6 ft. ; for use in the jungle short bows are of course preferred.

In order to make a **kârama**- a stout branch, possessing the requisite serpentine form, of one of the five prescribed trees is selected and felled by means of an adze (item 15), which tool further suffices the bowyer to perform the work of shaping and rough-trimming to such an extent that the final planing can be executed with a boar's tusk (item 47), the edge of which has been sharpened by means of a *cyrena* shell (item 50). The craftsman then takes one of these shells and notches its edge in order to produce some jagged points, with which he proceeds to ornament the bow by making symmetrical lines of cross-incisions (**ig-yîtinga**-) or lozenge pattern (**jôbo-târ-tänga**-) along the edges and, if space permit, also the centre of the two blades and on the handle ; after which the surfaces are smeared with **kòiob**- (item 58), see Pl. B and Pl. x, fig. 2, and **tôbul--pîj**- (item 57). If intended for presentation, the bow is usually further decorated[3] with designs in **tâla-ôg**- (item 58), see Pl. B. and Pl. X, fig. 2.

In consequence of the extremities of the **kârama**- and **chōkio** (see item 1-b) being too slender to permit of nocks being provided for the bow-string by means of notches cut in the wood, the ridges or projections necessary for holding the two loops are constructed by neatly winding a sufficient quantity of twine at the two nocking places : the upper nock of the **kârama**- is about 1½ inch from the point, and the lower one about ½ an inch only ; hence the bow is strung and unstrung at the *latter* end, contrary to the practice with us. At the upper nock (or sometimes at both) in the midst of the winding knotted tags of twine, about two inches long, are introduced and secured ; these are *identification* marks indicating the owner.[4] Besides serving as nocks these twine loop-holders assist in strengthening the bow by lessening

1 More or less complete collections of the objects described in this catalogue have been contributed to various ethnographical Museums, *viz.* ; British Museum, Oxford and Cambridge Universities, Edinburgh (Science and Art), Halifax (Bankfield), Brighton, Calcutta, Berlin, Vienna, Leipsig, Florence, and Leyden (Netherlands).

2 In Mr. C. J. Longman's paper on "Forms of the bow, and their distribution" (Badminton Library, "Archery") he remarks in reference to the **kârama**- and **chōkio** (see item 1-b), "it is important to note that both the Oregon bow and the Andaman bow are reflex when unstrung, that is to say, they are drawn in the reverse direction to the curve which the bow assumes when unstrung." The "necessity to make the blade thin, and the only way to get the requisite strength" was, as he adds, "to broaden it."

3 As it is the common practice of the Andamanese to decorate their various utensils, weapons, *etc.*, the attention of enquirers is drawn to the fairly complete information and designs furnished on the subject in Vol. XII, pp. 370-73 of the Journ. of the Anthrop. Inst. (1883).

4 To secure this object, endeavour is made to mark each owner's bow or bows distinctly from all others by the character, position, or number of the tags and their knots.

APPENDIX XIII—*contd.*

the risk of it splitting. Before being brought into use the bow is seasoned by the simple process of suspending it in the smoke and heat of the hut-fire, which is kept burning night and day for this purpose for so long as is considered necessary. By way of decoration a piece of fine netting (**râb-**,item 42) is often finally attached at the upper nock.

The bow-string (**kârama-tät-**) is made of the bark of the *anodendron paniculatum* (**yôlba-**, item 64),[5] as described in pp. 383-84 of the Journ. Anthrop. Inst., Vol. XII (1883). Before the twisted fibre is ready for the bow it is strengthened with wax (**tôbul-pîj-**, item 57), and fine twine of the same fibre is closely wound round it from end to end. In order to string the bow, one of the loops is first placed on the *upper* nock, the bow is then reversed, the upper point being placed on the ground in such a position as to enable the bow-man to clutch the handle with the big and second toes of his left foot and hold the other end of the bow with his left hand, while the loose end of the string is held in his right hand; the bow is then slowly bent by pressing the left foot outwards and the left hand downwards until it is in a position in which it is possible to slip the second loop on to the lower nock. If found to be insufficiently taut the string is twisted before being finally nocked. The position of the nocking-point of the arrow is then ascertained and indicated by means of twine neatly wound round the string.

When a **kârama-** is not in use it is unstrung at the lower nock, and the loop is bound to the bow at that end with a strip of fibre or other material.

To unstring the bow it has of course to be bent in the same manner as when stringing it.

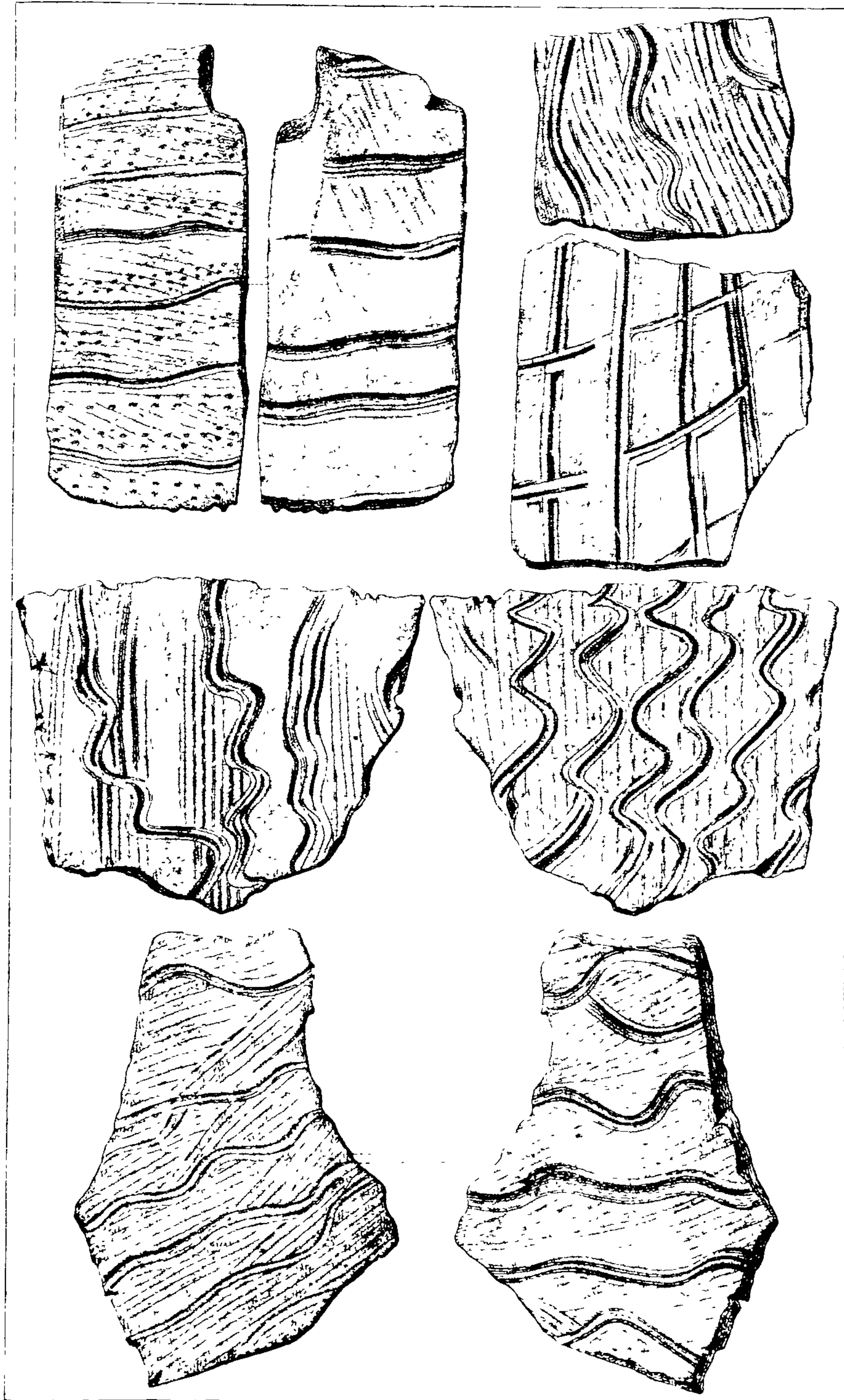
1-a. (Pl. B.) Children's bow. Among the coast-men (**âr-yōto-**) these are usually made of mangrove-wood (*rhizophora conjugata*), while the jungle-dwellers (**êrem-tâga-**) select the *trigonostemon longifolius* for this purpose.

1-b. chōkio. (Pl. B. and Pl. xii, fig. a.) The bow of the **yêrewa-** tribes, (see Dic., p. 24). As will be seen, the design somewhat resembles that of the **kârama-**, but in execution and symmetry its superiority is marked.[6] Unlike the **kârama-**, it is shaped out of a straight log of wood—the tree known as **badama-** being generally selected for the purpose—, is usually 5—5½ feet in length and its surfaces, which are well planed and polished, are never painted or ornamented in any way. Being lighter and more supple than the **kârama-**, its string is usually thinner, and it is superior in make and finish. As in the case of the **kârama-**, the nocks for the bow-string are constructed of twine; the upper nock is usually four or five inches from the point, and the lower nock about 2 inches from the other end, consequently, as with the **kârama-**, it is there that the bow is strung and unstrung. The operation of stringing this bow is performed at its *back*. After placing one of the loops of the string on the upper nock, the back of the bow is bent inversely, sufficiently to allow of the loop of the loose end being slipped on to the lower nock. Owing to the peculiar construction of this bow, the tension on the string, when strung at the back, is comparatively slight; it is therefore always kept in that position when at rest: when required for use, the string is carefully drawn round to the front, where its correct position from top to bottom in the centre of the two blades is determined. Identification twine tags, similar to those described in item 1 and footnote 4, are provided at one or both of the nocks of this bow. So long as the string remains serviceable it is not unstrung, as is the case with the **kârama-**. The seasoning of the **chōkio** before completion is accomplished in the same way as that described above of the **kârama-**. During this final operation the bow is kept strung in the reverse position with the convex blade lowermost.

[5] In the absence of this fibre that of the *gnetum edule* (**pîlita-**), which is less strong and durable, is substituted, or should even this not be available in an emergency, a strip of the bark of the *ficus laccifera* (**ràu-**) or of the *celtis cinnamonea* (**chōr-**) is made to serve the purpose of a bow-string.

[6] It is a pleasure to handle and use one of these light, graceful bows.

Plate A.



FRAGMENTS OF ANDAMANESE ORNAMENTED POTTERY

(From a Kitchen-midden in Port Blair Harbour

APPENDIX XIII—*contd.*

1-c. The **önge** (*i.e.*, Little Andaman) and **järawa-** (see Dict., p. 24) bows are straight and practically alike, and quite distinct from the **kârama-** and **chõkio,** resembling as they do in crude fashion the English pattern. Though the **önge** bow (see Pl. x, fig. 1) is shorter and handier than the ordinary **järawa-** weapon, small bows are also made and used by the latter. Both are said to be made of the wood of a tree known as **lôkoma-** (App. XI). That these savages of pigmy stature should find it necessary to make stout, heavy bows about 7 ft. long with corresponding large iron-headed arrows (see Pl. B.) is remarkable, and accounts for the erroneous belief which has been entertained by some observers that in making use of these stiff, unwieldy weapons a leg as well as both arms must be employed. No attempt at ornamenting their bows is made either by means of designs in paint or by incisions. As the extremities of all their bows are thick the nocks are formed in the usual way by notches cut in the wood. When identification marks are provided they are attached to the upper loop of the string.

2. **râta-** (Pl. B.) Common, blunt, wooden-headed arrow, used when practising at some inanimate (preferably spherical) object in motion; the shaft usually consists of a slender variety of bamboo (*bambusa nana*) called **rîdi-,** and the foreshaft is ordinarily made of the hard portion of the wood of the *areca,* or from the root of the *rhizophora conjugata* : it is then slightly pointed and the whole straightened by means of the teeth and fingers, after which it is hardened over or near a fire.

3. **tirlêd-** (in construc. **tirlêj-**). (Pl. B.) The ordinary wooden-headed fish-arrow : it differs from the **râta-** only in having its foreshaft sharply pointed. The coast-men of Little Andaman use arrows having four wooden prongs of different lengths (see Pl. x, fig. 1).

4. **tõlbôd-** (Pl. B. and E, figs. 4 and 7). This is practically a **râta-** to which an iron point (and often an iron barb) has been attached.[7] The sketches furnished in Pl. E represent the most common and efficient descriptions in general use. Barbed specimens have their string fastenings protected and rendered more durable by a coating of **kânga-tâ-bûj-** (item 62). Before iron was procurable the pointed end consisted of a fish-bone, preferably the serrate tail-spine of the sting-ray (item 53). The sketches 4 and 7 in Pl. E, also 7-a in Pl. D represent ancient fish-arrows thus pointed.

5. **êla-**. (Pl. B). Used for shooting pigs, large fish, etc.: it is about 3—3½ ft. in length; the foreshaft consists of a keen double-edged iron blade, at the base of which one, two or (rarely) three iron barbs (**ôt-châtmi-**) are fixed. These are firmly secured by whipping of strong twine—subsequently coated with **kânga-tâ-bûj-** (item 62)—to the end of a trimmed stick 4—6 inches long, the other end of which is made to fit into a socket (**âkà-chânga-**) provided for it in the shaft—made of the wood of the *tetranthera lancoefolia* (**ũj-**) ; the latter is attached to the foreshaft by a flattened plaited fibre thong (**pêta-**) about 8 inches long (made from the *anodendron paniculatum*) which, before the arrow can be used, has to be carefully wound round that portion of the shaft and foreshaft which is between the two ends of the **pêta-**, by twirling the foreshaft when fixing it into the socket (see Pl. B, items 1-a, 1-c, and 5). When making ready for use the nock of the arrow is so placed on the bow-string as to bring into line the blade and the barb (or two barbs, if such there be), as well as a seam provided in the whipping at the junction of the shaft and foreshaft. This combination serves as

7 The simple method of establishing the ownership of bows, described in item 1 and footnote 4. is employed also in regard to those **bôjig-ngîji-** and **yêrewa-** arrows of this class which have *no* barbs—those that are barbed have their twine-whippings covered with **kânga-tâ-bûj,** thereby rendering impossible the display of identification marks. As the önge and **järawa-** tribes do not apply wax to the whippings of their iron-headed arrows, whether these be barbed or not, all alike exhibit their tokens of ownership. An incident is recalled by the writer which led to the detection by this means of a man who had killed an escaped convict with a **tõlbôd-** arrow.

APPENDIX XIII—*contd.*

a "sight" in taking aim. When an animal is struck the arrow-head is retained in the flesh by the barbs, and as, owing to its struggles and efforts to escape, the foreshaft soon slips out of its socket, the trailing shaft speedily becomes entangled in the brushwood with the result that the victim is promptly captured. The **järawa** pig-arrow shown in Pl. B, being about 4½ ft. long, is used by that community only with their huge bows (item 1-c). [For further particulars, see pp. 360—1, of Vol. XII, Journ. Anthrop. Inst. (1883).]

6. **êla-l'âkà-lûpa-**. (Pl. E 6.) This, as indicated by its name, is merely a *plain* pig-arrow. As the bladed head and barbs are fixed to the end of the shaft, which is of bamboo, there is necessarily no whipping except where these are attached, and that is covered with **kânga-tâ-bûj-** (item 62); hence no seam is available as a "sight." This slight difficulty is met by so fixing the arrow to the bow-string as to have in line, when taking aim, the blade and one or other of the barbs. Owing to its simple design this arrow is less effective than the **êla-** in hunting pigs, *etc.*, but is quite capable of serving its purpose and—which is a consideration—it is more readily constructed.[8]

7. **tōlbôd-l'ârtâm-**. (Pl. E, items 4, and 7, and Pl. D, item 7-a). Ancient description of fish-arrow; its head and barb (when any) generally consisted of the pointed end of the serrate tail-spine of the sting-ray (item 53).

7-a. **êla-l'ârtâm-**. (Pl. D, fig. 7-a.) Ancient form of pig-arrow. The shell selected for providing the bladed head is said to have been the *perna ephippium.*

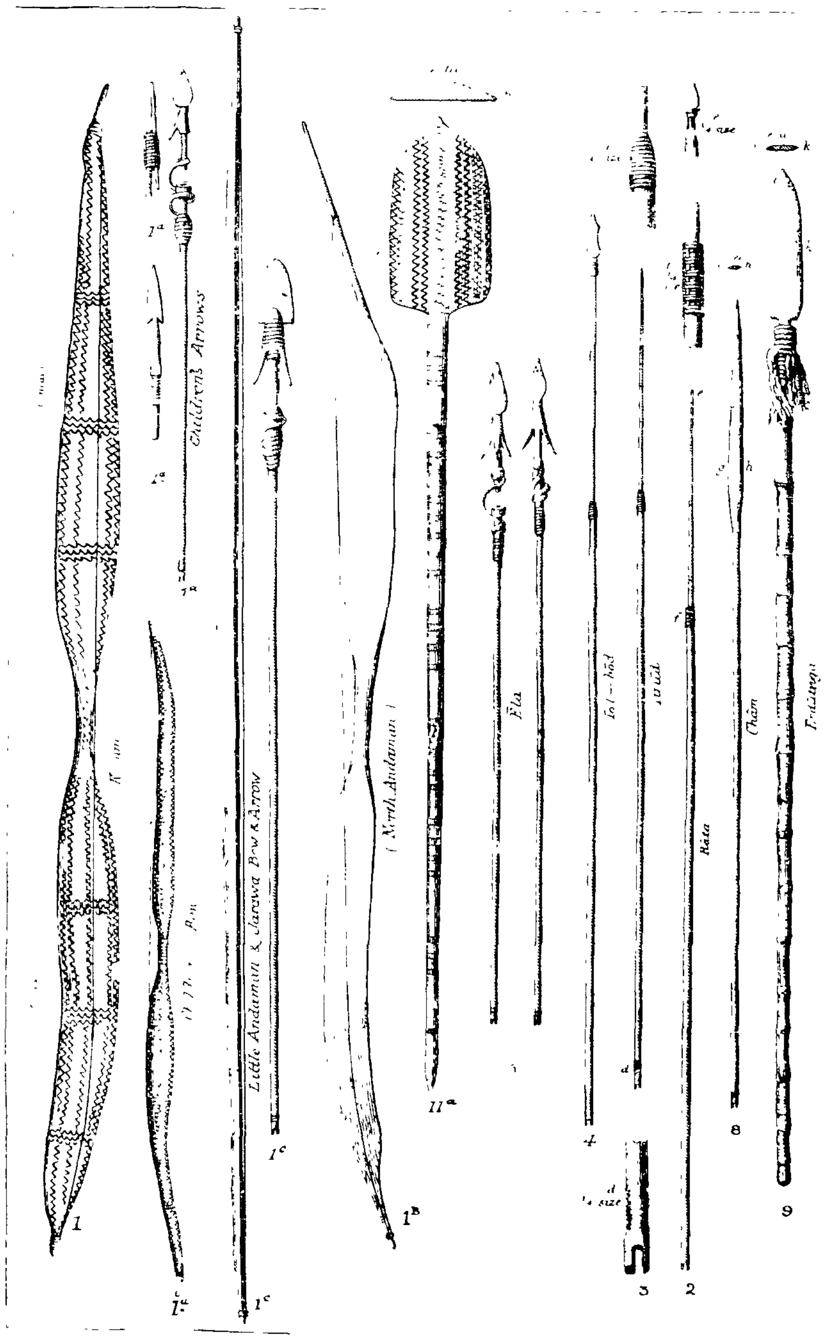
8. **châm-pâligma-**. (Pl. B, item 8.) Plain wooden arrow about 3½ ft. long, made of the wood of the *areca laxa.* It is said that, before iron was procurable, these were shaped and used like the **tirlêd-** and **êla-l'âkà-lûpa-** arrows of modern times. Those made now-a-days, as also items 7, and 7-a, are merely intended as toys or souvenirs.

9. **êr-dûtnga-** (or **gala'n**). (Pl. B.) Pig-spear 6 or 7 ft. long, usually employed in despatching a wounded animal; the shaft consists either of a piece of bamboo or ground rattan, (*calamus sp.*) and a large double-edged blade, firmly secured, forms the head. This weapon has been made and used to a very limited extent, and only among the **bôjig-ngîji-** who find the **kârama-** and **êla-** more handy and efficient.

10. **kowaia-l'ōko-dûtnga-** (Pl. C.) Harpoon for turtles and large fish: the stock or shaft consists of a bamboo (male sp. preferred) about 18 feet long; at the thin end, for the reception of the head, a socket (**âkà-chânga-**) is provided, which is strengthened by pieces of mangrove wood, over which strips of cane are neatly fastened. The pointed iron head (**kowaia-**) is barbed and provided with a wooden stump at its base for fixing into the socket. A long stout line (**bêtmo-**), made of the fibre of the *melochia velutina* (see item 66), is attached at one end to the base of the iron head and at the other end to the cross-sticks about 10 inches long (**kûtegbo-**, see item 67 and Pl. C, 10-c). When a turtle, skate or other large fish is harpooned the long bamboo-shaft becomes almost immediately detached, and floats till it is recovered later. In the case of a turtle the harpooner will generally jump into the water holding the harpoon, with which he pierces his victim, which he then seizes until his friends with the aid of the line bring up the canoe, when they all proceed to take hold of the captive and lift it into the canoe. Even if the turtle is harpooned from the canoe one or more of the men will jump into the sea to seize it, lest in its struggles to escape it should succeed in releasing itself

[8] In respect to items 2—6 it should be noted that it is customary among the **bôjig-ngîji-** and **yêrewa-** to make incisions round the nock end of these arrows in order to lessen the risk of the arrow being prematurely discharged: the önge and järawa- substitute twine wound round the arrow just above the nock for this purpose.

Plate B.



ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

APPENDIX XIII—*contd.*

from the weapon. [For further particulars, see p. 365, of Vol. XII, Journ. Anthrop. Inst. (1883).]

The natives of Little Andaman (**önge**) are inexpert canoeists, and do not make or use harpoons. The only weapon they possess of the nature of a fish-spear is very similar to the description formerly used by the **yêrewa**- coast-men, a sketch of which will be found in p. 357 of the Journal just quoted. This weapon when in use is held by its pointed end, being complete in itself.[9]

11. rôko-. (Pl. vii, fig. a and Pl. D.) Generic name for a canoe of any type. All alike are made from the trunks of *sterculia* trees, the only tool employed being an adze (item 15). Owing to the facility with which now-a-days they can obtain iron, large " dug-outs, " capable of accommodating twenty to forty persons and requiring no out-rigger, have been constructed. They are styled **gîlyanga**-. The smaller description, with out-rigger attachment and of remote origin, is known as **chârigma**-. A specimen of each kind is shewn in Pl. vii, fig. a. It is a common practice to refer to a canoe by the name of the tree from which it is made *e.g.*, **bâja**-; **maiî**-; **yêre**-; **kōkan**-, see App. XI : its surfaces are usually smeared with **kòiob**- pigment (item 60) or decorated, as shewn in Pl. D. The **chârigma**-, according to size, can accommodate only from two to, say, eight adults. The chief excellence of both descriptions of canoes is that they cannot sink, owing to the nature of the wood selected. When, as sometimes happens, they capsize or are filled by a heavy sea, their occupants skilfully contrive to right them and bale out the water while clinging to the sides.

Canoe-making is carried on generally during the three months, August—October, and the average time taken by, say, eight men in constructing an ordinary **chârigma**- would be from two to three months. After selecting and felling a *sterculia* tree of the desired dimensions the bark is removed and the external formation determined, special care being bestowed on the important large projecting prow (**ôt-mûgu**-) as well as the steersman's seat at the stern. When these have been roughly modelled and the interior scooped out the whole work is carefully trimmed and finished off.

The canoes made by the natives of Little Andaman are small and inferior (see Pl. vi).

11-a. wāligma-. (Pl. B.) Paddle, made generally from the wood of the *myristica longifolia*. They vary in size according to the will of the maker or the material at his disposal. Small and large are used indiscriminately in canoes of all sizes. When ornamented, as shewn in Pl. B, this work is done by women using the pigment **tâla-ôg**-, described in item 58, or **kânga-tâ-bûj**- (item 62).

12. yōto-têpinga-. (Pl. D.) Turtle-net made by coast-men of a stout cord (**bêtmo**-), the same as already mentioned in item 10. Its average dimensions are about 80 ft. × 15 ft., and its meshes of a size-regulated by means of the **kûtegbo**- (see item 67 and Pl. C, 10-c)—calculated to prevent the escape of a turtle or large fish. When required for use, the lower edge of the net is weighted with stones and laid across the mouth of a creek or narrow channel, while the upper edge is kept near the surface throughout its length by means of pieces of the wood of the *melochia velutina*, (called **t'âlag**-) which float ; to each of these is attached a tuft of cane leaves. By means of the bamboo shafts of their harpoons, with which they lash the water, fish and turtle are driven towards the net and the exact spot where they may be attempting to escape is soon indicated by the disturbance of one of the **t'âlag**- with its tuft of leaves, when of course speedy action is taken by those on the watch.

[9] A specimen of a **järawa**- wooden spear of this description has lately been added to the Andaman exhibits in the Brighton Ethnographic Museum.

APPENDIX XIII—*contd.*

13. **dâkar-**. (Pl. C.) Bucket made generally of the wood of the *sterculia villosa* by scooping with a **wôlo-** (item 15), the blade of which is detached from its ordinary handle and fixed to a straight piece of wood, thereby converting it into a sort of chisel, as only by such means could a task of this nature be accomplished. As shewn in the illustration, a split rattan band round the middle of the bucket is provided ; it serves the double purpose of strengthening the vessel and providing means of attaching not only the split cane-loop needed for carrying it when on a journey, but also the shell-ornaments with which it is usually decorated Red wax pigment (item 62) designs are also added by some female artist to render the work complete. Should a crack be discovered inside the bucket melted *sterculia* resin is poured over it so as to render the vessel water-tight. See item 81.

The Little Andaman and **järawa-** buckets are usually much larger and superior ; they are, moreover, neatly ornamented and protected round the outer surface with strips of split cane evenly laid and secured along the rim with neat plaiting.

14. **ōdo-**. (Pl. C.) *Nautilus pompilius* ; is used as a drinking-cup, also for bathing a child, *etc.* Its outer surface is generally decorated with a lozenge pattern or vandyke with scolloped bands and cross lines which are executed with **tâla-ôg-** or **kânga-tâ-bûj-** (items 58 and 62. See footnote 3).

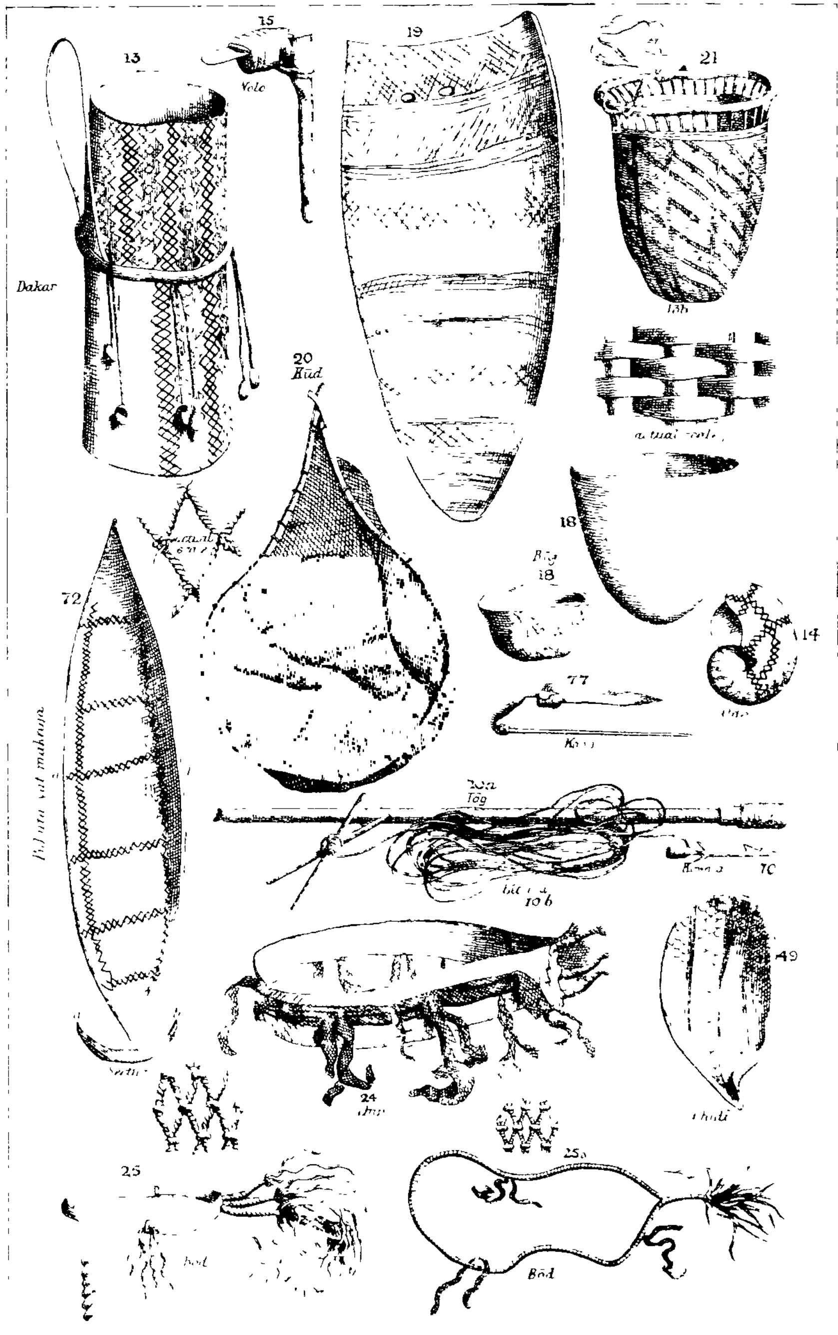
15. **wôlo-**. (Pl. C.) Adze ; this tool is used, not only in making canoes, buckets, bows, paddles, etc., but in excavating. as in grave digging ; for the latter purpose an old blunt-edged specimen would of course be employed. The handle consists of an **L**-shaped piece of mangrove-wood (*rhizophora conjugata*), and the blade—made from some such piece of iron as the keel-plate of a boat—, which is $1\frac{1}{2}$ -$2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide and a few inches in length with a suitably curved edge, is firmly attached to the base of the handle with wedges of wood, *etc.* by means of split cane. In former times *pinna* and such-like shells are said to have been used for adze-blades. That stone celts were ever so employed is denied by all who have been questioned on the subject.

16. **lâkà-**. (Pl. E.) Hoe ; a long stout stick cut from the *memecylon varians* or *rhizophora conjugata*, and pointed, so as to serve for digging up yams and other edible roots : in this practice they resemble the Australian aborigines. (E.B. Tylor's "Anthropology," p. 216.)

17. **tōg-ngâtanga-**. (Pl. E.) Bamboo hook for gathering fruit, *etc.*, which is out of reach. This consists of a piece of *bambusa nana* 12 or 15 feet long, to which a short piece of bamboo is so fastened by a strip of cane or cord as to form a hook suitable for gathering fruit,—especially the jack-fruit (*artocarpus chaplasha*). The only other object of the nature of a hook known to be made and used by the Andamanese is the **kâta-ngâtanga-** (item 84).

18. **bûj-**. (Pl. A and C.) Cooking-pot ; the art of pottery is of remote origin among them as testified by the contents of their kitchen-middens, which were first examined by a competent authority (Dr. F. Stoliczka) in 1869. The manufacture is not restricted to members of either sex, but is confined to certain localities where only is found suitable clay (**bûj-pâ-**). Being entirely ignorant of anything of the nature of a potter's wheel, the method adopted is similar to that employed by the Kaffirs, and the shape of the vessel is dependent on the skill and correctness of eye of the maker. The only implements employed are a short pointed stick, an *arca* shell (of the variety called **pōrma-**) and a board, which is generally one or other of the two **pûkuta-** (items 19 and 72). The process is as follows :—the clay is first freed from any stones that may be in it, then moistened with water and kneaded until of a proper consistency; after which it is divided into several equal-sized portions which are rolled

Plate C.



ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

APPENDIX XIII—*contd.*

into lengths on the board with the fingers and palms of both hands until they form strips about 15 inches long and half an inch thick ; the potter then curls one of the strips into a cup-like shape to form the base of the vessel, which he next proceeds to build up with roll upon roll, taking care the while so to manipulate the moist clay as to ensure the walls of the vessel being of uniform thickness, each roll is added where the previous one ended, until the intended size has been attained ; the potter then proceeds to smooth over both the inner and outer surfaces with the edge of an *arca* shell, carefully removing any fragments of stone that had previously escaped his notice ; the serrated edge of the shell imparts an appearance of finish, while some fancy design (see Pl. A), traced within and without by means of the pointed stick, further embellishes it. After this there remains the process of drying and firing, which is first carried out by placing the vessel in front of a fire or in the sun, and afterwards filling and surrounding it with faggots of burning wood. When needed for a journey medium-sized pots are fitted with light wicker frames (**bûj-râmata-**) which afford protection from injury and render them more portable. The average capacity of a pot is 9—10 pints ; larger sizes are made, but are usually kept at permanent encampments only ; small pots are also made for the manufacture and storage of the pigment **kânga-tâ-bûj-** (item 62).

The **yêrewa-** and **önge-järawa-** pots differ from those of the **bôjig-ngîji-**, above described, in that they have a more conical or less-rounded base.

19. pûkuta-yemnga-. (Pl. C.) Sounding-board, used for marking time during a dance. When first seen they were naturally mistaken for *shields.* They are scooped out of the fallen trunks of the *pterocarpus dalbergioides* (**châlanga-**), the wood of which is very hard. They are of uniform shape and vary only in dimensions, a large one being 5 ft. × 2 ft. When in use the convex side is of course uppermost : first, the pointed end is pressed into the ground, after which a stone or other support is placed under the board in order to keep the broad end sufficiently raised ; the performer at the same time places his left foot on the lower end : he then inserts a pointed arrow through one of the holes provided near the middle of the broad edge of the board, pressing it into the ground. To the nock of this arrow has previously been attached a line 3 to 4 feet long, the other end of which is similarly fastened to another pointed arrow, which the performer holds erect and stuck in the ground near his right side. By this means not only is the board kept in the desired position while the man is marking time for the dancers, by thumping on it with the sole of his right foot, but he is also assisted in preserving his equilibrium. This is made clearer by reference to Pl. V.

20. kûd-. (Pl. C.) Hand fishing-net made with the prepared fibre of the *gnetum edule* (item 65) by women and girls, who by its means catch quantities of small fish and prawns both in streams and among rocks at low-tide. It is about the size of an ordinary butterfly-net ; the frame is made of the stem of a creeper (*uvaria micrantha*), the ends of which are bound together to form a handle. The seeds of a plant, a species of *lagerstroemia*, are sometimes crushed and thrown into creeks frequented by fish and prawns, as it has the effect of driving them from their hiding-places and leads to their easy capture in these nets, which are held in position for the purpose.

21. jôb-. (Pl. C. & E.) Basket : these, varying in size and shape, are made throughout the islands, and mostly by the women, for the purpose of carrying food and various other articles. For mode of construction, *etc.*, see Journal Anthrop. Inst., Vol. XII, p. 382-3. The **yêrewa-** baskets are superior in finish and have not such large mouths as those of the **bôjig-ngîji-**.[10]

10 A brush suitable for painting the designs on these and other objects is obtained from a drupe of the fruit of the *pandanus andamanensium*, the pulp being first extracted by means of a *cyrena* shell.

APPENDIX XIII—*contd.*

21-a. (Pl. E.) **järawa-** baskets differ in having a somewhat pointed base.

22. **châpanga-.** (Pl. D.) Reticule, made and used by women for carrying small articles in frequent use; the fibre of which the net-work is made is that of the *anodendron paniculatum* (item 64) or, in its absence, the less valued fibre of the *gnetum edule.* See p. 385 of Vol. XII of Journ. Anthrop. Inst., 1883.

23. **pärepa-.** (Pl. E.) Sleeping-mat, made by women of neat strips of a species of *calamus* fastened securely, as shewn in the sketch, by means of string made from the fibre of the *gnetum edule* (item 65); when in use the rolled-up portion of these mats, which are generally 15—20 ft. long, serves as a pillow.

23-a. **järawa-** sleeping-mats, as will be noted, differ in being ornamented with red stripes and in being of short length (about 5—6 feet) which is explained by their using wooden pillows.

24. **chîp-.** (Pl. C.) Baby-sling—sometimes ornamented with **râb-** (item 42)—made by women from the bark of the *melochia velutina* (item 66). It is worn like a sash from the right shoulder to the left hip, generally by women, but sometimes by men, when carrying infants (see Pl. xiii, fig. b). When on a journey, for better security, women are in the habit of placing round their necks a string, the ends of which are attached to the wrists of the child in the **chîp-**. When unornamented these slings are called **chîp-lûpa-**, when decorated with netting, **chîp-râb-**, and when with shells **chîp-yâmnga-**.

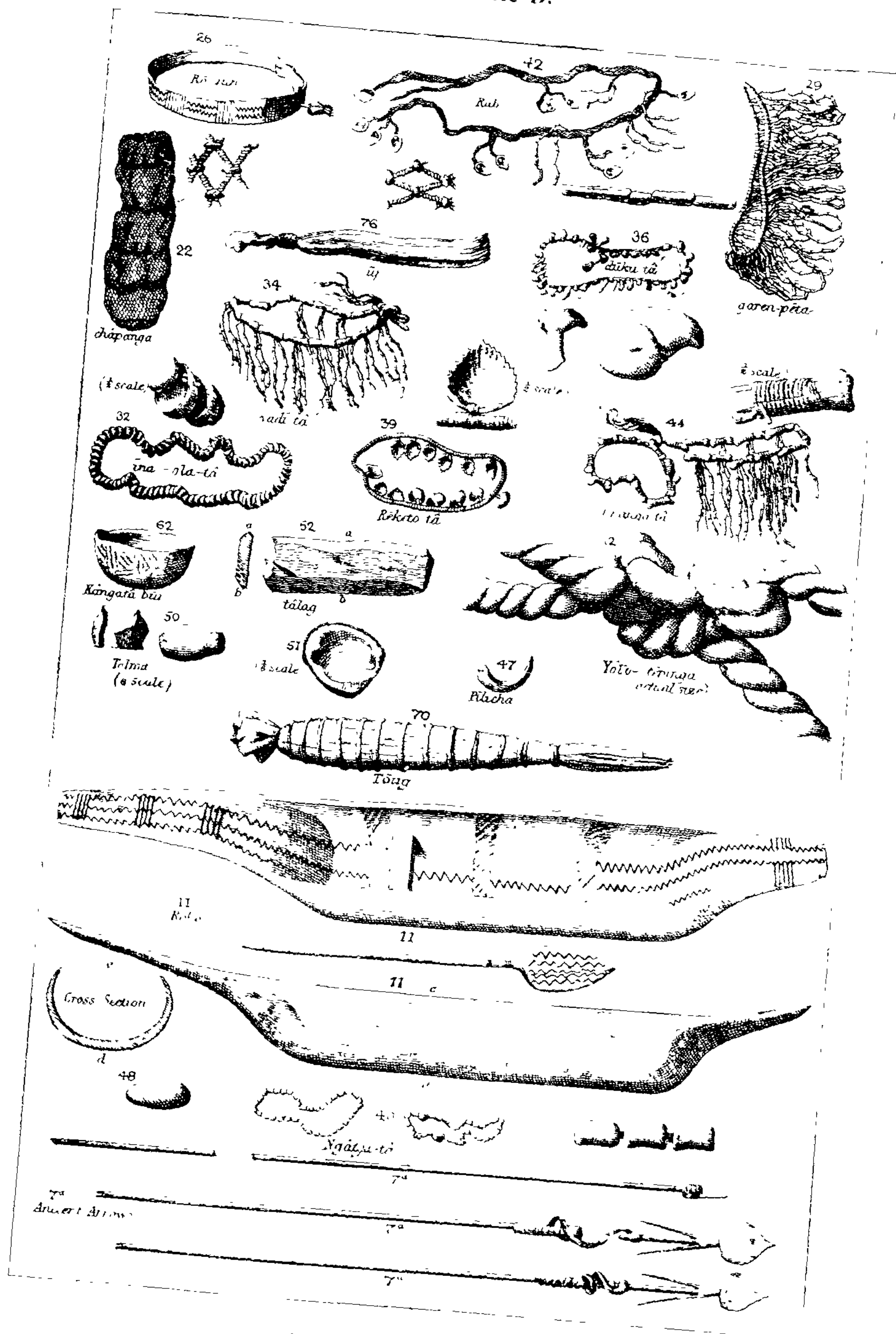
The following objects (items 25—43 inclusive) and the **ôbunga-** (item 79), which will be described later, represent the articles worn by them either from motives of modesty or for personal adornment. Those among them which are made entirely, or for the most part, of the leaf of the screw-pine (*pandanus andamanensis*) are classed as **bâtnga-**, and those which are chiefly constructed of shells, pieces of cane, wood, coral, animal-bones, *etc.*, are styled **mârnga-** (see Dic. " make " 12 and 13). The fibre employed in the manufacture of this and other personal ornaments needing such material is that of the *anodendron panicalatum* (item 64).

25. **bôd-.** (Pl. C.) Waist-belt composed of the young leaves of the screw-pine (*pandanus andamanensium*), made and worn by women of the **bôjig-ngîji-** and **yêrewa-** tribes (see Pl. vii, xii and xiii); the peculiar posterior appendages of split crinkled leafy material are prepared from leaves of the same plant by means of a *cyrena* shell. As it is not unusual for a woman to wear two, or even as many as five, of these belts at the same time this singular, but essential attachment sometimes assumes bulky proportions, bordering on the grotesque (see Pl. iv; x, fig. 3, and xii) The **önge** women (Little Andaman) are content with their peculiar pubic "apron", described in item 79, (see Pl. vi and xi, fig. c), while the **järawa-** females seem habitually to wear nothing of this nature.

25-a. **bôd-.** (Pl. C.) Waist-belts (with small appendage) of the same material, but of a different construction are worn by the men and youths of the same tribes. When fishing or hunting they often make use of them as a quiver, placing the arrows behind in such a position as to be readily seized and brought into use when required. Corresponding belts, without appendages, are common among the men at Little Andaman (see Pl. iv, vi, x, xi, xii and xiii).

26. **rôgun-.** (Pl. D.) Waist-belt made of the young leaves of the screw pine, and worn —often two or more at the same time—by married women only (see Pl. vii, fig. b; xi, fig. a; xii, fig. a).

Plate D.



ANDAMANESE OBJECTS.

APPENDIX XIII—*contd.*

27. **tâ-chōnga-**. (Pl. E.) Garters worn occasionally by adults and youths, especially at and after an entertainment, when they are generally freshly made and decorated : in construction they resemble the male **bôd-**. They are worn just below the knee-cap with the tuft *in front*, as less likely to inconvenience the wearer (Pl. viii and xiii, b). A plain untufted **tâ-chōnga-** is commonly worn below the knee by men and women (see Pl. vii, x, xi and xii).

28. **tōgo-chōnga-**. (Pl. E.) Wristlets very similar to the last-named, or without the tuft, are worn occasionally by adults and youths (Pl. vii, b and xii, a).

29. **âr-êtainga-garen-pêta-**. (Pl. D and Pl. x, figs. 2 and 3, xii and xiii.) Ornamental waist-belt worn occasionally by both sexes [*lit.*, waist-belt (fringed with) strung *dentalium octogonum* shells] : the tubular formation of these shells renders them very suitable for this and other decorative purposes to which they are extensively applied by the Andamanese.

29-a. **âr-êtainga-garen-râb-**. Ornamental waist-belt similar to the last with the addition of fine netting (see item 42).

30. }
30-a. } **bêria-järawa-**. (Pl. E.) **järawa-** fibre armlets, necklets, and waist-belts.
30-b. }

31. **iji-gônga-**. (Pl. E.) Plain chaplet of pandanus leaf worn occasionally by young men and women.

31-a. **iji-gônga-garen-pêta-**. (Pl. E.) Similar chaplet ornamented with *dentalium octogonum* shells.

The following objects are used as necklets, chaplets, or armlets :—

32.	**îna-ōla-tâ-**.	(Pl. D.)	Made of fresh-water shells.
32-a.	**ōla-tâ-**.		,, ,, *cerithium* shells.
33.	**pêr-tâ-**.		,, ,, pieces of cane, or wood.
34.	**yâdi-tâ-**.	(Pl. D.)	,, ,, turtle bones.
34-a.	**tegbûl-tâ-**.		,, ,, dugong bones.
35.	**baian-tâ-**.		,, ,, *paradoxurus* bones.
36.	**dûku-tâ-**.	(Pl. D.)	,, ,, *iguana* bones.
37.	**bêwa-tâ-**.		,, ,, pieces of coral.
38.	**râta-ōla-tâ-**,	(Pl. D.)	,, ,, small sea-shells.
39.	**rêketo-tâ-**.		,, ,, *hemicardium unedo* shells.
40.	**ñgâtya-tâ-**. and **jûmu-tâ-**.	(Pl. D.)	,, ,, mangrove seed tops.
41.	**garen-l'en-pîj-**.		,, ,, *dentalium octogonum* and infants' hair.

[For a detailed description of these objects as well as of items 44, 45, and 46, see a paper by Dr. Allen Thompson, F.R.S., in Journ. Royal Anthrop. Inst., Vol. XI, p. 295 (1882).]

42. **râb-**. (Pl. D.) Fine netting—made of **yôlba-** fibre (item 64)—plain or ornamented with shells, worn occasionally by both sexes as necklaces, armlets, *etc.* Baby-slings (item 24), bows, pig-spears, etc. are sometimes decorated with pieces of this netting.

43. **râ-**. Ornamental cord made by men from the yellow skin of the stem of the *dendrobium secundum,* and worn round the waist intertwined sometimes with fibres of the *melochia velutina* (item 66) ; it is also occasionally interlaced with fibres of the *anodendron paniculatum* (item 64) in order to improve the appearance of their various implements and personal ornaments.

44. **chàuga-tâ-**. (Pl. D.) Cincture of human bones. As stated by Dr. A. Thomson in his paper above cited, the bones usually selected are "metacarpals, metatarsals, and digitals," among which the most favored are "the first finger joints" or "proximal phalanges":

APPENDIX XIII—*contd.*

pieces of rib, small vertebrae and even loose teeth, obtained from a human skull or jaw-bone, are similarly utilized. These are worn—generally adorned with *dentalium octogonum* shells and smeared with **kòiob-** (item 60)—either as charms against pain or sickness, or *in memoriam* of a deceased husband, wife, or other near relative. In the former case any mysterious internal pains being ascribed to the malign influence of evil spirits, these charms are regarded as indispensable, and one or two are tied round the limb or body over the seat of pain, while another **chàuga-tâ-** is worn as a chaplet. Other remedies in cases of sickness are scarification (item 50), certain leaves and saps credited with curative properties (items 78-b, and c), black wax (**tôbul-pîj-**, item 57) and olive coloured clay (**chûlnga-**, item 63). See Journ. R. A. Inst., Vol. XII, pp. 84-8.

45. chàuga-l'ôt-chêta-. (Pl. E and Pl. x, fig. 3.) Human skull, generally adorned with **râb-** (item 42) and shell tubes of *dentalium*. This is worn by a loop round the neck, as shewn in Pl. x, as a memento of a near relative for some months after the exhumation and cleansing of the bones of the deceased. Unlike the **chàuga-tâ-**, this practice is observed merely as a token of love or esteem and not in the belief that any hygienic benefit is conferred on the wearer. The opinion expressed by an early writer that they resemble certain Australian tribes in making use of these skulls as drinking vessels or for holding small objects has long been found to be erroneous.

46. chàuga-l'âkà-êkib-, (Pl. E.) Human jaw-bone. This is decorated and worn in the same manner and with the same object as the last item. Sometimes the mourner will carry both these objects simultaneously. In process of time both are passed on to other relatives for the same purpose.

47. pîlicha-. (Pl. D.) Boar's tusk, used by the **bôjig-ngîji-** and **yêrewa-** men for planing bows, paddles, *etc.*: as in *their* hands it answers this purpose satisfactorily it is much valued; when required for use the inner edge is sharpened with a *cyrena* shell (see item 51).

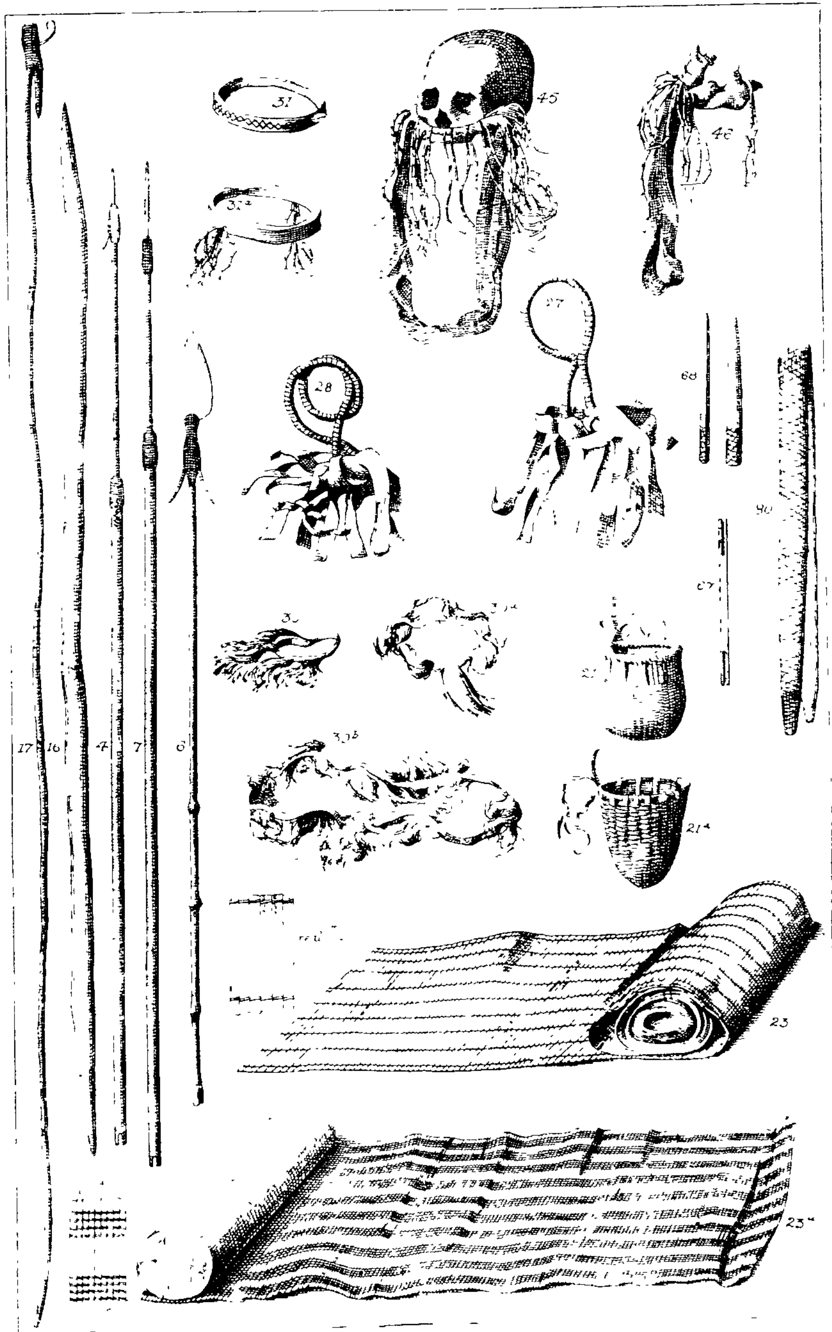
48. taili-bana-. (Pl. D.) Stone hammer, generally a smooth round piece of dolerite or fine grained basalt, which men now use chiefly in beating out iron for arrow-heads, *etc.* and the women when making bone-necklaces.

48-a. rârap-. Anvil: a heavy, flat, suitably shaped stone is selected for the purpose.

49. chîdi-. (Pl. C.) *Pinna* shell, used as a plate for food or as a palette for pigments (see items 58—61). It is said that before iron was procurable or its uses appreciated these shells were utilized in the manufacture of adze-blades and possibly also arrow-heads.

50. tõlma-l'õko-tûg- and **bîjma-l'õko-tûg-.** (Pl. D.) Quartz and glass chips and flakes respectively: they are used, by women only, for the purposes of shaving and scarifying, and by both sexes for tattooing. These flakes and chips are rarely used more than once: those having a sharp blade-like edge are reserved for shaving, while those with a fine point are used for tattooing and scarifying; when they have served their purpose they are thrown on a refuse-heap (kitchen midden), or otherwise disposed of, lest injury should befall any person by inadvertently treading on one. The art of flaking is regarded as one of the duties of women: two pieces of white quartz are required for the production of chips and flakes, one of which is first heated and afterwards allowed to cool; it is then held firmly in one hand and struck at right angles with the other piece: in the case of glass being used the thick bottom of a bottle is similarly treated; by this means in a few minutes a number of fragments are obtained suitable for the purposes above mentioned. A certain knack is necessary in order to produce the kind of flake or chip which may at the time be required. The tattooer operates only on members of his (or her) own sex, and usually first selects the abdomen for the purpose.

Plate E.



ANDAMANESE OBJECTS

APPENDIX XIII—*contd.*

The custom of tattooing is not found among the **önge-järawa-**. The art of producing fire by means of stones or any other of the recognised primitive methods has never apparently—or at least not from remote times—been known to these Islanders, who consequently exercise much care and ingenuity in maintaining their hut fires.[11] For further particulars regarding the use of chips and flakes, see Journ. R. Anthrop. Inst., Vol. XII, pp. 85-7, 331-2, and 335.

51. ûta-. (Pl. D.) *Cyrena* shell. Great use is made of this and of other varieties of shells of this class, *viz.*, as knives for cutting thatching leaves, leaf wrappers and screens; for making the ornamental incisions on bows, paddles, *etc.*; for planing purposes; for sharpening the boar's tusk (item 47) and bamboo and cane knives (items 68 and 69); in the manufacture of arrows; for making netting needles (item 67), bamboo tongs (item 80); also the **âra-** (item 73); and **âra-tig-jêralinga-** (item 85), **ûj-** (item 76), besides mats (item 23) and various articles of personal attire and adornment (items 24—31); for preparing the fibres obtained from the *anodendron paniculatum, gnetum edule* and *melochia velutina* (items 64, 65 and 66): they are also used as spoons in eating the gravy of pork, turtle, *etc.*, and are in fact in such constant demand that a supply is always carried about to be ready for use. [At pp. 86-7 of the Journal above quoted other occasions are mentioned on which this common shell is employed for domestic purposes.]

52. tâlag-. (Pl. D.) Hone or whetstone. When required for use the worker, sitting with knees apart, tailor-fashion, and having a suitable stone between his feet (see Pl. viii), holds the blade or arrow-head firmly on it with his left hand, and proceeds with the **tâlag-** in his right hand, to rub briskly the parts in need of sharpening. In order to provide the necessary moisture he now and again licks the metal as well as the hone, with the result that his tongue becomes coated with rust and stone dust, which as a matter of course he swallows.

53. nîp-l'âr-bûl-. The sharp retrorsely serrate spine near the base of the tail of the sting-ray (*trygon bleekeri*): in former times their fish-arrows were often pointed with these spines (see item 7 and Pl. E. 4 and 7); it is, therefore, probable that the early reports of their arrows being poisoned are due to this circumstance; certainly serious flesh wounds are caused by them.

54. garen- (*dentalium octogonum*). These tubular "tooth" (or "tusk") shells, being fairly common and well adapted for decorative purposes, are extensively used in the manufacture of their personal ornaments and for the adornment of various implements and utensils. (See Pl. B, 9; Pl. D, 29, 34, 42, and 44; Pl. E, 45 and 46; and Pl. x, figs. 2 and 3.)

55. (rîm-) tôug-. Resin obtained from a species of *celtis*; is pale yellow in colour and possesses an agreeable perfume when heated; being only obtainable in comparatively small quantities it is reserved for use in the manufacture of **kânga-tâ-bûj-** (item 62).

55-a. (maiî-) tôug-. Resin obtained from a large tree, known as **maiî-** (see App. XI) of the *sterculia sp.*; this is used (*a*) for caulking canoes and buckets when necessary to render them water-tight, and (*b*) in the manufacture of torches (item 70) and for lighting the boundary of the **bûlum-** (dancing-ground) during an entertainment.

56. âja-pîj-. Wax of the golden (or white) honey-comb; it is one of the ingredients in **kânga-tâ-bûj-** (item 62), and is also used in the manufacture of certain articles, *e.g.*, the **châpanga-** (item 22).

11 The death-dealing properties of fire-arms and the facility with which we are able to produce fire were the two greatest surprises experienced by these islanders after the establishment of the Indian Penal Settlement in 1858, and few gifts have since proved more acceptable than a box of matches.

APPENDIX XIII—*contd.*

57. **tôbul-pîj-** (or **lêre-**). Wax of the black honey-comb, made by a small bee in the hollows of trees. It is applied to bow-strings, arrow-fastenings, and the **kûd-** (item 20); it is also used for caulking small cracks in canoes and buckets. On the occurrence of an epidemic the local seer or "medicine-man" (**ōko-paiad-**), besides brandishing a burning log to drive away the evil spirit (**êrem-chàugala**), takes the further precaution of planting in front of each hut stakes painted in stripes with this wax, the smell of which is held to be particularly offensive to this demon. In cases of phthisis, or when suffering from some other internal disease, one of the remedies resorted to is the application over the seat of the pain of a lump of **tôbul-pîj-** as hot as it can be borne : the wax which adheres to the skin is not removed, but is left to wear off.

58. **tâla-ôg-**. White clay ; used by women moistened with water for ornamental painting of the person and of various articles, *e.g.*, bows, baskets, buckets, trays, sounding-boards, *etc.*, (see Pl. B, C, and D) : when decorating their friends with this pigment, as happens on the occasion of some festive dance, they often spare no pains to execute some approved design, the instrument usually employed for the purpose being the nail-tip of the forefinger, and the parts to be adorned being the cheeks, neck, body and limbs. (See Pl. xii, fig. a ; and Pl. xiii, fig. a); also Journ. R. A. Inst., Vol. XII, pp. 333-4 and pp. 370-2). [Some women during pregnancy are in the habit of occasionally nibbling small quantities of this clay, in the belief apparently that it is beneficial to their condition, but the circumstance is more probably accounted for by the fact that a capricious craving for unnatural food is not unusual at such times.]

59. **ôg-**. Common light-grey clay, deposits of which are found in various localities : it is used, mixed with water, for smearing over the person after taking much exercise, such as dancing, hunting, *etc.*, or in times of oppressive heat or during a period of mourning (see Pl. xiii, figs. a and b). It is also customary for bereaved persons during such periods to place and keep a moistened lump or clod of this substance, called **dela-**, on the crown of the head (see Pl. xii, fig. a, and Journ. R. A. Inst., Vol. XII, p. 141). Until the termination of the days of mourning this inconvenient custom has to be observed.

60. **kòiob-**. Red-ochre pigment made by mixing **ûpla-** (see next item) with some greasy substance, generally the melted fat of a pig, turtle, iguana, or dugong ; sometimes the oil obtained from the almond produced by the *terminalia procera* (**êmej-**) is the medium employed, but this is *de luxe*. **kòiob-** is applied ornamentally to the person in some crude pattern with one or more fingers, but owing to the heat of the body and of the atmosphere, as well as the very nature of its composition, all trace of the design is soon lost. In Pl. xiii, fig. b, are several smeared with this unsavoury pigment. It is credited with hygienic properties, and from its mode of application it can be readily determined whether the individual is suffering or rejoicing. The nostrils and centre of the upper lip are sometimes painted with it, as the smell of the fat is agreeable to them. Before a corpse is removed for burial it is smeared over the face and neck with **kòiob-** as a mark of respect and in order to gratify the disembodied spirit. How extensively this pigment is used in the decoration of weapons, implements and utensils will be seen from Pl. B, C, D, and E, and pp. 370-71 of Vol. XII of Journ. R. A. Inst. Further particulars regarding the use of **kòiob-** and its manufacture will be found on p. 334 of the same volume

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61. **ûpla-**. Red oxide of iron after it has been dried and baked. A sample was analysed by Dr. Waldie with the following result :—

Peroxide of iron	42·7
Quartz in small fragments and very little of any other rock or earthy matter	56·4
Water expelled by ignition	0·9

It is collected chiefly during the dry months : in its natural state, as found, it is called **kòiob-chûlnga-**, in which condition it is applied to sores and to the persons of fever patients : internally it is administered for coughs as well as for fevers. In its dried state it is used in making **kòiob-**, as just described, and it is one of the three ingredients in the composition of the next item (**kânga-tâ-bûj-**).

62. **kânga-tâ-bûj-**. Red wax, generally prepared by men, is composed of **âja-pìj-**, **rîm-** and **ûpla-** (items 56, 55, and 61 respectively) ; in the absence of the last-named ingredient **kòiob-** (item 60) is substituted. These three substances are mixed, melted and stirred over a fire in a medium-sized pot until of a proper consistency ; the pigment is then at once poured into small pots (see Pl. D) or large shallow shells, where on cooling it soon hardens. When required for use the pot or shell is placed on a fire and the melting wax applied according to fancy. The twine whipping of barbed fish- and pig-arrows (items 4, 5, and 6), the turtle-harpoon (item 10) and pig-spear (item 9) are protected and rendered more durable by means of a coating of this wax : it is also used for closing cracks in buckets and, if practicable, in canoes. As may be seen in Pl. B, C, D, and E, it is applied decoratively to paddles, nautilus-shell cups, food-trays, buckets, the **rôgun-** waist-belt (item 26) and the **iji-gônga-** (item 31).

63. **chûlnga-**. Olive-coloured clay found in small springs in the jungle : in its liquid form it is applied medicinally after the manner of **kòiob-chûlnga-** (see item 61 and pp. 84—6 of R. A. Inst. Journ., Vol. XII).

64. **yôlba-** (*anodendron paniculatum*). This very large climbing shrub, as well as the other two shrubs next to be mentioned,[12] is highly valued, as their bark provides them with all their requirements for the manufacture of fine twine, string and cord. From the **yôlba-** is obtained the strong fibre selected for bow-strings, arrow-fastenings, reticules (item 22), fine netting (item 42), necklaces and other personal ornaments. It may not, however, be employed for any of the purposes for which **alaba-** (item 66) is used ; hence its preparation is not restricted to either sex. For further particulars, and the mode of preparing this and the other two descriptions of fibre, see pp. 383-84 of Jl. R. A. Inst., Vol. XII.

65. **pîlita-**. (*gnetum edule.*) This lofty diœcious climbing shrub is described by Talbot as a very interesting plant, its stems measure 8 inches in diameter at the base, and the wood is of very abnormal structure, weighing about 40 lbs. to the cub. foot. The fibre, which is prepared and almost exclusively used by women, is employed chiefly in the manufacture of the indispensable hand-fishing nets (item 20), and the sleeping-mats (Pl. E, item 23). In the rare event of **yôlba-** twine not being available for making bow-strings and arrow fastenings **pîlita-** twine is substituted, though it is less serviceable for the purpose.

66. **alaba-**. (*melochia velutina.*) This shrub, or small soft-wooded ornamental tree, provides a strong fibre, which is prepared by coast-men and used in the manufacture of all cordage needed in the pursuance of their craft, *viz.* harpoon-lines and fastenings, turtle-nets, anchoring cables, *etc.* The bark also provides the material of which baby-slings (Pl. C, item 24) are made. The band by which their baskets (**jôb-**, Pl. C, item 21) are carried (see Pl. vii, fig. b) consists of a strip of the prepared bark of this small tree.

12 I am indebted to Sir D. Prain, F.R.S (Director, Royal Gardens, Kew) for the botanical descriptions of these plants.

APPENDIX XIII—*contd.*

67. **pōtòkla-**. (Pl. E.) Netting-needles, made of split bamboo in two sizes, used in making hand-nets (item 20) and fine netting (item 42) respectively. (*N.B.*—In the construction of turtle nets (item 12) the size of the mesh is regulated by means of the **kûtegbo-** two cross-sticks about 10 inches long, made of light hard wood (*? claoxylon affine*), see Pl. C, item 10 c.

68. **pō-chō-**. (Pl. E.) Bamboo knives, shaped while green and then dried and charred over a fire in order to enable sharp edges to be produced by means of a *cyrena* shell (item 51). Formerly these were used for cutting meat and other food, but since iron has been easily procurable the **kōno-** (item 77), is of course preferred.

69. **wai-chō-** and **pōr-chō-**. Cane knives similar to the **pō-chō-**.

70. **tôug-pâtnga-**. (Pl. D.) Torch made by either sex (: small size by women) consisting of resin which exudes from a large tree known as **maiî-** (see App. XI) of the *sterculia sp.* The resin is collected in lumps at the foot of the tree and pounded; it is then wrapped in dry pieces of the frond of the *crinum lorifolium* and bound with a slender strong creeper (**yōto-**), as shewn in the sketch. These are used when travelling, fishing, *etc.*

71. **lâpi-**. The resinous substance found in the heart of decayed *gurjon* trees (**ârain-**, see App. XI): lumps of this are burned at night to afford light when cooking, *etc.*, or during a dancing entertainment.

72. **pûkuta-yât-mäknga-**. (Pl. C.) Food-tray made by men, generally from a piece of the flat buttress roots of one of the trees (*sterculiaceae*) of which their canoes are made.

73. **âra-**. Long fringe-like wreaths of split cane-leaves made by women and suspended 4—6 feet above the ground on trees round an encampment or hut where a death has recently occurred, also round the spot where a corpse has been either buried or deposited on a tree-platform, the object being to warn passers-by from inadvertently approaching the place, which is believed to be haunted by the spirit of the deceased. (See Jl. R. A. Inst., Vol. XII, pp. 142-5.)

73-a. **âra-tig-jêralinga-**. Tufted leaf-brushes which are used for a like purpose, also by those recently tattooed in order to drive away flies and gnats.

74. **kâpa-jâtnga-**. Fan-like screen made by women, consisting of two fronds of the *licuala peltata*, which are stitched together by means of the leaf-stems of the same plant, so as to provide suitable protection from rain or the direct rays of the sun in oppressive weather. In the absence of a **pärepa-** (item 23) it is sometimes used as a sleeping-mat.

75. **kâpa-** (**tòng-**) Single fronds of the above-named palm are employed as wrappers when packing or storing their pigments and various other articles, including food (see Dict., "leaf"); corpses are enveloped in these leaves prior to burial (Jl. R. A. Inst., Vol. XII, p. 141).

76. **ûj-**. (Pl. D.) Long shavings of the stem of the *tetranthera lancoefolia*, prepared by men with the sharp edge of a *cyrena* shell. When dancing, these are often held in the hand both by men and women, or are stuck in their waist-belts or chaplets.

77. **kōno-** (Pl. C.) Iron knife used in cutting food; to some a wooden or iron skewer is attached; it is then called **châm-chō-**.

78. **jîni-**. A plant of the *alpinia sp.* When about to gather honey the men smear themselves with the sap, which is obtained by chewing the stem. To drive the bees completely away from the comb they fill their mouths with the same juice and spray it from side to side, as the insects apparently find it very offensive. On the occasion of a honey-feast, the fibres of this plant are tied round the revellers' limbs. (See pp. 85 and 133 of Vol. XXI of Jl. R. A. Inst., for further particulars.)

APPENDIX XIII—*contd.*

78-a. bôrowa- (*myristica longifolia*) and **reg-l'âkà-châl-**, (*polyalthia jenkinsii*). When, after attaining puberty, they complete the prescribed period of abstinence from turtle and pork respectively, the ceremonial use of these leaves is strictly observed. as described in pp. 131 and 134 of the Journal above quoted.

78-b. gûgma-. (*trigonostemon longifolius.*) The leaves of this shrub and, less commonly, those of three others known to the natives as **bêrebig-**, **chêtra-** and **chōra-** are deemed very efficacious in the treatment of cases of fever : the patient is placed on a bed of the leaves and rubbed all over with crushed handfuls of them, while fragments are given him to sniff. This remedy is employed only by those living inland, as the belief among the coastmen is that the recent use of these leaves would be at once detected by turtles approaching a canoe and warn them of their danger. (See pp. 84 and 103 of Vol. XII above cited.)

79. ôbunga-. (Pl. iv, fig b ; x, fig. 3 ; and xi, fig. a.) Pubic "apron", consisting of leaves of the *mimusops indica*, two or more of which are placed one above the other and held in position by the stems, which are tucked into their lowest waist-belt by **bôjîg-ngîji-** and, latterly, by **yêrewa-** women. The reason given for the selection of this particular leaf is that it keeps green and fresh longer than any other of suitable size and texture. The **önge** (*i.e.*, Little Andaman) females, as shewn in Pl. vi and xi, wear a large tassel-like object, consisting either of a trimmed bunch of split *pandanus* leaf or other suitable material such as split cane-leaf or coarse grass ; in the former case the remainder of the leaf is utilized for making the waist-belt, so that no attachment is necessary, while in the latter case a slender cord, preferably a **râ-** (see item 43), is provided, to which the "apron" is fastened. The **järawa-** women, who have been rarely seen, are believed habitually to dispense with even this modicum of attire (see footnote on p. 94 of Vol. XII, Jl. R. A. Inst.).

80. kai-.(Pl. E.) Bamboo tongs ; made and used by women when cooking, *etc.* It consists of a single piece of split bamboo bent double, trimmed and pointed at the two ends.

81. kopòt-. Bucket, made from a single joint of the *bambusa gigantea*, specimens of which are sometimes found on the coast, having floated across from the opposite continent, or from some wreck. They are much valued not only on account of their lightness and consequent handiness as compared with their own cumbrous wooden buckets (see item 13), but also because the latter entail much labour and care in their manufacture.

82. gôb-. Bamboo utensil, of which there are two varieties, *viz.* (*a*)—large size preferred—for use as a water-holder ; this is usually 4—5 ft. long. its base consists of one of the nodes, the others (if any) being pierced through with a spear-head or other suitable instrument in order to serve the purpose intended; and (*b*) for use as a food-container and cooking-pot combined ; it consists of a single long joint, into which, after it has been cleaned, washed, and dried over a fire, food is packed and partially cooked for use generally one or two days later, when out hunting or fatigued after a journey, (for further particulars see Jl. R. A. Inst., Vol. XII, p. 351, para. 31, from which also it will be noted that this **gôb-** is only capable of being used on a single occasion.

83. lâ-. Cooking-stones. A hollow is first scooped in the ground into which pebbles, about two inches in diameter, after being thoroughly heated in the fire, are placed under and over the food to be cooked.

84. kâta-ngâtanga- (*lit.*, "crab-hook"). This implement is employed for picking up live crabs on a rocky foreshore in order to avoid the risk of nipped fingers : it consists merely of a branch broken off a *rhizophora conjugata* which, after a little trimming, readily furnishes a strong hook suitable for the purpose required.

